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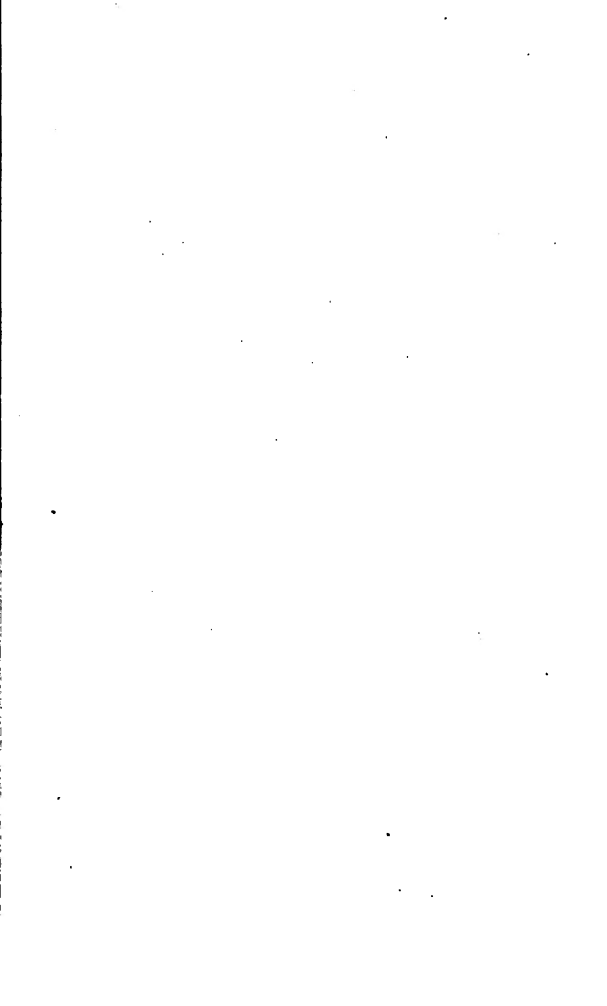
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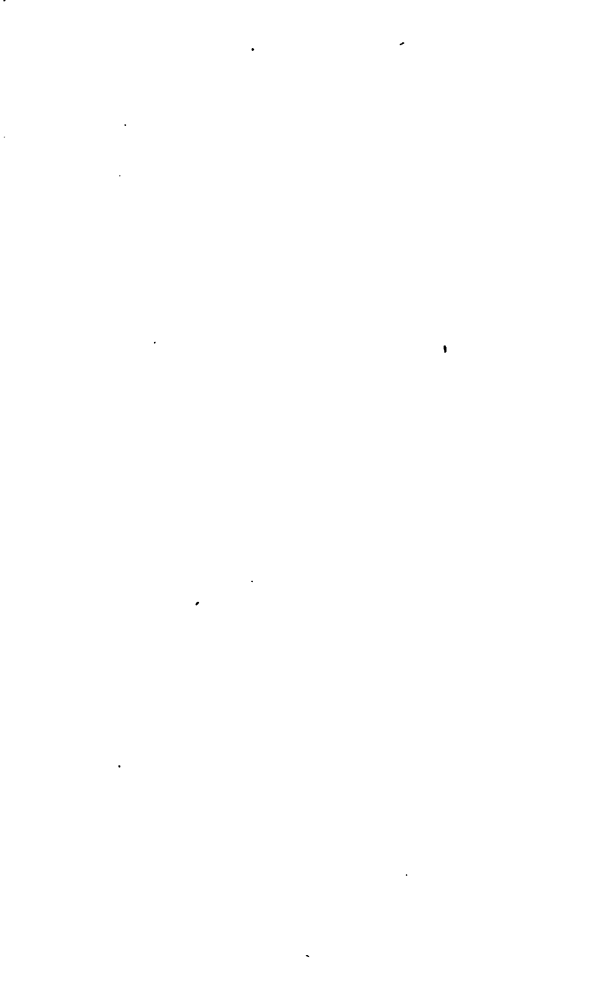


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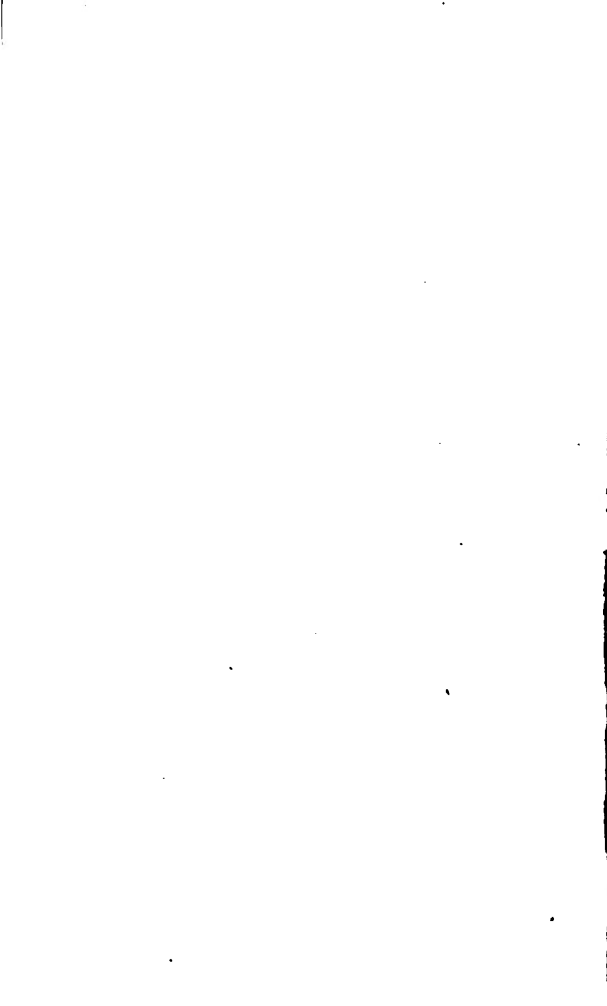




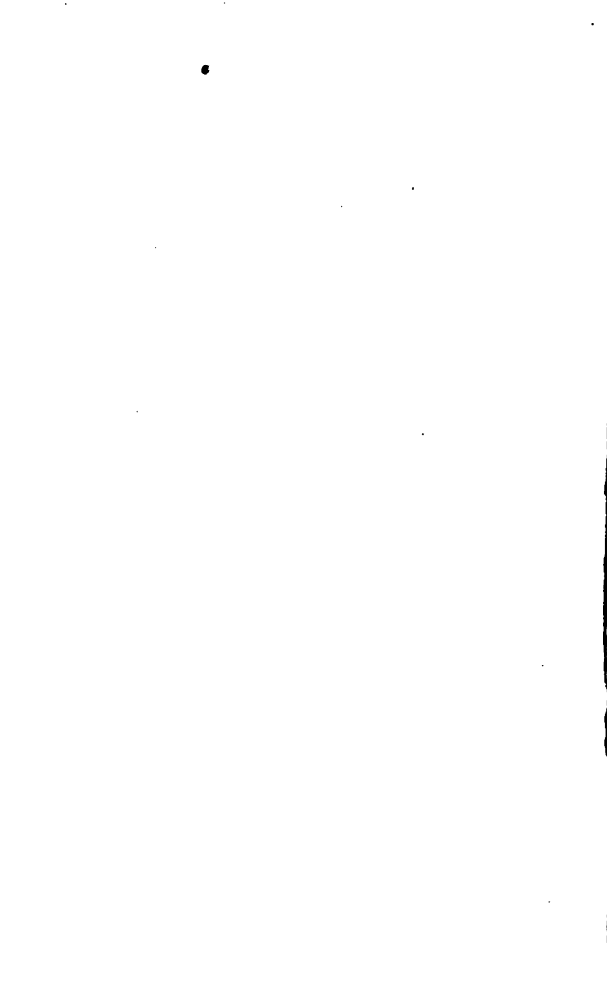


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THE ROMAN REPUBLIC.



THE HISTORY
OF THE
PROGRESS AND TERMINATION
OF THE
ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BY ADAM FERGUSON, LL. D.
PROFESSOR OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY
OF EDINBURGH.

A NEW EDITION ABRIDGED, IN ONE VOLUME.

HALIFAX:
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NOTICE.

THE reader will be pleased to observe, with respect to the geographical names used in the following History, that the Author has endeavoured to conform himself to common practice. This is so various as not to admit of any general rule. *Rome, Athens, Italy, and Greece*, are used for *Roma, Athenæ, Italia, and Grecia*; but *France, Hungary, and Savoy*, are not used for *Gaul, Panonia, or the Allobroges*. Cities and races of men have changed so much, that we cannot employ modern names in speaking of the ancients, except where custom absolutely requires it. But the natural features of the earth, as rivers, seas, and mountains, being unchanged, are expressed by the modern name, except where they are better known by their ancient appellations, as in the geography of Greece, Asia, and Africa. This mixture of ancient and modern language may appear exceptionable; but it is hoped that the general intention, to render the subject as clear as possible, will be an excuse for any particular difference of opinion in the choice of names.

ADVERTISEMENT.

FERGUSON'S History of the Roman Republic is a noble work. Like the government which it describes it is simple and strong. It is one of the best digested histories that ever was penned, the narrative gliding along easily, limpidly, and majestically in one continuous stream. Pure in its diction, clear in its style, copious in its illustrations, consistent in its views, felicitous and just in its discoveries of the more latent springs of action, the History of the Roman Republic forms a perfect mirror of the arena which it portrays. Embracing, as it does, the most momentous period in the history of the world, and describing the transactions of the most important portion of the human family then living, it does ample justice to the spirit-stirring currents of war and conquest, of civil convulsion, and political revolution, with which that people were agitated, and in which that period abounds.

To the publishers it appeared that an abridgment of this work would be of signal service to the young, and to such as are circumscribed in their opportunities for reading. With this view the present volume was prepared. It is reduced to one-third of the extent of the original work, preserving as much as possible of its style and diction. Much pains and attention have been bestowed on it, and it is hoped that it deserves, and will receive, the approbation of a judicious and enlightened public.

NOVEMBER, 1836.

CONTENTS.

BOOK I.

PAGE

CHAP. I.—The subject—Supposed Origin of the Roman State—Its Government—The King—Senate—People—Curia—Centuries—Tribes—Religion—The Triumph—Census—Progress of the State under its Kings—Change to a Republic,	1
CHAP. II.—Form of the Republic—Dissension of Parties—First Dictator—Secession of Plebeians—Tribunes of the People—Their Objects—Distribution of Corn—Division of Lands—Pretensions of the Plebeians—Commission to compile Laws—Decemvirs—Twelve Tables—Intermarriages of Ranks—Claim of the Plebeians to the Consulate—Military or Consular Tribunes—Censors—Ediles—Prefectus Annonæ—Fortune of the Republic—Reduction of Veii—Destruction of Rome by the Gauls—Rebuilding of the City,	9
CHAP. III.—Scene of foreign War and domestic Dispute opened with reviving Rome—Faction or Conspiracy of Manlius—Condemnation—Plebeians elected into the office of Consular Tribunes—Aspire to the Consulate—The first Plebeian Consul—Establishment of the Pretor—Patrician Ediles—The Plebeians qualified to hold all the offices of state—The Measure of Roman Magistracy complete—Review of the Constitution—Its seeming Defects—But great Success—Policy of the State respecting foreign or vanquished Nations—Formation of the Legion—Series of Wars—With the Samnites—Campanians—The Tarentines—Pyrrhus—Sovereignty of Italy—Different Footing on which the Inhabitants stood,	29
CHAP. IV.—Limits of Italy—Contiguous Nations—Ligurians—Gauls—Greek and Phœnician Colonies of Gaul and Spain—Nations of Illyricum—Of Greece—Achæan league—Thebans—Athenians—Asiatic Nations—Pergamus—Syria—Egypt—Carthage—The Mamertines of Messina—Occasion of the first War with Carthage—Losses of the Parties—Peace—State of the Romans—Political or Civil Institutions—Colonies—Musters—Operations on the Coin—Different Results of the War at Rome and Carthage—Mutiny and Invasion of the Mercenaries at Carthage—End of this War—Cession of Sardinia—War with the Illyrians—First Correspondence of Rome with Greece,	42
CHAP. V.—Progress of the Romans within the Alps—Origin of the second Punic War—March of Hannibal into Italy—Progress—Action on the Têcinus—On the Trebia—On the Lake Thrasime	

nus—Battle of Zama—Hannibal not supported from Carthage— Sequel of the War—In Italy—And Africa—Scipio's Operations —Battle of Zama—End of the War,	56
CHAP. VI.—State of Rome at the Peace with Carthage—Wars with the Gauls—With the Macedonians—Battle of Cynocephala— Peace—Freedom to Greece—Preludes to the War with Antiochus —Flight of Hannibal to that Prince—Antiochus passes into Eu- rope—Dispositions made by the Romans—Flight of Antiochus to Asia—His Defeat at the Mountains of Sipylus—Peace and Set- tlement of Asia—Course of Roman Affairs at Home, &c.,	98
CHAP. VII.—State of Italy—Character of the Roman Policy—Death of Scipio and of Hannibal—Indulgence of the Romans to the King of Macedonia—Complaints against Philip—Succession of Perseus, and Origin of the War—Action on the Peneus—Over- tures of Peace—Progress of the War—Defeat of Perseus at Pydna by Paullus Emilius—His flight and Captivity—Settlement of Macedonia and Illyricum—Manners of the Romans,	111

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.—State, Manners, and Policy of the Times—Repeated Complaints from Carthage—Hostile Disposition of the Romans —Resolution to remove Carthage from the Coast—Measures taken for this purpose—Carthage Besieged—Taken and De- stroyed—Revolt of the Macedonians—Their Kingdom reduced to the Form of a Roman Province—Fate of the Achean League— Operations in Spain—Conduct of Viriathus—State of Numantia —Blockade of Numantia—Its Destruction—Revolt of the Slaves in Sicily—Legal Establishments and Manners of the City,	124
CHAP. II.—Extent of the Roman Empire—Political Character of its Head—Facility with which it continued to advance—Change of Character, Political as well as Moral—Character of the People or Commons—Dangerous Humours likely to break out—Appear- ance of Tiberius Gracchus—His project to revive the Law of Licinius—Intercession of the Tribune Octavius—The Republic divided—Disputes in the Comitia—Deposition of the Tribune Octavius—Commissioners appointed for the Division of Lands— Tiberius Gracchus sues to be re-elected Tribune—His Death— Immediate Consequences—Proceedings of Carbo—Embassy of Scipio—Foreign Affairs—Violence of the Commissioners—Do- mestic Affairs,	147
CHAP. III.—State of the Italian Allies, and the views which now began to be conceived by them—Appearance of Caius Gracchus —Resolution to purge the city of Aliens—Consulate and factious motions of Fulvius Flaccus—Conspiracy of Frigellus suppressed —Caius Gracchus returns to Rome—Offers himself Candidate for the Tribunate—Tribunate and Acts of Caius Gracchus—Re-elec- tion—Proposal to admit the Inhabitants of Italy on the Rolls of Roman Citizens—Popular Acts of Gracchus and Livius—The Senate begin to prevail—Death of Caius Gracchus and Fulvius,	168

CHAP. IV.—State of Order and Tranquillity which followed the Suppression of the late Tumults—Appearance of Caius Marius—Foreign Wars—Complaints against Jugurtha—Appearance of the Cimbri—War with Jugurtha—Campaign and Treaty of Piso—Jugurtha comes to Rome with a Safe-Conduct—Obliged to retire from thence—Campaign of Metellus—Of Marius—Jugurtha betrayed by Bocchus—His Death, after the Triumph of Marius—This General Re-elected, in order to Command against the Cimbri,	173
CHAP. V.—Review of the Circumstances which revived the Popular Party—Farther Account of Laws and Regulations under their Administration—State of the Empire—Fourth Consulate of Marius—Continued Migrations of the Barbarous Nations—Defeated by Marius at Aquæ Sextiæ—By Marius and Catulus in Italy,	188
CHAP. VI.—Character and immoderate ambition of Marius—Death of Nonius—Re-election of the Tribune Saturninus—His Sedition and seizing the Capitol—Death of the Conspirators—Reverse in the State of Parties—Recall of Metellus—Birth of Caius Julius Cæsar—Lex Cæcilia Didia—Sylla offers himself Candidate for the office of Pretor—Renewal of the War in Spain and of that in Thrace—Edict of the Censors against the Latin Rhetoricians—Acts of Livius Drusus—Revolt of the Italian Allies—Policy of the Romans in yielding to the Necessity of their Affairs,	194
CHAP. VII.—Triumph of Pompeius Strabo—Progress of Sylla—War with the King of Pontus—Rise of that Kingdom—Appointment of Sylla to Command—Policy of the Tribune Sulpicius—Sylla's Commission Recalled in Favour of Marius—His march from Campania to Rome—Expels Marius and his Faction from the City—His Operations in Greece—Siege of Athens—Battle of Chæroneæ—Of Orchomenos—Transactions at Rome—Policy of Cinna—Marius Recalled—Cinna flies, and is deprived—Recovers the possession of Rome—Treaty of Sylla with Mithridates—He passes into Italy—Is opposed by numerous Armies—Various Events of the War in Italy—Sylla prevails—His Proscription or Massacre—Named Dictator—His Policy—Resignation and Death,	205

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.—State of the Commonwealth—Characters of Persons who began to appear in the Times of Sylla—Faction of Lepidus—Sertorius harbours the Marian Party in Spain—Is attacked by Metellus and Pompey—His Death, and final Suppression of the Party—First appearance of C. Julius Cæsar—Tribunes begin to trespass on the Laws of Sylla—Progress of the Empire—Preparations of Mithridates—War with the Romans—Irruption into Bithynia—Siege of Cyzicus—Raised—Flight of Mithridates—Lucullus carries the War into Pontus—Rout and Dispersion of
--

the Army of Mithridates—His Flight into Armenia—Conduct of Lucullus in the Province of Asia,	232
CHAP. II.—Escape and Revolt of the Gladiators at Capua—Spartacus—His Defeat of Lentulus and of Cassius—Appointment of M. Crassus as Pretor of Gaul—Destruction of the Gladiators—Triumph of Metellus and Pompey—Consulship of Pompey and Crassus—Tribunes restored to their former Powers—Domestic policy of the Consuls—Consulate of Metellus and Hortensius—War in Crete—Renewal of the War in Pontus and Armenia—Defeat of Tigranes—Negotiation with the King of Parthia—Mutiny of the Roman Army—Complaints of Piracies committed in the Roman Seas—Commission proposed to Pompey—His conduct against the Pirates—His Commission extended to Pontus—Operations against Mithridates—Defeat and Flight of that Prince—Operations of Pompey in Syria—Siege and Destruction of Jerusalem—Death of Mithridates,	243
CHAP. III.—Growing Corruption of the Roman Officers of State—The love of Consideration changed for Avarice, Rapacity, and Prodigality—Laws against Extortion—Catiline a Candidate for the Consulship—Conspiracy with Autronius—Competition for the Consulate—Election of Cicero and Antonius—Condition of the Times—Agrarian Law of Rullus—Trial of Rabirius—Cabals of the Tribunes—Of Catiline—His Flight from the City—Discovery of his Accomplices—Their Execution,	265
CHAP. IV.—Character of the Times—Philosophy—Opposite Tenets and Votaries—Proceedings of the Senate—Tribunate of Metellus Nepos, and of Cato—Proposal to recall Pompey at the head of his Army frustrated—His arrival in Italy—And Triumph,	275
CHAP. V.—Transactions at Rome, and in the Provinces—Julius Cæsar appointed in the quality of Propretor to his first Province in Lusitania—Trial of Clodius—Proposed Adoption into a Plebeian Family to qualify him for the Office of Tribune—Cæsar, a Candidate for the Consulship—The Triumvirate of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus—Consulship of Cæsar—Motion of Vatinius, to confer on Cæsar, for five years, the Command in Gaul—Marriage of Pompey to Julia—Of Cæsar to Calpurnia—Consulate of Lucius Calpurnius and A. Gabinus—Attack made upon Cicero by Clodius—Cicero's Exile,	282
CHAP. VI.—Cæsar takes possession of his Province—Migration of the Helvetii—Their Defeat—War with Ariovistus—Return of Cæsar for the Winter into Italy—Motion to recall Cicero from Exile—Disorders that followed upon it—Opposition made to Clodius by the Tribune T. Annius Milo—Augmentation of the Army in Gaul—Second Campaign of Cæsar—Operations on the Aisne—On the Meuse and Sambre—Battle with the Nervii—Successful Attempt for the Restoration of Cicero—Controversy relating to his House—Repeated Riots of Clodius—Trial of Milo,	297
CHAP. VII.—Return of Cato from Cyprus—His Repulse at the Election of Pretors—Arrival of Ptolemy Auletes at Rome—Visit of Pompey and Crassus to Cæsar's Quarters at Lucca—Renewal	

CONTENTS.

of their Association—Military Operations in Cesar's Prov. Violent Election of Crassus and Pompey—Provinces—Of Cras- in Syria—Of Pompey in Spain for five years—Crassus departs for Syria,	308
--	-----

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.—State of the Commonwealth—Administration of the Pro- vinces—Operations of Cesar in Gaul, Germany, and Britain— State of Pompey at Rome—Progress of Crassus into Syria—King- dom of Parthia—Invasion of Crassus beyond the Euphrates— Second Invasion of Cesar in Britain,	317
CHAP. II.—Death of Julia the daughter of Cesar and wife of Pom- pey—Trial of Gabinus—Detection of an infamous Transaction of Memmius and Ahenobarbus—Revolt of the Low Countries— Military Execution against the Inhabitants of the Country be- tween the Rhine and the Meuse—Operations of Crassus in Me- sopotamia—His Death—Competition for the Consulship—Death of Clodius—Riot in the City—Pompey sole Consul—Trial of Milo,	326
CHAP. III.—Character of Pompey in capacity of sole Consul—Pri- vilege of Cesar to be admitted as Candidate for the Office of Consul, without resigning his Province—General Revolt of the Gauls—Operations in that Country—Blockade and Reduction of Alexia—Distribution of Cesar's Army in Gaul,	341
CHAP. IV.—Cesar remains in Gaul—Pompey assumes Piso into the Office of Consul—Succession of Servius Sulpicius and M. Clau- dius Marcellus—Arrangement for the Provinces—Motion to re- call Cesar—Continued Debates in the Senate—Operations of Ce- sar in Gaul—Intrigues in the City—Affairs in the other Provinces —Campaign of Cicero—Succession of Consuls—State of Parties in the City and in the Senate—Cesar makes a Circuit through his Province—Parts with two Legions to Pompey and the Senate— Alarm of Cesar's March—The Consul Marcellus commits his sword to Pompey,	363
CHAP. V.—Decree of the Senate to supersede Cesar—Commission to the Consuls and to Pompey—Their Resolutions—Flight of the Tribunes Antony and Quintus Cassius—March of Cesar—Flight of Pompey and the Senate, &c.—Approach of Cesar—Embarka- tion and Departure of Pompey from Brundisium—Return of Cesar to Rome—Passes by Marseilles into Spain—Campaign on the Segra—Legions of Pompey in Spain conducted to the Var,	368
CHAP. VI.—The Surrender of Marseilles—Cesar named Dictator— Quells a Mutiny at Placentia—Cesar with Servilius Isauricus, Consuls—Forces and Disposition of Pompey—Departure of Cesar to Brundisium—Transports the first division of his Army to Acroceranus—Message to Pompey, and their several Operations The Lines of Dyrrachium—Cesar baffled in his attempt to invest Pompey—Action and Defeat of Cesar—His Retreat—March of both Armies into Thessaly—Battle of Pharsalia,	379

CHAP. VII.—Comparative Loss on the different Sides in the late Action—Pompey's Flight—His Death—Arrival of Cesar at Alexandria—Cato, with the Fleet and remains of the Army from Pharsalia, steers for Africa—State of Italy and of the Republican Party—Adventures of Cesar in Egypt—Victory over Pharnaces—Arrival in Italy—Passage into Africa—His Operations and Action with the Horse and Irregulars of the Enemy—Battle of Thapsus—Death of Cato,	395
---	-----

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.—Wreck of the Republican Party—Servility of the Roman People—Magnificence and Administration of Cesar—His last Campaign in Spain—Death of the elder of Pompey's Sons—Cesar's Return, Triumph, Honours, and Policy in the State—Spirit of the Times—Source of the Conspiracy against Cesar—Its Progress—Death of Cesar,	413
CHAP. II.—General Consternation on the Death of Cesar—Tumultuary Assembly of the People—Declarations of Cinna and Dolabella—Appearance of Brutus and Cassius in the Forum—Their Return to the Capitol—Meeting and Debate in the Senate—Act of Oblivion—Speech of Brutus to the People—Funeral of Cesar—Insurrection of the People—Policy of Antony—Appearance of Octavius—His Difference with Antony—Both have recourse to Arms—Aspect of Things—Antony proceeds to expel Decimus Brutus from the Cisalpine Gaul,	427
CHAP. III.—Situation and Address of Octavius—Meeting of the Senate—Progress of Antony—His March into Gaul—Message of Octavius to Decimus Brutus—New Consuls Hirtius and Pansa—Meeting of the Senate—Deputation to Antony—His Answer—Declared an Enemy—Advance of Hirtius and Octavius to Raise the Siege of Mutina—Brutus and Cassius Confirmed in the Command of all the Eastern Provinces—Progress of the War in Gaul—Siege of Mutina Raised—Junction of Antony and Lepidus—Consulate of Octavius,	444
CHAP. IV.—Proceedings of the New Consul—State of the Eastern Provinces—Interview of Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, with their Coalition—The Proscription or Massacre—Death of Cicero—Sequel of the Massacre—Succession of Consuls—Severe Exaction of Taxes—State of Sextus Pompeius—Movements of Antony and Octavius respectively—Both bend their course to the East—Posture and Operations of Brutus and Cassius—Their Arrival and Progress in Europe—Campaign at Philippi—First Action and Death of Cassius—Second Action and Death of Brutus,	456
CHAP. V.—New Partition of the Empire made by Octavius and Antony—Progress of Octavius at Rome—His Friends Mæcenas and Agrippa—Alarm and Distress in Italy on the Dispossession of the Inhabitants to make way for the Troops—Jealousy of Fulvia and Lucius Antonius—Hostilities and Reduction of Perugia	

CONTENTS.

<p>—Progress of Antony in Asia - His Stay at Alexandria - Return to Italy - Accommodation with Sextus Pompeius - Return of Octavius and Antony to Rome—Their Policy, . . .</p> <p>CHAP. VI.—Alarm of the Parthian Invasion of Syria - Arrangements of Octavius and Antony - Departure of the Latter, and Residence at Athens - State of the Commonwealth - Marriage of Octavius with Livia - War with Sextus Pompeius - Actions near the Straits of Messina - Agrippa succeeds to the Command of Octavius's Fleet His Victory at Sea - Flight of Sextus Pompeius - Breach between Octavius and Lepidus, . . .</p> <p>CHAP. VII.—Forces of Octavius after the Acquisition of Sicily, and the Junction of the Armies of Sextus Pompeius, and Lepidus - Mutiny and Separation of these Forces - His Reform of the Army - Expedition of Antony against the Parthians - His Retreat - Open Breach between Octavius and Antony - Operations of Antony and Octavius on the Gulf of Ambracia - Battle of Actium - Flight of Antony - Immediate Arrangements of Octavius after his Victory - Death of Antony - And of Cleopatra, . . .</p>	<p>468</p> <p>473</p> <p>488</p>
---	----------------------------------

BOOK VI.

<p>CHAP. I.—The Merit or Demerit of Parties in the latter Period of the Roman Republic - Return of Octavius to Rome - His Triumphs and Public Entertainments - Reform of the Army - Proposition to resign his Power - Consultation of Agrippa and Mæcenas - Preludes to the pretended Resignation of Octavius - That Resignation itself - His consent to retain a Part in the Government of the Empire Distribution of the Provinces - Title of Augustus - The Establishment of Augustus, . . .</p> <p>CHAP. II.—State of the Emperor—Condition of the Empire—Amount of the Revenue unknown—Military Establishments, &c. . .</p> <p>CHAP. III.—The Family and Court of Augustus—His pretended Resignation of the Empire renewed—The Exercise of his Power becomes less disguised—Death of Agrippa, . . .</p> <p>CHAP. IV.—Marriage of Julia with Tiberius Death of Drusus—Death of Mæcenas—Disgrace of Julia—War in Pannonia—Roman Legions cut off in Germany—Tiberius Associated in the Empire—Death of Augustus, . . .</p> <p>CHAP. V.—The Will of Augustus—Review of his Reign—And of his Character—Tiberius returns to Nola—Issues without delay his Orders throughout the Empire—In the Senate affects Reluctance to charge himself with the Government—Mutiny in Pannonia—On the Rhine—Second mutiny on the arrival of Deputies from the Senate—Imposture of Clemens—Plot of Libo—Description of Tiberius—Death of Germanicus, and Trial of Piso, . . .</p> <p>CHAP. VI.—Review of the first Period in the Reign of Tiberius—Applications of Penal Law—Disposition of Tiberius to a reclusive Life—Place and Character of Sejanus—Death of Drusus, Son of</p>	<p>499</p> <p>508</p> <p>514</p> <p>527</p> <p>544</p>
---	--

the Emperor—Retirement of Tiberius to the Island of Capreae— Jealousy of the Emperor against Agrippina and her Children— Death of Livia Augusta—Design formed against Sejanus—His Death—Prosecution of his supposed Accomplices—Artifices, old Age, and Death of Tiberius,	559
--	-----

CHAP. VII.—Succession of Caius to the Empire—The first Appear- ances of his Reign—Conclusion of the History—Observations on the Sequel—Accession of the Flavian Family—Vicissitudes of Character in the Emperors—Sources of Degradation in the Impe- rial Establishment—Preservatives of the Empire—Its real and continual though almost insensible Decline.	577
---	-----

A SUMMARY

OF

ROMAN INSTITUTIONS.

THE following account of the origin and nature of the principal offices and institutions in the Roman government, it is presumed, will be found very useful to the readers of this history.

1. ERA OF THE FOUNDATION OF ROME. The exact date of this era is not to be ascertained with any degree of precision, but the Roman emperors and most modern chronologists refer it to B. C. or before Christ 753; which therefore may be taken to be the true date of the era of the foundation of Rome. It is designated by the letters U. C. *urbe condita* "from the building of the city."

2. ROME is supposed to have been founded by Romulus who became its first king, and to him is also attributed the original scheme of its government. He divided the people into *three tribes*, and each tribe into ten *curia*, he also divided the people into two orders, the *patricians*, or those possessing a certain amount of wealth, and the *plebeians* or the people generally. He intended that all dignities should be confined to the patricians, and to attach the two classes to each other by mutual bonds, he established the relation of *patron* and *client*; which was that each plebeian had the right of choosing a patrician for his patron, whose duty it was to protect him from oppression, and who in return received from his client certain services. He also instituted a *senate* or council of 100 members selected from the patricians, to whom was given the power to see that the laws were enforced, and to consult on all matters of state and to report their opinion to the people, in the *comitia* or assemblies, who were invested with the right of final determination in all matters of public importance.

3 To the three tribes into which the city was first divided, Servius Tullius added a fourth; and the four tribes were

named from the quarters where they dwelt, the *Palatine*, *Suburran*, *Collatine*, and *Esquiline*. The number of the tribes was afterwards greatly increased.

4. Besides the local division of tribes, Servius distributed the citizens into six *classes*, and each class into several *centuries* or portions of citizens, so called, not because they consisted of 100, but because they were obliged to furnish and maintain 100 men in time of war. The six classes were formed according to their property; the first consisting of the richest citizens, and the sixth, which was the most numerous, of the poorest. The whole number of centuries was 193.

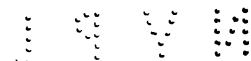
5. To the two orders of patricians and plebeians, there was afterwards added the *equestrian order*, composed of *equites*, or knights, who were chosen under the direction of the censor, and presented with a horse at the public expense, and a gold ring. They were taken promiscuously from those of the patricians and plebeians, who had attained their eighteenth year, and whose fortune amounted to about L.3000.

6. There were, besides, other distinctions among the Roman people, as *nobiles*, or noble, including those whose ancestors had held the office of consul, prætor, censor, or curule edile, and who had a right to make images of themselves. The *homines novi*, or new men, were persons who were the first of their families that had raised themselves to any of the above offices. The *ignobiles*, or ignoble, were those who had no images of their own or of their ancestors. Those whose parents had always been free, were called *ingenui*; and those who had been slaves, but had been made free, were styled *liberti* and *libertini*.

7. The Roman citizens were not merely those who resided in the city and Roman territory, but the freedom of the city was granted to other parts of Italy, and afterwards to foreign cities and towns in the empire, whose inhabitants thereby enjoyed the same rights as the Romans.

8. The slaves were an unfortunate class of persons, who performed all domestic services, and were employed also in various trades and manufactures. They were considered as mere property, at the absolute disposal of their owners, and were publicly sold in the market place. Men became slaves by being taken in war, or by being born in a state of servitude; criminals also were reduced to slavery by way of punishment.

9. **KINGS.** The kings of Rome were not absolute or hereditary but limited and elective. They could neither



enact laws, nor make war or peace without the concurrence of the senate and people.

10. **SENATE.** The senate at first consisted of 100 members but was afterwards increased to 200 by Tarquin the elder; and towards the dissolution of the republic, it comprised upwards of 1000. The senators were at first nominated by the kings; but they were afterwards chosen by the consuls, and at last by the censors. It also appears that the number was increased from time to time by the addition of certain magistrates who were annually elected by the people, as consuls, prætors, censors, and curule ediles. The senate usually assembled three times a month, but was frequently called together on other days for special business. A decree, passed by a majority of the senate, and approved by the tribunes of the people was termed *senatus consultum*. The senators were styled *pæres* or fathers, on account of their age, gravity, and the paternal care they had of the state.

11. **MAGISTRATES IN GENERAL.** The magistrates in the Roman republic were elective, and previous to their election they were called *candidati*, or candidates, from a white robe which they wore while soliciting the votes of the people.

12. The Roman magistrates were divided into *ordinary*, *extraordinary*, and *provincial*. The ordinary magistrates were those who were elected at stated times, and were constantly in the republic, as consuls, censors, tribunes, &c. The extraordinary were such as rose out of some public disorder or emergency; these were the dictator and the master of the horse, who commanded the cavalry; the decemvirs, the military tribunes, and the *inter-rer*. The provincial magistrates were those who were appointed to the government of the provinces. These were at first prætors, afterwards pro-consuls, and pro-prætors, to whom were joined quæstors, and lieutenants.

13. **CONSULS.** On the abolition of the regal authority (U. C. 244), a republican government was established and two consuls were chosen annually. Their power was nearly the same as that of the kings, except that it was limited to one year. In dangerous conjunctures, they were clothed with absolute power, by a solemn decree, "that the consuls take care the commonwealth receive no harm." In order to be a candidate for the consulship, it was requisite to be forty-three years of age. At first the consuls were chosen from the patrician families, but afterwards (U. C. 387) the plebeians became eligible to hold the dignity.

14. **PRÆTORS.** The office of prætor was instituted, U. C. 387, when the plebeians were admitted to the consulship.

It was intended that the prætor should always be a patrician, but in U. C. 417, plebeians were admitted to the dignity. The prætor was next in authority to the consuls, and in their absence supplied their place, and was appointed to administer justice. He presided in the assemblies of the people, convened the senate upon any emergency and exhibited certain public games. There was at first but one prætor, then two, (U. C. 515,) afterwards more, U. C. 526.

15. CENSORS. The office of censor was created in U. C. 310. It was esteemed more honourable than that of consul, although attended with less power. There were two censors, chosen every five years, and their most important duty was performed every fifth year, in taking the census of the people; after which they made a solemn *lustration* or expiatory sacrifice, in the *Campus Martius* in the name of the people. The sacrifice consisted of a sow, a sheep, and a bull.

16. TRIBUNES. The office of tribune was instituted (U. C. 260), merely to protect the plebeians against the patricians; but they gradually acquired very great power, by being permitted to exercise a *velo* upon every measure which they judged prejudicial to the interests of the people. They were elected annually; their number at first was five, but afterwards increased to ten. By them the power of the aristocracy was restrained and the fury of the people was regulated.

17. EDILES. The ediles were of two kinds, plebeian and patrician. The first were appointed (U. C. 260), to assist the tribunes, and were so named from their office, which was the care of the public edifices, baths, aqueducts, roads, markets, &c; the other the *curule ediles*, were appointed (U. C. 390), to superintend the public games, temples, theatres, tribunals of justice, &c.

18. QUÆSTORS. The quæstors were elected by the people to take care of the public revenue. At first there were only two, but several more were afterwards added. The *military quæstors* accompanied the army and took care of the payment of the soldiers. The *provincial quæstors* attended the consuls or prætors into their provinces, and received the taxes and tribute.

19. DICTATOR. The dictator was the first extraordinary magistrate that was created, (U. C. 255). He was appointed only in cases of public danger, when quick and decisive measures were necessary, and for that purpose was invested with absolute power. He had authority to make peace and war, to levy taxes, to appoint to all public offices, and to dispense with the laws, without consulting the senate or

people. He was, however, required to lay down his office so soon as the danger was removed, and never to hold it for a period exceeding six months.

20. **DECENVIRI.** These were extraordinary magistrates created U. C. 392, for the particular purpose of collecting the laws of the twelve tables which they gathered out of the writings of Solon. They were invested with absolute power, and during the time they were appointed all other magistrates were suspended.

21. **MILITARY TRIBUNES.** These extraordinary magistrates were created U. C. 309, to allay the popular discontent which had long existed on account of the senators refusing to admit plebeians to the office of consul. It was therefore agreed by both sides that instead of consuls, six *military tribunes* with the power of consuls, should be chosen, three of them from the patricians, and three from the plebeians. This institution, however, was not often resorted to.

22. **GENERAL OF THE HORSE.** This was an extraordinary officer appointed by the dictator to assist him in the performance of his duty, and was next in dignity to himself. The office was created in U. C. 314.

23. **INTERREX.** The *interreges* were supreme magistrates who were first appointed on the death of Romulus to carry on the government until the election of a new king. An *interrex* was sometimes appointed during the consular government, but on this occasion their duty was to hold assemblies in the absence of the magistrates, or when the election of any of the acting officers was disputed.

24. **ASSEMBLIES OF THE PEOPLE.** An assembly of the whole Roman people, to give their vote on any subject was called *comitia*. There were three kinds of *comitia*; the *curiata*, the *centuriata*, and the *tributa*. The *comitia* were summoned by some magistrates to pass laws, to elect magistrates, to decide concerning peace and war, and to try persons guilty of great crimes.

25. The *comitia curiata*, consisted of an assembly of the resident citizens who were divided into thirty *curiæ*. They voted by *curiæ*, and a majority of these determined all matters of importance. 2d. The *comitia curiata* were the principal assemblies of the people in which they gave their votes, divided into the *centuries* of their classes, according to the census. At these *comitia*, the consuls, prætors, and censors were elected, the most important laws enacted, cases of high treason tried, and war declared. They met in the *Campus Martius* and every Roman citizen had a right to be present and to vote in their respective centuries. 3d. The

comitia tributa were an assembly in which the people voted divided into tribes, according to their wards. They were held to elect inferior magistrates, to elect certain priests, to make laws and hold trials.

26. The *comitia* continued to be assembled for upwards of 700 years, when that liberty was abridged by Julius Cæsar, and after him by Augustus, each of whom shared the right of creating magistrates with the people. Tiberius deprived the people altogether of the right of election.

27. **PRIESTS.** The ministers of religion did not form a distinct order from the Roman citizens, but were chosen from the most honourable men in the state. Some of the priests were common to all the gods; others were appropriated to a particular deity: of the former kind, the most important were the *pontifices*, the *augures*, the *haruspices*, the *quindecimviri*, and the *septemviri*; who were all subject to the *pontifex maximus*, or high priest, chosen by the people. The *pontifex maximus* held his office for life, and was a person of great dignity and authority.

28. The *augures* or *augurs*, were fifteen in number, and were of great authority. It was their office to foretell future events, to interpret dreams, oracles, prodigies, &c. The *haruspices* were priests whose office it was to look upon the beasts offered in sacrifice, to examine their entrails, &c. and to deduce from these the success of any enterprise.

29. The *quindecimviri* were fifteen priests who had the charge of the *Sibylline books*, which were three prophetic volumes, which were supposed to contain the fate of the Roman people, and which were deposited in a stone chest under the Capitol.

30. The *septemviri* were seven priests who prepared the sacred feasts at the games, processions, and other solemn occasions; and they were also assistants to the pontifices.

31. The priests of particular deities were called *Flamines*; the chief of them were the *Diales*, priests of Jupiter; the *Sulii*, priests of Mars; the *Luperci*, priests of Pan; the *Potitii*, priests of Hercules; the *Galli*, priests of Cybele; and the Vestal Virgins, consecrated to the worship of Vesta.

32. The Romans worshipped their gods in temples consecrated by the augurs; also in groves. Their worship consisted chiefly in prayer, vows, and sacrifice.

33. **FESTIVALS.** The Romans celebrated feasts in January in honour of Janus; in February were the *Lupercalia*, or feasts of Pan, and the *Feralia*, in honour of ghosts and spirits of the deceased; in March, the *Matronalia*, a feast kept by Roman matrons, and the *Quinquatria*, in honour of Minerva,

the *Saturnalia*, or the feasts of Saturn, the most famous of all the festivals. There were besides many other festivals.

34. GAMES. The shows exhibited in the *circus maximus* were chariot and horse races; contests of strength and agility; mock fights on horse-back; combats of wild beasts; representations of horse and foot battles; and *naumachia*, or mock naval battles.

35. GLADIATORS. The gladiators were persons who fought with weapons in a public circus or amphitheatre, for the amusement of the people. These combats were introduced about U. C. 400, and became a favourite entertainment. The combatants were, at first, composed of captives, slaves, and condemned malefactors, who were regularly trained for the combat; but in the more degenerate period of the empire, free-born citizens and even senators engaged in this disgraceful and dangerous amusement.

36. TRIUMPH. A triumph was the highest honour which could be obtained in the Roman state. It was decreed by the senate to a victorious general, for having conquered a province or gained some signal victory. The victorious general and his army advanced in procession from the Campus Martius, and passed through the most public streets of the city to the Capitol; the streets being strewed with flowers, and the altars smoking with incense. It was composed of musicians, oxen for sacrifice, carriages carrying the spoils taken from the enemy, the captive kings or leaders and their attendants, and after all the triumphant general, dressed in purple, embroidered with gold, with a crown of laurel upon his head, and other decorations.

37. DRESS. The most distinguishing parts of the Roman dress were the *toga* and the *tunica*. The toga, or gown, was worn by Roman citizens only, was loose and flowing, and covered the whole body; it had no sleeves, and was disposed in graceful folds, to give the wearer a majestic appearance. The *toga virilis* or manly gown, was assumed by young men at the age of seventeen years. The *tunica* or tunic, was a white woollen vest, which came down a little below the knees before, and to the middle of the leg behind, and was fastened tight about the waist by a girdle.

38. MEALS. The principal meal of the Romans was called *cena* or supper, which took place about three o'clock in the afternoon, and from the most simple became the most extravagant. Their ordinary drink at feasts was wine, which they mixed with water and sometimes with spices.

39. FORUM. The forum was the principal public place in the city. It was a large, oblong, open space, entirely surrounded with arched porticoes, within which were spacious

halls, called *basilicae*, where courts of justice might sit for the dispatch of business, and in the open space the assemblies of the people were held.

40. **CAMPUS MARTIUS.** The Campus Martius, or field of Mars, was a large plain, without the city, along the Tiber where the Roman youth practised all kinds of athletic exercises and sports, and learned the use of arms. It was adorned with the statues of famous men, and with triumphal arches, columns, porticoes, and other magnificent structures.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PROGRESS AND TERMINATION
OF THE
ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

*The subject—Supposed Origin of the Roman State—Its Government—
The King—Senate—People—Curia—Centuries—Tribes—Religion—
The Triumph—Census—Progress of the State under its Kings—Change
to a Republic.*

THE Roman State was originally a small principality, and one of the many little cantons, which, under the denomination of Latins, occupied the left of the Tiber, from its confluence with the Anio to the sea, and from Ostia to Circeii on the coast. Within this narrow tract, reaching in breadth inland no more than sixteen miles, and extending on the coast about fifty miles, the Latins are said to have formed no less than forty-seven independent states; each of whom had a separate capital or stronghold, to which they occasionally retired for safety, with their cattle and other effects, and from which they made frequent wars on each other. The country, divided into so many separate territories, we may consider as resembling some of the lately discovered islands in the Southern or Pacific Ocean, where every height is represented as a fortress, and every little township, that can maintain its possessions, as a separate state. Among settlements of this description, the Romans, though they were originally no way distinguished in point of possessions or numbers, yet, in consequence of some superiority of institution or character, came to have a decided ascendant.

Beyond the Tiber on the one hand, and the Liris on the

other, the contiguous parts of Italy were possessed, in the same manner with Latium, by different races of men, who, under various denominations of Etrurians, Samnites, Campanians, and others, formed a multiplicity of little nations, united by leagues for common safety, and ranged under opposite interests, with a view to some balance of power which they endeavoured to maintain. The peninsula towards one extremity, was from time immemorial peopled with Grecian colonies. Towards the other, it was, in the first ages of the Roman state, overrun by nations of Gaulish extraction.

The land throughout, in respect to situation, climate, and soil, was highly favoured, diversified with mountain and plain, well wooded and watered, replenished with useful materials, fit to yield pasture for numerous herds, and to produce abundance of corn, wine, and oil. And, what is still of more importance, was already become the flourishing nursery of ingenious men, ardent and vigorous in their pursuits, though, in respect to many arts and inventions, yet in a state of great simplicity or ignorance.

The Romans, who made their first step to dominion by becoming heads of the Latin confederacy, continued their progress to the sovereignty of Italy; or, after many struggles with nations possessed of resources similar to their own, united the forces of that country under their own direction, became the conquerors of many kingdoms in Asia and Africa, as well as in Europe; and formed an empire, if not the most extensive, at least the most splendid of any that is known in the history of mankind. In possession of this seeming advantage, however, they were unable to preserve their own institutions; they became, together with the conquests they had made, a prey to military government, and a signal example of the vicissitudes to which prosperous nations are exposed.

This mighty state, remarkable for the smallness of its origin, as well as for the greatness to which it attained, has, by the splendour of its national exertions, by the extent of its dominion, by the wisdom of its councils, or by its internal revolutions and reverses of fortune, ever been a principal object of history to all the more enlightened nations of the western world. To know it well, is to know mankind; and to have seen our species under the fairest aspect of great ability, integrity, and courage. There is a merit in attempting to promote the study of this subject, even if the effect should not correspond with the design.

Under this impression the following narrative was undertaken, and chiefly with a view to the great revolution, by

which the republican form of government was exchanged for despotism; and by which the Roman people, from being joint sovereigns of a great empire, became, together with their own provinces, the subjects, and often the prey, of a tyranny that was equally cruel to both.

The event which makes the principal object of this history, has been sometimes considered as a point of separation between two periods, which have been accordingly treated apart—the period of the republic, and that of the monarchy. During a considerable part of the first period, the Romans were highly distinguished by their genius, magnanimity, and national spirit, and made suitable attainments in what are the ordinary objects of pursuit—wealth and dominion. In the second period they continued for some time to profit by the attainments which were made in the former, and while they walked in the tract of the commonwealth, or practised the arts and retained the lessons which former ages had taught, still kept their possessions. But after the springs of political life, which were wound up in the republic, had some time ceased to act; when the state was become the concern of a single person, and the vestige of former movements were effaced, the national character declined, and the power of a great empire became unable to preserve what a small republic had acquired. The example, whether to be shunned or imitated, is certainly instructive in either period; but most so in the transition that was made from one to the other; and in the forfeiture of those public advantages, of which the Roman people, in some part of their course, availed themselves with so much distinction, and which, in the sequel, they abused with so much disorder at home, and oppression of their subjects abroad.

For this purpose, indeed, a general description of the state and its territory, such as they were in the beginning of this transaction, might have been sufficient; but as it is difficult to fix the precise point at which causes begin to operate, or at which effects are complete, I have indulged myself in looking back to the origin of this famous republic, whether real or fabulous, and shall leave the reader to determine, at what time he will suppose the period of authentic history to begin, or at what time he will suppose the causes of this revolution to operate, and to produce their effects.

The Romans are said to have made their settlement in the end of the sixth, or beginning of the seventh Olympiad, about two hundred years before the accession of Cyrus to the throne of Persia, seven hundred years before the Christian era, and long before the date of any authentic profane history whatever.

That the Roman state was originally a small one, and came by degrees to its greatness, cannot be doubted. So much we may safely admit on the faith of tradition, or in this instance infer, from the continuation and recent marks of a progress which the people were still making, after they became an object of observation to other nations, and after they began to keep records of their own: that they had been an assemblage of herdsmen and warriors, ignorant of letters, of money, and of commercial arts, inured to depredation and violence, and subsisting chiefly by the produce of their herds, and the spoils of their enemies, may be safely admitted; because we find them, in the most authentic parts of their history, supplying these defects, and coming forward in the same direction, and consequently proceeding from the same origin, with other rude nations; being in reality, a horde of ignorant barbarians, though likely to become an accomplished nation.

In the first accounts of their settlement, it is said that they mustered three thousand men on foot and three hundred on horseback. Their establishment being effected by surprise or by force, and their people consisting of armed men who had every acquisition to make at the expense of their neighbours, they were naturally in a state of war with the country around them. They took post on the Palatium, a small height on the Tiber, which, according to former traditions, had been previously occupied by five different races of men, who, in a country so precariously settled, were frequently changing their places. Their city was the first model of a Roman camp, fortified with a square breast-work and ditch, to serve as an occasional retreat to themselves and their cattle. Their leader, or chief, was the sole magistrate or officer, either civil or military. The members of the commonwealth were distinguished into different classes or ranks, under the names of patrician and plebeian, patron and client. "The patron," says Dionysius, "was to protect, to give counsel; and, whether present or absent, was to his clients what the father is to his family. The clients, in return, were to contribute to the support of their patron, to aid him in placing his children in marriage; and, in the case of his being taken by an enemy, were to pay his ransom; or of his being condemned in a fine, were to discharge it for him."

The limits of prerogative and privilege, as in other rude societies, were yet imperfectly marked. It was the prerogative of the king to lead in war, and to rule in peace. The people acknowledged him as their leader, or prince; but they themselves, as in other instances of the same kind,

were accustomed, on remarkable occasions, to assemble; and, without any concerted form of democracy, became the sovereign power, as often as their passions engaged them to act in a body. The superior class of the people as naturally came to have their meetings apart, and may have assembled frequently, when the occasion was not sufficient to require the attention of the whole. Hence probably the establishments of the senate and of the popular assemblies, which were called the *comitia*, and were both of so early a date as to be ascribed to the first of their kings.

Even this founder of the state, we are told, was distinguished by his ushers or lictors carrying before him the axe and the rods, as the emblems of his power, and the instruments of his justice. The names of the senators were entered in a list, and they were separately called to their meetings. Assemblies of the people were intimated by the sound of a horn. The citizens were distinguished into *curiæ*, centuries, and tribes—divisions under which they formed their several compartments, for military array, religious ceremonies, or political deliberations. When met to decide on any public question, each division apart collected the votes of its members, from thence formed a vote for the *curia* or century; and, by the majority of these, determined the whole. The *curiæ* were fraternities, or divisions of the people, which met for the performance of religious rites: each had its separate priest, and place of assembly. When the *curiæ* were called on matters of state, they retained part of their religious forms; opened their meeting with observing the auspices, or signs of futurity; and if these were unfavourable, could not proceed on business. The augurs, therefore, in this mode of assembly, had a negative on the proceedings of the people.

The centuries were formed on a more artful idea, to make power accompany wealth. The people were divided into classes, according to the rate of their fortunes: each class was divided into centuries; but the number of centuries in the different classes was so unequal, that those of the first or richest class made a majority of the whole; and when the centuries of this class were unanimous, they decided the question. By this institution, the rich were masters of the legislature, though not without some compensation to the poor, as the several classes were charged with taxes and public services, in the same proportion in which they were vested with power.

The people, when thus assembled, were distinguished in their classes by their ensigns and arms, and, though called together on political affairs, were termed the army.

In the first ages of this principality or commonwealth, the meetings of the people were held first by curiæ, and afterwards by centuries. The practice of voting by tribes was of a later date than either, and was the device of a popular party to exclude the auspices, to level the condition of ranks, and by these means to turn the channels of power in their own favour. The people were formed into their classes and centuries, to elect their officers, to enact laws, or to deliberate on their affairs of state; but they did not without struggle or contest always acquiesce in their mode of assembly. The poorer citizens often insisted to be called in the curiæ, and afterwards in the tribes, to decide on affairs which the rich would have referred to the centuries alone. The question on these occasions went to the foundation of the constitution, and implied a doubt whether the state was to be governed by the balance of numbers, or the balance of property.

To these original springs of the political frame may be joined those of religion, which in all governments must have a considerable force; and in this have always been supposed a principal power to regulate its movements. Here indeed, there being no distinction of clergy and laity, the authority of the statesman, augur, and priest, was united in the same persons, or in the same orders of men: and as, in the mind of every citizen, notwithstanding the high measure of his superstition, the sword of state was preferred to the altar, the politician and warrior availed himself of the respect which was paid to the priest, and made superstition itself subservient to the purposes of state.

The wants by which the Romans were impelled in the first state of their settlement, made it necessary for them to vanquish some of their neighbours, or to perish in the attempt. Valour, accordingly, in their estimation, was the principal quality of human nature, and the defeat of an enemy the chief of its fruits. Every leader who obtained a victory made his entry at Rome in procession; and this gave rise to the triumph, which continued, from the first to the last age of the commonwealth, to be the highest object of ambition.

To the other fortunate customs which may be traced up to those early times of the state, we may join that of the census, by which the people, at every period of five years, took a regular account of the numbers and estates of their citizens, as the best measure they could have of their own progress or decline, and the surest test of their policy and conduct as a nation.

The Romans reckoned in the first period of their history

a succession of seven kings, to each of whom they ascribed the invention of their several institutions. To Romulus, the mixed form of their government, the establishment of the senate and assemblies of the people, the ranks of patrician and plebeian, the relations of patron and client. To Numa, the religion of the people, and their regard to oaths. To Servius Tullius, the census, or periodical muster; and so on.—But whether we suppose these institutions to have been the suggestion of particular occasions, or the invention of ingenious men, directed by a deep premeditation of all their effects, there is no doubt that such institutions existed in very early times, and served as the foundation of that policy which distinguished the Roman state.

The monarchy of Rome is said to have lasted two hundred and forty-four years, a period in which the numbers of the people, and the extent of their settlement, had greatly increased. During this period, they had drawn many of their neighbours to Rome, and sent many of their own people to occupy settlements abroad. By the enrolment of aliens, they procured a certain increase of people; and by spreading their colonies around, they made acquisitions of territory, and extended the nursery of Roman citizens. We find, nevertheless, that, by the last part of this policy, they incurred a danger of losing the people whom they thus established or bred up in new settlements, however little removed from the metropolis. In departing from Rome, the colonists ceased to be enrolled in any tribe or ward of that city, or of its districts; or to be ranked in any class of the people. They ceased, of course, to be called upon to vote in any of the assemblies, which they no longer attended. The colony itself took a part in the discontents of the people they were sent to restrain, and became parties with the vanquished in their quarrel with the victors. But, notwithstanding frequent instances of this sort among the Roman colonies, the memory of their descent and the ties of consanguinity, the pride of their distinction as Romans, the capacity which every colonist retained of returning to Rome, and of being reinstated in the rolls of the people, for the most part preserved their attachment to Rome, and made them still a part of her strength, and a principal source of her greatness.

During this period of the kingly government, the numbers that were enrolled in the city and its territory increased from three thousand and two hundred to eighty thousand men of an age fit to carry arms. The number of Roman tribes or wards of the city was augmented from three to twenty-one. The kingdom itself extended over

the greater part of Latium, and had an intimate alliance with the whole of it. The city of Rome was become the principal resort of all the Latin confederates, the place of their meetings for devotion or pleasure, and the seat of their political consultations.

To accommodate and secure this populous and growing community, several of the heights contiguous to their original settlement were, during the same period, successively occupied, the marshes between them were drained by excavations and works of great magnificence, of which a considerable part is still entire. The city itself, instead of an earthen rampart, was surrounded with towers and battlements of hewn stone.

So far it appears, that while every successive prince gratified his own ambition by subduing some neighbouring district or village, and brought an accession of riches or territory to his country, the genius of monarchy was favourable to the growth of this rising empire. But when princes became satiated with conquests abroad, their ambition took a different direction, and led them to aim at making the kingdom hereditary, and the people more subservient to their pleasure. Under this direction of the monarch's ambition, a revolution became necessary, in order to preserve the state in its former progressive course.

Such a revolution, we are told, took its rise from the resentments of the people, excited by abuses of power, and was hastened by a momentary indignation, roused by an insult offered by a son of the king to a Roman matron.*

The principal part of the revolution consisted in substituting the consuls, two annual magistrates, in place of the king. These officers were chosen in the assembly of the centuries. The officer who was to preside at the election erected his standard, and pitched his tent in the field of Mars, a meadow which lay on the banks of the Tiber, above the city. The people repaired to him in arms, and distinguished by the ensigns and armour of their different classes, proceeded to make their election.

It was meant that the consuls should succeed to all the powers of the king; and in order to enforce their authority, a penalty of five oxen and two sheep was denounced against every person who refused to obey them. Their joint and divided command, with the limited term of one year, which was to be the duration of their power, were thought sufficient securities against the abuse of it.

The government, by this revolution, devolved on the

senate and nobles. The plebeians, in the first formation of it, were favoured by the admission of a certain number of their order to fill up the senate, which had been reduced in its numbers by the tyranny of the late king; and they were declared, in case of any oppression, to have a right of appeal from any sentence or command of the magistrate to an assembly of the people at large. This was understood to be the great charter of every citizen. But the patricians alone could be chosen into the newly established offices of state. They alone were to furnish the ordinary succession of members to the senate, and, by their enrolment in the first and second classes, to have a decided majority in all the meetings or *comitia* of the centuries.

CHAP. II.

Form of the Republic—Disension of Parties—First Dictator—Secession of Plebeians—Tribunes of the People—Their Objects—Distribution of Corn—Division of Lands—Pretensions of the Plebeians—Commission to compile Laws—Decemvirs—Twelve Tables—Intermarriages of Ranks—Claim of the Plebeians to the Consulate—Military or Consul's Tribunes—Censors—Ediles—Præfectus Annonæ—Fortune of the Republic—Reduction of Veis—Destruction of Rome by the Gauls—Rebuilding of the City.

THE government of Rome, as it is represented after the expulsion of the king, was become entirely aristocratical.* The nobles had the exclusive possession of office, without any third party to hold the balance between themselves and the people. The consuls were the sole executive magistrates, and united in their own persons all the dignities of the state, those of *judge, magistrate, and military leader.*

Such, at the first institution of the commonwealth, was, both in respect of government and manners, the simplicity or rudeness of this community. The people, however, in their new situation, were gradually and speedily led, by the accumulation of their affairs, by the contests of their parties, and by the wants of the public, to a variety of establishments in which they separated the departments of state, more equally distributed its powers, filled up the lists of office, and put themselves in a posture to wield with advantage their strength as it increased, and to avail themselves of every circumstance that occurred in their favour.

While the exiled king was endeavouring, by continual

invasions, to recover his power, disputes arose between the parties who had joined to expel him; creditors, supported by the aristocracy, of which the nobles were now in full possession, became severe in the exaction of debts, or the patrons laid claim to more than the clients were willing to pay. The state was distracted at once by its enemies from abroad, and by the dissension of parties at home. The authority of the new government not being sufficient to contend with these difficulties, the senate resolved to place themselves and the commonwealth, for a limited time, under the power of a single person, who, with the title of Dictator, or Master of the people, should at his pleasure dispose of the state, and of all its resources.*

This officer was invested with power to punish the disorderly without trial and without appeal; to arm the people, and to employ their forces on any service; to name his own substitute, or second in command; and to act without being, even at the expiration of his office, accountable either to the senate or to the people. The circumstances that were probably accidental in the first nomination of this extraordinary officer, were afterwards repeated as unalterable forms in every successive appointment of the same kind. It became the prerogative of the senate to resolve that a dictator should be named, and of the consul to name him. The ceremony was performed in the dead of night; and as soon as the nomination was known, the lictors, or ministers of justice, armed with their axes and rods, withdrew from the ordinary magistrate, to attend this temporary lord of the commonwealth.

This institution was devised by the senate, to repress the disorders which broke out among the people, and to unite the forces of the commonwealth against its enemies. The next was of a different nature, and was meant to protect the plebeians against the oppression of their lords.

The inferior class of the people, almost excluded from any share in the new government, soon found that under its influence they had more oppression to fear from their patrons, than they had ever experienced from the prince they had banished. For, upon the death of the king, and the security which the new government derived from this event, the nobles availed themselves of their power, and enforced their claims on the people with extreme severity. In the capacity of creditors, they imprisoned, whipped, and enlaved those who were indebted to them, and held the

* U. C. 452 or 453.—The date of the nomination of the first dictator is uncertain. Liv. lib. ii. Some place it nine years after the expulsion of the kings; Dionys. twelve years.

liberties and the lives of their fellow-citizens at their mercy. The whole body of plebeians was alarmed; and many who had already suffered under the rod of their creditors, when called upon to enlist, showed their limbs galled with fetters, or torn with the stripes which they had received by command of their merciless patrons.

These distractions, joined to the actual presence of a foreign enemy, obliged the senate to have recourse to their former expedient, and to intrust the republic again in the hands of a dictator. Having succeeded in their first nomination, and having driven the enemy from their territories, they recurred to the same expedient again, on the return of a like occasion; but, in order to mix insinuation with the terrors of this measure, they made choice of Valerius, a person whose name was already known to the sufferers by some popular laws which they owed to his family. This officer had credit enough with the people to prevail on them to take arms, and had the good fortune to repel the enemy, by whom the state was invaded; but, upon his return, not being able to prevail on the senate to fulfil the hopes which he had given to the people, he made a speech to exculpate himself, and laid down his power. The citizens who had fought under his banner, being still in the field, and, without any orders to disband, suspecting that the senate, under pretence of some war on the frontier, meant to remove them from the city, ran to their arms, retired beyond the Anio, and took possession of a height about three miles from Rome, afterwards known by the name of the Sacred Hill. Their officers followed, and endeavoured to persuade them to return to their duty; but were told, that no duty was owing to a government which had withdrawn its protection, and encouraged oppression; that free citizens own no country in which they are not permitted to enjoy their freedom.

This secession of a great body of the people having continued for several months, and in this time received a constant accession of numbers from the city and from the contiguous fields, threw the republic into the greatest disorder; exposed its lands to be neglected or pillaged by its own inhabitants, and ravaged by numerous enemies, who took this opportunity to invade it without opposition.

The patricians had sufficient force in their own body, and in that of their faithful retainers, to guard the avenues of the city, and to secure it from surprise: but being reduced to great difficulties for want of their usual supplies of provisions, and apprehending still greater from the interruption of labour and the suspension of government, they

came to a resolution to negotiate with the leaders of the mutiny; and agreed to mitigate the severities which they had hitherto practised against insolvent debtors, and to release such of them as were actually in bonds, or had been destined to slavery.

With these concessions, a deputation was sent to the camp, and a negotiation was opened, in which the plebeians obtained, not only a full acknowledgment of their privileges, but, what was of more consequence, a power of forming assemblies apart from the nobles, and of electing annual magistrates, to guard and watch over their own separate rights. "Your consuls," they said, "are not so much the officers of the commonwealth as the heads of a faction; and, in all questions that relate to the people, are parties rather than judges. It is reasonable that we too have a head or representation in the commonwealth, under which we may act, at least, in our own defence."

In return to this well-advised and specious requisition, the tribunitian power was established, and with it the foundations of some good, and of much harm laid in the commonwealth.* The people were allowed to assemble; and, instead of a representation to support and preserve their rights with steadiness and with moderation, they proceeded to elect a few leaders, who from thenceforward, were to head every popular tumult, and to raise up every wind of contention into a storm.

The tribunes were authorized, at their first institution, to forbid, or to restrain, any measures which they thought hazardous, or injurious to the rights of their constituents, but not to propose any law, nor to move any positive resolution. They were not entitled to exercise their powers beyond the walls of the city, or to absent themselves from it for a whole day, except in their attendance on the festival of the Latin allies, where the presence of all the Roman magistrates was required. A single tribune might stop the proceedings of his own body, and of the people themselves, as well as the proceedings of the senate and patrician magistrates. In the exercise of this last part of their trust, though not permitted in this age of aristocracy to mix with the senators, they had places assigned them at the doors of the senate-house, from which, as from a watch-tower, they were to observe, and on occasion to stop, the proceedings of the lords.

As the tribunes were destined to withstand the exertions of power, and were supposed, on the most dangerous occa-

* U C. 230.

sions, to expose themselves to the axe and the sword of their adversaries, it was thought necessary to guard their persons with the most sacred fences of religion and law. For this purpose an inviolable rule was prescribed in the following terms: "Let no one offer violence to the person of a tribune; neither kill him, nor procure him to be killed; neither strike him, nor procure him to be struck. Let the person who offends against this law be accursed; let his effects be made sacred to pious uses, and let every one pursue him to death."

To render this act irrevocable, a solemn oath for the perpetual observance of it was imposed, and dreadful imprecations were denounced against any person who should propose to repeal it.

The college of tribunes, at its institution, was not limited to any precise number of members; it consisted at first of such persons as had been most active in procuring the establishment, and continued to be filled with the most zealous partisans of the people, the number being three or more, according as persons appeared to merit this honour. But in process of time both the plebeians who aspired to this distinction, and the patricians who were jealous of it, conspired to augment the numbers.—The first, in order to make way for their own preferment; and the second, to the end that they might be the better enabled, on occasion, to disunite their enemies, and to procure the negative of a part, to arrest the proceedings of the whole. The college of tribunes was accordingly augmented by degrees to ten; and a law was made to provide that the elections should not stop short of this number.

Patricians could neither elect nor be elected into this office, although in the midst of irregularities incident to all unformed, especially to all popular governments, some exceptions are mentioned, even to the last part of this rule. The tribunes were at first elected in the assembly of the *curiæ*, where the vote of the poorest citizen was equal to that of the most wealthy. But it was thought necessary to alter the form of the assembly in which the tribunes were elected to that of the tribes; and by this means to enable the people to make their election, without any control from the nobles, either in virtue of the authority of the senate, or the interposition of the augurs.

Such was the institution of the plebeian tribunes, while the state yet knew of no other magistrate besides the consuls and the *questors*, of whom the last, even under the kings, had been employed as a species of commissaries, or providers for the army. The expedient was adopted by

the senate, to quiet the animosity of parties; but tended, in fact, only to render the contest between them more equal, and to multiply the subjects of dispute. The tribunes being vested with power to assemble the people, could not long be confined to the mere negative with which they were at first intrusted; nor was it easy, on every occasion, to distinguish the measures of attack from those of defence; and the party of the plebeians, with these officers at their head, were then in a posture, not only to preserve their rights, but likewise to gain to their order continual accessions of privilege and power. Happily for the state, there was yet much ground of this sort to be gained, without transgressing the bounds of good order, or encroaching on the authority of equitable government.

The popular leaders in this career had to break through the bar of hereditary distinction, which it was pretended, contrary to the genius of the republic, that no personal merit and no measure of ability could remove. One of the first steps they made in pursuit of this object, was to preclude every other power in the state from a negative on their own proceedings. For this purpose it was enacted, by the authority of the tribes, that no one, under pain of death, or of an arbitrary fine, should interrupt a tribune while he was speaking to the people.

In order to increase the number of plebeian officers, whose aid the tribunes alleged were necessary to themselves, they, soon after their own institution, procured that of the ediles, who were to inspect the markets, and have charge of the public buildings and public shows.* Being subordinate to the tribunes, as well as to the consuls, they acted, upon occasion, in what related to the policy of the town, as assistants to both.

As Rome was a place of arms, and subsisted in some measure by public magazines; as settlements won from the enemy were often to be disposed of to citizens; as its institutions were yet new and incomplete; and as the patricians still claimed an exclusive right to all the offices of state, there was much to occupy the cares of the public—the distribution of corn from the granaries, the division of conquered lands, the defects of the laws, and the arbitrary proceedings of the magistrates. The qualifications of candidates for the office of consul furnished, during some ages, the subject of continual debates, and frequently exposed the parties concerned in them, if they escaped the swords of their enemies, to perish by their own dissensions. Their

* U. C. 260.

civil and military transactions were constantly blended together. The senate frequently involved the state in war, in order to suspend its intestine divisions, and the people as often took occasion, from the difficulties in which the community was involved by its enemies, to extort a compliance with their own demands.

The first subject of contention that arose after the institution of the tribunes, was a sequel of the troubles which had preceded that establishment. The secession of the people took place in autumn, the usual seed-time in Italy; and the labours of that season having been accordingly interrupted, the city was threatened with famine; and the senate exerted all its industry in guarding against this evil. After the public granaries were filled for this purpose, it became a question, upon what terms, and at what price, the poorer citizens should be supplied from thence. Their insolence in the late mutiny, and the part which they themselves, by suspending the labours of the field, had taken, in bringing on the distress with which they were now threatened, were fully stated against them in this deliberation. The opportunity was thought to be fair, to recal the several concessions which had been extorted from the senate, and, in particular, to oblige the people to part with their tribunes, and to return within the former bounds of their duty.

Such was the substance of a contumelious speech, delivered in the senate by the celebrated Caius Marcius Coriolanus. The younger nobility applauded his sentiments; but the greater part of the senate, having recently escaped from a popular storm, were unwilling to engage themselves anew in the same dangerous situation. In order, therefore, to appease the people, who were greatly incensed at the proposal which had been made to subdue them, they agreed to deliver corn from the public granaries, at a price below that of the most plentiful season; and, by this proceeding, for the present pacified the tribunes, but flattered their presumption, and encouraged them to meditate still further demands. The distress with which their constituents had been threatened was prevented, but the insult they had received from Caius Marcius was not avenged; and they cited him to appear before the tribunal of the people, to answer for his conduct to the party he had offended. The senate and patricians were disposed to protect him; but, trusting that by the majority of their votes they might be able to acquit him in the *comitia* of the centuries, the only assembly before which, from the time of its first institution, any capital charge had been hitherto laid against a citizen, they suffered the trial to proceed. In this, however, they

were disappointed. The tribunes insisted, that the people should assemble in their tribes: and having prevailed in this previous question, the accused, as being already condemned by this determination relating to the form of his trial, withdrew from his sentence.

Coriolanus, in resentment of this prosecution, which forced him into exile, joined the enemies of his country, and by increasing the alarm of war from abroad, helped to suspend for a while the animosities of which he himself had furnished the occasion at home.* The contest in which he had engaged the parties, ended with his own exile, and was not attended with any other political effects; but it merits a place in these observations, as a proof of the great influence which the plebeian party, under its new leaders, had acquired, and as an evidence of the singular state of the Roman policy, by which, in the uncertain choice of different modes of assembly, the very form of the government was left undetermined, until the occasion occurred on which this government was to act.

The calm which the approach of Coriolanus, at the head of an army of Volsci, produced within the city, was of no longer duration than the alarm which produced it. As soon as the external enemy withdrew, the parties within resumed their disputes; but on a subject which was still more important than that which had recently employed them; and which, continuing to be moved at intervals, served to the last hour of the republic as an object of popular zeal, or furnished a specious pretence, which ambitious and designing men continually employed, to captivate the ears of the populace. This was the most popular of all propositions—an equal division of land property, known by the name of the agrarian law.

While the Romans were making their first acquisitions of territory, their conquests were understood to be made for the people, and were accordingly divided among them, or given to those who had not a sufficient provision for the subsistence of their families. But of late, during a considerable period, while the republic barely withstood the attacks of the exiled king, or recovered the losses sustained in the wars with the numerous enemies that supported him, she had either made few acquisitions of this sort, or, suitably to the growing disparity of ranks, which, though not necessary in very small republics, becomes so in proportion as nations extend, suffered the conquered lands to pass by connivance, occupancy, or purchase, into the hands of power-

* U. C. 262.

ful citizens, who made use of these opportunities to appropriate estates to themselves.

The tribunes had not yet begun to make their complaints on this subject, when they were anticipated by the consul Sp. Cassius.* He affected great zeal for the rights of the people, and proportional indignation against their oppressors. He complained, in particular, of the improper use which had been recently made of the conquered lands, by suffering them to become the property of persons who were already too rich. Having himself made some conquests, he showed how the lands of the republic ought to have been disposed of, by making an equal division of his own acquisitions among the more indigent citizens. He obtained an act of the people to appoint three commissioners to inquire into the abuses which had been committed in the disposal of lands acquired from the enemy, and to consider of the proper corrections.

The senate, and the patricians in general, were greatly alarmed; most of them had possessions that seemed to fall within the object of this inquiry. The popular party alleged, that conquered lands being acquired by the joint labours, and at the common hazard, of all the people, should be equally divided among them. The patricians contended, that these levelling principles led to confusion and anarchy; that, in a state of which all the territory was actually, and within a few centuries, acquired by conquest, these maxims could not be applied without the subversion of government, as well as of property.

In this contest Cassius appeared to have the advantage of numbers on his side; and if he had confined his views to the division of lands, under which he was said to disguise a more dangerous intention, the senate and nobles must have at least devised considerable settlements for the people, in order to elude his demands. But while Cassius alarmed the rich with danger to their property, he at the same time alarmed every citizen with danger to his personal consequence, by offering the freedom of the city to every alien, who, at his summons, crowded from all the cantons of Latium to vote in the assemblies of the Roman people. His colleague opposed this measure, and the city, for the present, was saved from the intrusion of strangers. The attempt, however, gave offence to the people, as well as to the senate; and the unhappy author of it, in order to regain the favour of his party, proposed a resolution, not only to make a gratuitous distribution of corn, but even to refund

* U. C. 267.

what had been formerly paid by any citizen at the public granaries. This proposal too was interpreted to his prejudice, and raised a suspicion that he meant, with the aid of aliens and of indigent citizens, to usurp the government. On this supposition all parties in the state combined against him, and he was condemned to suffer the punishment of treason.

The tribunes had no sooner accomplished the ruin of Cassius, in which they concurred with the senate, than they insisted for the execution of the law he had framed, and for the nomination of three commissioners already resolved on, for the division of conquered lands. They protected the people in refusing to serve the state in its wars, until this demand should be granted. And having absolute and irresistible power to stop all proceedings in the city, they prevented all military levies within the walls, obliged the consuls, during a certain period, to erect their standard in the country, and there to force the herdsman and labourer to enlist, by driving away the cattle, and distraining the effects of those who were unwilling to obey them.

In the issue of these contests, the senate despairing of being able to divert the people from their purpose, agreed to the nomination of three commissioners, who should be sent into Greece to make a collection of such laws as, being found salutary in that country, might be transferred to Rome. Soon after the return of the commissioners, the senate approved their report, and concurred in the nomination of the famous decemvirs to compile a body of laws for the commonwealth.

The decemvirs were appointed merely to make the draft of a new code, and to propose matter for the consideration of the senate and people,* from whom alone the propositions could receive the authority of laws; yet the persons named for this purpose, as the history bears, had credit enough with the people to be vested with a temporary sovereignty, in which they superseded the authority of the senate, as well as that of the consuls, and had unlimited power over the lives and fortunes of their fellow-citizens. Before their commission expired, they presented a number of laws, engraven on ten tables or plates, and containing a summary of the privileges to be enjoyed by the people, of the crimes to be punished by the magistrate, and of the forms to be observed in all judicial proceedings. They at the same time, informed the people, that their plan was still incomplete that many useful additions were yet to be made; and,

* U. C. 302.

upon the faith of these declarations, obtained for another year the renewal of their powers, with a change of some of the persons who were named in the commission.

In this second year of the decemvirs' appointment, two more tables or plates were added to the former ten; a circumstance from which this part of the Roman law has derived its name. This supplement, as well as the former body of laws, was received with great avidity, and the twelve tables continued to be respected at Rome, as the ancient titles by which men are supposed to hold any valuable rights are revered in all nations. No complete copy of them being transmitted to modern times, we cannot fully judge of their value; but, from the fragments remaining in authors that occasionally cite them, this code appears, in some clauses, to have been a first draft of the regulations which are necessary in the establishment of property, and in making private parties answerable to public judicatures in all their disputes.—The property of land was established by a fair prescription of two years, and that of other effects by a prescription of one year.—Any controversy concerning the boundaries of land property was to be determined by arbiters or jurymen appointed by the magistrate.—Parties cited to a court of justice were not at liberty to decline attendance.—Judgment in capital cases was competent only to the assembly of the people in their centuries; but this supreme tribunal might delegate its powers by a special commission.

The ardour of the people to obtain this code, and the unlimited powers which they intrusted to the commissioners appointed to frame it, had nearly cost them their liberty; and thus ended the progress of their commonwealth. The two additional tables, as well as the first ten, having been posted up for public inspection, and having been formally enacted by the senate and people, the object of the decemvirs' commission was obtained, and it was expected that they were to abdicate their power; but the principal persons vested with this trust, having procured it with a view to usurp the government, or being debauched by two years' uncontrolled dominion in the possession of it, refused to withdraw from their station, and boldly ventured to persist in the exercise of their power after the time for which it was given had elapsed. At Rome the power of the magistrate was supposed to determine by his own resignation, and the republic might suffer a peculiar inconveniency from the obstinacy of particular persons, who continued to exercise the functions of office after the period assigned them by law was expired.

The decemvirs took advantage of this defect in the constitution, continued the exercise of their power beyond the period for which it was given, took measures to prevent the restoration of the senate and the assemblies of the people, or the election of ordinary magistrates, and, even without employing much artifice, got the people to acquiesce in their usurpation, as an evil which could not be remedied; and the usurpers, in this as in other instances, seemed to meet with a submission that was proportioned to the confidence with which they assumed their power. The wrongs of the state appeared to make little impression on parties who had an equal concern to prevent them; but a barbarous insult offered to a private family rekindled or gave occasion to the breaking out of a flame, which injuries of a more public nature only seemed to have smothered.

Appius Claudius, one of the usurpers, being captivated with the beauty of Virginia, the child of an honourable family, and already betrothed to a person of her own condition, endeavoured to make himself master of her person, by depriving her at once of her parentage and of her liberty. For this purpose, under pretence that she had been born in servitude, and that she had been stolen away in her infancy, he suborned a person to claim her as his slave. The decemvir himself being judge in this iniquitous suit, gave judgment against the helpless party, and ordered her to be removed to the house of the person by whom she was claimed. In this affecting scene, the father, under pretence of bidding a last farewell to his child, came forward to embrace her; and, in the presence of the multitude, having then no other means to preserve her honour, he availed himself of the prerogative of a Roman father, and stabbed her to the heart with a knife. A general indignation instantly arose from this piteous sight, and all parties concurred, as at the expulsion of the Tarquins, to deliver the republic from so hateful a tyranny.*

The senate and patrician administration being re-established by the cheerful concurrence of the plebeians, and the former government restored with the consent of all parties, a tide of mutual confidence ensued, which led to the choice of the most popular persons into the office of consul, and procured a ready assent from the nobles to every measure which tended to gratify the people.

The danger which had been recently experienced from the exercise of uncommon discretionary powers, produced a resolution to forbid, under the severest penalties of con-

* U. C. 304.

fiscation and death, any person ever to propose the granting of any such powers. The consecration of the persons of the tribunes, which, under the late usurpation, had almost lost its effect, was now renewed, and extended, though in a meaner degree, to the ediles and inferior officers, who were supposed to act under the tribunes in preserving the rights of the people.

The patricians likewise consented to have the acts of the senate formally recorded, placed in the temple of Ceres, and committed to the care of the ediles. This was in fact a considerable diminution of the power of the consuls, who had been hitherto considered as the keepers and interpreters of the senate's decrees, and who had often suppressed or carried into execution the acts of this body at pleasure.

But the most striking effect, ascribed to the present unanimity of the citizens, was the ease with which the plebeian assemblies were permitted to extend the authority of their acts to all the different orders of the commonwealth.*

Equity and sound policy required that the plebeians should have a voice in the legislature of a commonwealth of which they made so considerable a part. This privilege appeared to be necessary, in order to secure them against the partial influence of a separate number of men. They accordingly obtained it; but in a manner that tended to disjoin, rather than to unite into one body, the collateral members of the state. Instead of a deliberative voice, by which they might concur with the senate and *comitia* of the centuries, or by which they might control and amend their decrees, they obtained for themselves a separate and independent power of legislation, by which, as a counterpoise to the patrician acts, which might pass in the centuries without their concurrence, they could, on their part, and without the presence or consent of the nobles, make plebeian acts that could equally bind the whole community.†

So far animosity to the late usurpation had united all orders of men in the measures that followed the expulsion of the decemvirs; but the spirit of cordiality did not long survive the sense of those injuries, and that resentment to a common enemy from which this transient unanimity arose. The plebeians had removed some part of the establishment, in which the patricians were unequally favoured; but they bore with the greater impatience the inequalities which remained, and by which they were still condemned to act a subordinate part in the commonwealth. They were still excluded from the office of consul, and from that

* U. C. 304.

† U. C. 304.

of the priesthood. They were debarred from intermarriage with the nobles by an express law, which had been enacted, lest the sexes from the passion, forgetting distinctions, should in this manner unite their different ranks; but being now, in some measure, by the late act in favour of the *comitia* of the tribes, become joint or rival sovereigns of the state, they could not long acquiesce in these unequal conditions.

A few years after the restoration of the commonwealth, Canuleius, a plebeian, being one of the tribunes, moved the celebrated act which bears his name, to repeal the clause of the twelve tables which prohibited the intermarriage of patricians and plebeians.* The other nine tribunes joined at the same time in a claim of more importance—that the office of consul should be laid open to all the different orders of the commonwealth, and might be held by plebeians, as well as patricians. The senate and the whole order of nobles, having for some time, by delays, and by involving the state, as usual, in foreign wars, endeavoured to suspend the determination of these questions, were at length obliged to gratify the people in the less material part of their pretensions respecting the intermarriage of different ranks, in order, if possible, to pacify them on the refusal of the more important claim.

To elude their demands on this material point, it was observed, that of the sacrifices and other duties belonging to the priesthood, which, by the sacred laws of religion, could be performed only by persons of noble birth, many were to be performed by the consul, and could not, without profanation, be committed to any person of plebeian extraction; and that, by this consideration alone, the plebeians must be for ever excluded from the dignity of consul. Superstition, for the most part, being founded on custom alone, no change can be made in the custom, without appearing to destroy the religion that is founded upon it. This difficulty accordingly put a stop for a while, to the hasty pace with which the plebeians advanced to the consulate: but this obstruction was at length removed, as many difficulties are removed in human affairs, by a slight evasion, and by the mere change of a name.† The title of consul being changed for that of military tribune, and no sacerdotal function being included in the duties of this office, plebeians, though not qualified to be consuls, were allowed to offer themselves as candidates, and to be elected military tribunes with consular power. In this manner the supposed profanation was avoided, and plebeians were allowed to be qualified for the highest office of the state.

* U. C. 308.

† U. C. 309.

Together with the separation of the military and sacerdotal functions, which took place on this occasion, another change, more permanent and of greater moment was effected. Ever since the institution of the census, or muster, the enrolment of the people was became a principal object of the executive power. In the first ages it belonged to the king, together with all the other functions of state. In the sequel, it devolved on the consuls; and they accordingly, at every period of five years, by the rules of this office, could dispose of every citizen's rank, assign him his class, place him in the rolls of the senate, or on that of the knights, or strike him off from either; and, by charging him with all the burdens of a subject, while they stripped him of the privileges of a citizen, deprive him at once of his political consequence, and of his state as a Roman.

These regulations were accordingly enforced, not held up into public view merely to awe the people. The magistrate actually took an account of the citizen's estate, inquired into his character, and assigned him his place; promoted him to the senate or to the knighthood; degraded or disfranchised, according as he judged the party worthy or unworthy of his freedom, of the rank which he held, or of that to which he aspired, in the commonwealth.

So important a trust committed to the discretion of an officer elected for a different purpose, took its rise in the simplicity of a rude age; but continued for a considerable period without any flagrant examples of abuse. It was, nevertheless, that branch of the consular magistracy which the patricians were least willing to communicate or to share with the plebeians. While they admitted them, therefore, to be elected tribunes with consular power, they stipulated, that the charge of presiding in the census, or musters, should be disjoined from it; and that, under the title of censors, this charge should remain with persons of patrician birth.* They contended for this separation, not with a professed intention to reserve the office of censor to their own order, but under pretence that persons invested with the consular power, being so frequently employed in the field against the enemies of the commonwealth, could not attend to the affairs of the city, or perform all the duties of censor at their regular periods.

The number of censors, like that of the consuls, was limited to two; but that of the consular tribunes was left undetermined, and at successive elections was augmented from three to eight. This has given occasion to some historians,

* U. C. 310.

who are quoted by Livy, to ascribe the institution of this office, not to the importunity of the plebeian party, but to the exigencies of the state; which being assailed by numerous enemies, and not having as yet devised the method of multiplying commanders, under the titles of proconsul, were led to substitute officers of a different denomination, whose numbers might be increased at discretion. It is indeed probable, that, in the progress of this government, new institutions, and the separation of departments, were suggested no less by the multiplicity of growing affairs, than by the pretensions of party, or by the ambition of separate pretenders to power. In the first of those ways, we are led to account for the institution of the plebeian ediles, already mentioned; for that of the *præfectus annonæ*, or inspectors of the markets, together with the additions that were, in the course of these changes, continually made to the number of *quæstors*.

The *quæstors* had been long established at Rome; they had charge of the public funds, and followed the kings and the consuls as commissaries or provisors in the field. During the busy period which we have been now considering, their number was augmented from two to four; and the places were filled, for the most part, with patricians, though not limited to persons of this rank.*

The *præfectus annonæ*, or inspector of the markets, was an officer occasionally named, on a prospect of scarcity, to guard against famine, and to provide for the wants of the people. Rome was in fact a place of arms, or a military station, often depending as much for subsistence on the foresight and care of its officers, as on the course of its ordinary markets. Without a proper attention to this particular on the part of the state, the people were exposed to suffer from scarcity. On the approaches of famine, they became mutinous and disorderly, and were ready to barter their freedom, and the constitution of their country, for bread. During the famine which first suggested the separation of this trust from that of the ordinary officers of state, Sp. Mælius, a Roman knight, being possessed of great wealth, engrossed great quantities of corn; and having it in his power to supply the wants of the poor, endeavoured to form a dangerous party among them, and by their means, to raise himself to the head of the commonwealth.† The senate took the alarm, and, as in the most dangerous crisis of the state, had recourse to the nomination of a dictator, and appointed the aged Cincinnatus to that office. Mælius being cited to appear before him, and having refused to answer, was put to death.‡

* U. C. 333.

† U. C. 313.

‡ U. C. 314.

The care of supplying the people with corn, which had been at this time committed to L. Minucius, was from thenceforward intrusted to citizens of the first rank, and the office itself became necessary in the political establishment of the commonwealth.

Hitherto we have considered the Roman Republic as a scene of mere political deliberations and councils, prepared for contention, and seemingly unable to exert any united strength. The state, however, presented itself to the nations around it under a very different aspect, as a horde of warriors, who had made and preserved their acquisitions by force, and who never betrayed any signs of weakness in the foreign wars they had to maintain.

In their transition from monarchy to republic, indeed, there seems to have been a temporary intermission of national exertions. Private citizens, annually raised to the head of the republic, did not with their elevation acquire the dignity of princes; they did not command the same respect from their fellow-citizens at home, nor had the same consideration from rival nations abroad. The frequent dissensions of the people seemed to render them an easy prey to their enemies. During the life of Tarquin many powers united against them in behalf of the exiled king. They were stripped of their territory, confined to the walls of their city, and deserted by their allies. The fortune of the state seemed to fall with its monarchy. The event, however, belied these appearances, and the power of the annual magistracy soon became more formidable abroad, though less awful at home, than that of the monarch. The republican government sought for respite from domestic trouble in the midst of foreign war, and the forces of the state, instead of being restrained, were impelled into action by intestine divisions. The ambition with which the lower ranks of the people endeavoured to watch their superiors, the solicitude with which the higher order endeavoured to preserve its distinction, the exercise of ability which, in this contest, was common to both, enabled them to act against foreign enemies with a spirit that was whetted, but not worn out, in their domestic quarrels.

Under the influence of councils fertile in the invention of military distinctions, and in armies of which the soldier was roused by many incentives to military ambition, the frequent change of commanders, which is commonly impolitic, proved a perpetual renovation of the ardour and spirit with which armies were led. In public deliberations on the subject of war, the vehement ambition of individuals proved a continual incentive to vigorous resolutions, by which the state not

only soon recovered the consequence which it seemed to have lost in its transition from monarchy, but was speedily enabled to improve upon all its former advantages, as head of the Latin confederacy; frequently to vanquish the Sabines, the Hernici, the Volsci, and Etruscans, and, in about a hundred years after the expulsion of Tarquin, to extend its dominion greatly beyond the territories which had been in the possession of that prince. In one direction, from Falerium to Anxur, about sixty miles; and in the other, from the summits of the Apennines to the sea: and Rome, the metropolis of this little empire, was become, with a few competitors, one of the principal states of Italy.*

The first and nearest object of its emulation at this period was Veïæ, an Etruscan principality, of which the capital, situated about nine miles from Rome, was built on an eminence, and secured by precipices.

The Romans, even before the change of their government from the form of a principality to that of a republic, had been in possession of the Tiber, and both its banks; but on the right of this river were still circumscribed by the Veïantes, with whom they had waged long and desperate wars; and, as may be supposed among rivals in so close a neighbourhood, with imminent danger to both. Veïæ, according to Dionysius, was equal in extent to Athens, and like the other Etruscan cantons, was further advanced than Rome in the arts of peace, probably better provided with the resources of war, but inferior in the magnanimity of its councils and in the courage of its people. The Veïantes being, after a variety of struggles, beat from the field, they retired within their walls, suffered themselves to be invested, and underwent a siege or blockade of ten years. The Romans, in order to reduce them, continued during those ten years in the field, without any interruption or distinction of seasons; made secure approaches, fortifying themselves in the posts which they successively occupied, and in the end entered the place by storm.†

While the Romans were probably enjoying, on the extinction of their rival, a more than common degree of imagined security, they became themselves an example of the instability of human affairs; being assailed by a new and unlooked-for enemy, who came like a stroke of lightning on their settlement, dispersed their people, and reduced their habitations to ashes.

The Gauls, who are said to have passed the Alps in three several migrations, about two hundred years before

* U. C. 344.

† U. C. 357.

this date, being now masters of all the plains on the Po, and of all the coasts of the Adriatic to the banks of the river Sena, where they had a settlement, which, from their name was called Sena Gallia; and being still bent on extending their possessions, or shifting their habitations, had passed the Apennines, and laid siege to Clusium, the capital of a small nation in Tuscany. The inhabitants of this place made application to the Romans for succour; but could obtain no more than a deputation to intercede with the Gauls in their behalf. The deputies who were sent on this business, and commissioned to act only as mediators, having appeared in arms on the side of the besieged, the Gauls complained of their conduct as a breach of faith, and as a departure from the neutrality which the Romans professed: and being denied satisfaction on this complaint, they dropped their design on Clusium, and turned their arms against these mediators, who had violated the laws of war. They advanced on the left of the Tiber, found the Romans posted to receive them on the Allia, a small river which was the limit of the Roman territory, in the country of the Sabines, about ten miles from Rome; and, with the same impetuosity which hitherto attended them, they passed the Allia on the right of the Roman army, drove them into the angle that is formed by the confluence of the two rivers, put all who withstood them to the sword, and forced the remainder into the Tiber, where numbers perished, or, being cut off from their retreat to Rome, were dispersed in the neighbouring country.

This calamity is said to have so much stunned or overwhelmed the Roman people, that they made no farther attempt to defend their city.* All the youth that were fit to carry arms retired into the capitol. The weak or infirm, whether from sex or age, fled as from a place condemned to destruction, or suffered themselves to be surprised and cut off in the streets.

The Gauls, having employed three days in the pursuit and slaughter of those who fled from the field of battle, on the fourth day advanced towards the walls of Rome. But being alarmed at first by the general desertion of the battlements, which they mistook for an ambuscade or an artifice to draw them into a snare, they examined all the avenues with care before they ventured to enter the gates. The more effectually to dislodge every enemy, they set fire to the city, reduced it to ashes, and took post on the ruins, in order to besiege the capitol, which alone held out. In this state of affairs, the republic, already so formidable to all its

* U. C. 363.

neighbours, was supposed to be extinguished for ever. The fame of its ruin reached even to Greece, where Rome began to be considered at this time as a rising and prosperous commonwealth.

The Gauls remained in possession of the ruins for six months; during which time they made a fruitless attempt to scale the rock on which the capitol was built; and being repulsed by Manlius, who, for his vigilance and valour on this occasion, acquired the name of Capitulinus, they continued to invest and block up the fortress, in hopes of being able to reduce it by famine. The Romans, who were shut up in the capitol, still preserved the forms of their commonwealth, and made acts in the name of the senate and people. Sensible that Camillus, under whose auspices they had reduced the city of Veixæ, and triumphed over many other enemies, now in exile on the score of an invidious charge of embezzling the spoils he had won at that place, was the fittest person to retrieve their affairs; they absolved him of this accusation, reinstated him in the qualification to command their armies; and, in order that he might assemble their allies and collect the remains of their late army, which was dispersed in the neighbouring country, vested him with the power of dictator. In this extremity of their fortunes, he overlooked his wrongs, procured numbers to resort to his standard, and hastened to arm for the preservation of his country. He came to the relief of the capitol at a critical moment, when the besieged, being greatly reduced by famine, had already capitulated, and were paying a ransom for themselves and their remaining effects. Before this transaction was completed, he surprised the besiegers, obliged them to relinquish their prize, and afterwards, in a decisive battle that was fought in the neighbourhood of Rome, revenged the disaster which his countrymen had suffered on the banks of the Allia.*

Although historians have amply supplied the detail of history before this event, they nevertheless acknowledge, that all prior evidence of facts perished in the destruction of Rome; that all records and monuments of what the Romans had formerly been, were then to be gathered from the ruins

* The establishment of the Legion, and the improvement made in the choice of its weapons and manner of array, are mentioned as subsequent to this date: and the Romans, it is confessed, made less progress in every other art than in that of war. Their general Camillus, at his triumph for the victory obtained over the Gauls, made his entry into Rome, having his visage painted with red; a practice, says Pliny, which is yet to be found among nations of Africa, who remain in a state of barbarity, and which this natural historian was inclined to consider as characteristic of barbarous manners.

of cottages, which had been for several months trodden under foot by a barbarous enemy ; that the laws of the twelve tables, the people's charters of right, and the forms of the constitution, were to be collected in fragments of plates which were dug from the rubbish of their former habitations ; and that nothing remaining to mark the former position of Rome, besides the capitol, raised on its rock, and surrounded with ruins, the people deliberated whether they should attempt to renew their settlement on this ground, or transfer it to Veïæ. It had been formerly proposed to remove to that place one half of the senate and people. It was then proposed, that they should choose that as the proper ground on which to restore the name and the seat of their commonwealth.

Persuaded, however, by Camillus, the Romans determined to remain in their ancient situation, proceeded to restore their habitations, and in the course of a year, accomplished the work of rebuilding their city. An era from which, as from a second foundation, may be dated the rise of the commonwealth, and the beginning of a period, in which its history, though still controverted in some particulars, is less doubtful than before, or less disfigured with fable.

CHAP. III.

Scene of Foreign War and Domestic Dispute opened with retiring Rome — Faction or Conspiracy of Manlius—Condemnation—Plebeians elected into the Office of Consular Tribunes—Aspire to the Consulate—The first Plebeian Consul—Establishment of the Prætor—Patrician Ediles—The Plebeians qualified to hold all the offices of State—The Measure of Roman Magistracy complete—Review of the Constitution—Its seeming defects—But great success—Policy of the State respecting Foreign or vanquished Nations—Formation of the Legion—Series of Wars—With the Samnites—Campanians—The Tarentines—Pyrrhus—Sovereignty of Italy—Different Footing on which the Inhabitants stood.

THE Romans were not allowed to restore their community, nor to rebuild their habitations in peace.* They were invaded by the Equi, the Volsci, the Hernici, the Etruscans, and some of their own Latin confederates ; who dreading the re-establishment of a commonwealth, from which they had already suffered so much, and whose power was so great an object of their jealousy, made every effort to prevent it. During a period of one hundred and seventeen years which

* U. C. 385.

followed, they accordingly had to encounter a succession of enemies, in subduing of whom they became the sovereigns of Italy; while they continued to undergo internal convulsions, which, as formerly, proved the birth of political institutions, and filled up the measure of their national establishment.

During this period, the plebeians, far from being satisfied with their past acquisitions, made continual efforts to extend their privileges. The tribunes, by traducing the senate, and by displaying in their harangues, the severities of the patrician creditor, and the sufferings of the plebeian debtor, still inflamed the animosity of their party, the republic itself was so feebly established, that ambitious citizens were encouraged, by means of faction raised among persons of the lower class, to have thoughts of subverting the government. In this manner Manlius, the famous champion of the capitol, who, as has been observed, by his vigilance and valour preserved that fortress from the Gauls, formed a design to usurp the sovereignty. Presuming on his merit in this and other services, he thought himself above the laws; and endeavouring by his intrigues with the populace, to form a party against the state, he incurred, what was at Rome of all imputations the most detested, that of aspiring to be king. In opposition to this conspiracy, whether real or fictitious, the republic was committed to the care of a dictator; and Manlius being brought before him, endeavoured to turn the suspicion of malice and envy against his accusers.

The people, it is said, while they had in their view the capitol, which had been saved by the vigilance and bravery of this unfortunate criminal, hesitated in their judgment; but their meeting being adjourned to the following day, and to a different place, they condemned him to be thrown from the rock on which he had so lately signalized his valour.

Such alarms to the general state of the commonwealth, had their temporary effect in suspending the animosity of parties; but could not reconcile their interests, nor prevent the periodical heats which continually arose on the return of disputes.* The plebeians had been now above forty years in possession of a title to hold the office of consular tribune, but had not been able to prevail at any election. The majority of the centuries were still composed of patricians; and when candidates of plebeian rank were likely, by their personal consideration, to carry a majority, the other party, in such particular instances, had influence enough, as has been observed, to revive the election of consuls, a title from which the plebeians, by law, were still excluded.

* U. C. 370.

The plebeians, however, by the zeal of their party, by the assiduity and influence of individuals who aspired to office, by the increase of their numbers in the first and second classes, by their alliance with the patrician families in consequence of marriage, at last surmounted these difficulties, obtained the dignity of consular tribune for one of their own order, and from thenceforward began to divide the votes of the centuries with the patrician candidates.* They were accordingly raised in their turn to what was then the first office of the state, and in which nothing was wanting but the title of consul. To this too they were soon led to aspire; and were urged to make the concluding step in the rise of their order, by the ambition of a female patrician; who, being married into a plebeian family, bore with impatience the mortifications to which she was exposed in the condition of her new relations. She excited her husband, she engaged her own kindred among the patricians, she roused the whole plebeian party to remove the indignities which yet remained affixed to their race, in being supposed unworthy to hold the consular dignity.

Licinius Stolo, the husband of this lady, and Publius Sextius, another active and ambitious plebeian, were placed in the college of tribunes, in order to urge this point.† They began the exercise of their office by proposing three very important laws: the first intended for the relief of insolvent debtors; by which all payments made on the score of interest, should be deducted from the capital, and three years be allowed to pay off the remainder.

A second law to limit the extent of estates in land, by which no citizen should be allowed to engross above five hundred jugera, or to have in stock above one hundred bullocks, and five hundred goats and sheep.

A third law to restore the election of consuls, in place of consular tribunes, with an express provision that, at least, one of the consuls should be of plebeian descent.

The patricians having gained some of the tribunes to their party, prevailed upon them to dissent from their colleagues, and to suspend, by their negatives, all proceedings on the subject of these laws. The tribunes, Licinius and Sextius, in their turn, suspended the usual election of magistrates, and put a stop to all the ordinary affairs of state.

An anarchy of five years ensued, during which time the Republic, bereft of all its officers, had no magistracy besides the tribunes of the people, who were not legally vested with any degree of executive power.

* U. C. 353.

† U. C. 371.

In the several questions, on which the parties were now at variance, the patricians contended chiefly for the exclusion of plebeians from the office or title of consul; and, as an insuperable bar to their admission, still insisted on the sacrilegious profanation that would be incurred, by suffering the rites usually performed by the consuls to pass into plebeian hands. This argument, instead of persuading the popular leaders to desist from their claim, only made them sensible that it was necessary to remove this impediment by a previous operation, before they attempted to pass through the way which it was meant to obstruct. They appeared then for a little to drop their pursuit of the consulate; they affected to respect the claim of the patricians, to retain the possessions of places which had always been assigned to their order. But they moved, that the number of ordinary attendants on the sacred rites should be augmented from two to ten; and that of these one half should be named of plebeian extraction.

While the patricians continued to reject this proposal, on account of the effect it was likely to have on their pretensions in general, they gave way successively; and, at the interval of some years, first to the acts that were devised in favour of insolvent debtors; next, to the Agrarian law, or limitation of property in land; and last of all, to the new establishment relating to the priesthood, and to the communication of the consulate itself to persons of plebeian rank.

The authors of the new regulations, knowing that the majority of the centuries was composed of patricians, or was still under the influence of that order, were not satisfied with the mere privilege of being qualified to stand for the consulate. They insisted, that at least one of the consuls should be a plebeian; and having prevailed in this, as in the other contested points, the plebeian party entered immediately on the possession of their new privilege,* and raised Publius Sextius, the tribune, who had been so active in the cause of his constituents, to the office of consul.

But while the patricians thus incurred a repeated diminution of their exclusive prerogatives, they endeavoured, by separating the judicative from the executive power of the consul, and by committing the first to a patrician officer, under the title of Pretor, to save a part from the general wreck.

It was intended that the pretor should be subordinate but next in rank, to the consul. He was attended by two lictors, and had his commission in very general terms, to

* U. C. 367.

judge of all differences that should be brought before him, and to hear the suits of the people until the setting of the sun. One person at first was supposed able to discharge all the duties of this office ; but the number, in order to keep pace with the growing multiplicity of civil affairs, was afterwards gradually increased.

Another political change, by which the patricians procured some compensation for what they had now surrendered, was made about the same time. The care of the public shows and entertainments had hitherto belonged to the ediles of the people. The office of edile being at its first institution expensive, was likely to become gradually more so by the frequent additions which were made to the festivals, and by the growing demands of the people for shows and amusements. The plebeians complained of this charge as a burden on their order, and the opposite party offered to relieve them of it, provided that two officers for this purpose, under the title of Curile Ediles, should be annually elected from among the patricians.

Such is the account which historians have given us of the origin and progress of the Roman constitution. This horde in the earliest account of it, presented a distinction of ranks, under the titles of Patrician, Equestrian, and Plebeian ; and the state, though governed by a prince, had occasional or ordinary assemblies, by which it approached to the form of a republic. Assemblies to which every citizen was admitted were termed the *Comitia* : those which were formed of the superior ranks, or of a select number, were termed the Senate. Among those who had attained the age of manhood, to be noble and to be of the senate were probably synonymous terms. But after the introduction of the census, separate rolls were kept for the senate, the equestrian order, and the people. These rolls were composed by different officers in successive periods of the state. A senate was composed of a hundred members by Romulus. This number was augmented or diminished at pleasure by his successors. The consuls succeeded in this matter to the prerogative of the kings ; and the censors were appointed to exercise it, with the other duties of the census, as a principal part of their functions. It is remarkable, that, notwithstanding the great importance of the senate in the government of their country, so little precaution was taken to ascertain who were to be its constituent members, or to fix their legal number. The body was accordingly fluctuating. Individuals were placed or displaced at the discretion of the officer intrusted with the muster, and the numbers of the whole increased or diminished indefinitely. The officers of state,

though not enrolled, had access to the senate; but their continuing members, after their year in office expired, depended on the discretion of the censors. It seemed to be sufficient for the purposes of this constitution, that the senate should be a meeting of the superior class of the citizens.

As the noble and popular assemblies had their existence under the kings, the transition from monarchy to republic in so small a state, by substituting elective and temporary magistrates in place of the king, was easy. A sufficient occasion was given to it in the abuses which were felt in the last reign of the monarchy. The disorders incident to the shock of parties, who were set free from a former control, required on occasion, the remedy of a discretionary authority vested in some person who might be intrusted with the public safety, and soon led to the occasional institution of a dictatorial power. The high prerogatives claimed and maintained by one party, obliged the other to assume a posture of defence, and to place themselves under the conduct of leaders properly authorized to vindicate their rights. These rights were understood by degrees to imply equality, and, in the successive institutions that followed, put every citizen in possession of equal pretensions to preferment and honours; pretensions which were to be limited only by the great distinction which Nature has made between the capacities, merits, and characters of men, and which are subject, in every community, to be warped by the effects of education and fortune.

New departments of state, or additions to the number of officers employed in them, were continually suggested by the increase of civil affairs; and while the territory of the Republic was but a small part of Italy, the measure of her political government was full, and the list of her officers complete. Functions which, in the first or simplest ages, were either unknown or had been committed to the king alone, were now thrown into separate lots or departments, and furnished their several occupations to two consuls, one prætor, two censors, four ediles, and eight quæstors, besides officers of these different ranks, who, with the titles of proconsul, proprætor, and proquæstor, and without any limitation of number, were employed wherever the exigencies of the state required their service.

In this account of the Roman constitution we are come nearly to that state of its maturity* at which Polybius began to observe and to admire the felicity of its institutions, and the order of its administration. The plebeians were

* As it stood in the fifth and sixth centuries of Rome.

now reconciled to a government to which they themselves had access, and citizens of every rank made great efforts of industry in a state in which men were allowed to arrive at eminence, not only by advantages of fortune, but likewise by personal qualities. The senate and assemblies of the people, the magistrates and select commissioners, had each their departments, which they administered with an appearance of sovereign and absolute sway, and without any interfering of interests or jealousy of power.

The consuls were destined to the command of armies; but, while at Rome, seemed to have the highest prerogatives in the administration of all civil and political affairs. They had under their command all the other officers of state, except the tribunes of the people; they introduced all foreign ambassadors; and they alone could move the senate on any subject of deliberation, and put their acts or determinations in writing. The consuls, too, presided with a similar prerogative in the assembly of the centuries and in that of the *curiæ*, proposed the question, collected the votes, declared the majority, and framed the act. In all military preparations, in making their levies as well as in the command of the army, they were vested with high degrees of discretionary power over all the troops of the commonwealth, composed of Roman citizens or allies. They commanded the treasury, as far as necessary to the service on which they were employed, and had one of its commissioners, or *quæstors*, appointed to attend their court, and to receive their orders.

The senate, however, had the ordinary administration of the revenue, took account of its receipts and disbursements, and suffered no money to be issued without their own decree, or the warrant of the consul in actual service. Even the money decreed by the censors for the repair of public buildings, and the execution of public works, could not be issued by the *quæstors* without an act of the senate to authorize it. All crimes and disorders that were committed among the free inhabitants of Italy, or municipal allies of the state, all disputes of a private or public nature that arose among them, came under the jurisdiction and determination of the senate. All foreign embassies were received or despatched, and all negotiations were conducted, by this body. In such matters the people did no more than affirm or reverse what the senate, after mature deliberation, had decreed, and for the most part gave their consent as a matter of form; inso-much, that while persons, who observed the high executive powers of the consul, considered the state as monarchical; foreigners, on the contrary, who resorted on public business

to Rome, were apt to believe it an aristocracy vested in the senate.

The people, notwithstanding, had reserved the sovereignty to themselves, and, in their several assemblies, exercised the powers of legislation, and conferred all the offices of state. They likewise, in all criminal matters, held the supreme jurisdiction. In their capacity of sovereign, they were the sole arbiters of life and death ; and, even in their capacity of subjects, did not submit to restraints which, in every other state, are found necessary to government.

A citizen, while accused of any crime, continued at liberty until sentence was given against him, and might withdraw from his prosecutors at any stage of the trial, even while the last century was delivering its votes. A voluntary banishment from the forum, from the meetings of the senate, and the assemblies of the people, was the highest punishment, which any citizen, unless he remained to expose himself to the effects of a formal sentence, was obliged to undergo ; and it was expressly stipulated, that, even at Tibur or Præneste, a few miles from Rome, a convict who had withdrawn from judgment should be safe.

Parts so detached were not likely to act as one body, nor to proceed with any regular concert ; and the state seems to have carried, in all its establishments, the seeds of dissension and tumult. The several members of the constitution, while in appearance supreme, were in many respects dependent on each other.

The consuls, while in office, had the meetings and determinations of the senate, and people, in a great measure, in their power ; but they received this power from the people, and were accountable for the discharge of it at the expiration of their office.

The senate could resolve, but they could not execute, until they had obtained from the people a confirmation of their acts, and were obliged to solicit the tribunes for leave to proceed in any matter which these officers were inclined to oppose.

The senate was constituted, or formed, at regular periods, at the discretion of the consuls or censors, officers named by the people.

The city, nevertheless, was over-awed by the senate and officers of state. On great and alarming occasions, the people themselves were no longer sovereigns than they were allowed by the senate and consuls to hold this character. The senate and consuls having it in their power to name a dictator, could at once transfer the sovereignty of the state to a single person, and subject every citizen to his authority. Every individual held his place on the rolls at

the will of the censors, and his property at the disposal of courts that were composed of senators; the servants of the public in general, who aimed at lucrative commissions, depended on the senate, as administrators of the treasury, and trustees in the collection or disbursements of the public money; and every Roman youth, when imbodyed in the legions, intrusted his honours and his life in the hands of the consul, or commander in chief.

The mass, however, was far from being so well compacted, or the unity of power so well established, as speculative reasoners sometimes think necessary for the order of government. The senate and the popular assemblies, in their legislative capacities, counteracted one another. The numbers required to constitute a legal assembly of the people, the qualification of a citizen, which entitled him to be considered as a member of the commonwealth, were still undetermined. Aliens settling at Rome were admitted on the rolls of the people, and citizens removing to the colonies were omitted.

In about one hundred years after they began to restore their city from the ruins in which it was laid by the Gauls,* they extended their sovereignty from the farthest limits of Tuscany on the one side, to the sea of Tarentum and the straits of Messina on the other; and as the contest of parties at home led to a succession of political establishments, their frequent wars suggested the policy which they adopted respecting foreign nations, and the arrangement of their national force.

They had for some time discontinued the practice of admitting captives into the number of their people; but continued that of extending and securing their acquisitions, by colonies of their own citizens, or of such allies as they could most securely trust. They exacted from the cantons of Italy which they vanquished, contributions of subsistence and clothing for the benefit of their armies; and they generally imposed some condition of this sort as a preliminary to every negotiation or treaty of peace.

Their forces consisted of native Romans, and of their allies in Italy, nearly in equal parts.† The legion, says Livy, had been formerly arrayed in a continued line, or compacted column; but in the course of the wars which led to the conquest of Italy, came to be formed in divisions, and had different orders of light and heavy-armed infantry, as well as cavalry. The light-armed infantry were called the Velites, and were supposed to ply in the front, on the flank,

* U. C. 465.

† U. C. 415.

or in the rear of the army; and their service was, to keep the heavy-armed foot undisturbed by missiles till they came into close action with the enemy.

The heavy-armed foot consisted of three orders, called the *Hastati*, *Principes*, and *Triarii*; of whom each had its separate divisions or maniples; and those of the different orders were placed in three different rows, and at distances from each other, equal to the front of the division. By this disposition the maniples of the first and second row could either act separately, or, by mutually filling up their intervals, could complete the line, leaving the *Triarii*, in time of action, as a body of reserve, to support the line, or fill up the place of any manipule that might be forced by the enemy. And, in order to facilitate occasionally this change of disposition, the divisions of one row faced the intervals of the other.* They were armed with the *pilum*, which was a heavy javelin or spear to be cast at the enemy, and with a short and massy sword fitted to strike or to thrust. They

* This account of the Roman legion is not without its difficulties. It appears irrational to break and disperse the strength of a body in this manner, and Cæsar makes no mention of any such distinction of orders, of the maniples, of the rows in which they were formed, or of the intervals at which they fought. His legion consisted of ten cohorts, formed from right to left on a continued front. Polybius, however, one of the best military historians, and himself an eye-witness of the disposition of the Roman legion in action, as well as on the parade, is very explicit in his account of it; refers to it in the description of the Roman march (Polyb. lib. vi. c. 38.), in the description of every battle (Polyb. lib. iii. c. 1, 2, 3, 4.), and (Polyb. lib. xv. c. 10.) in stating the comparative advantages of the Roman legion and Macedonian phalanx (Polyb. lib. xvii. c. 28.). The phalanx being a column of indefinite depth, close ranks, and a continued front, with lances or spears, it was impregnable to the short sword and loose order of the Romans, so long as it preserved its front entire, and the spear-man made no opening for the Roman soldier to enter within the point of his weapon.

It is observed that the Romans made their attack in separate divisions and at intervals, in order to bring on some irregularity in the front of the phalanx, and in order to make some openings by which the Roman soldier could enter with his sword, and once within the point of his enemy's spear, could perform great slaughter with little resistance (Plutarch in vit. P. Emilii. Liv. lib. xlv. c. 41. *Neque ulla evidenter causa victoriæ fuit quam quod multa passim prælia erant quæ fluctuantes turbarent primo, deinde disjecerunt phalanges*). From this account then it is probable, that the Romans did not divide their legion into orders and maniples, nor fight at intervals, until after they adopted the short stabbing sword, which is said to have been originally from Spain; and that they continued to make this disposition so long only as they had to do with enemies who used the spear and continued front; that after the social war in Italy, and their own civil wars began, they discontinued the separate maniples, and sought to strengthen themselves against an army like their own, by presenting a continued front. Livy accordingly marks the time at which the formation of maniples, at intervals, was adopted. Polybius marks the continuance of it, and Cæsar evidently marks the discontinuance of it. It is extremely probable, that the last change was one of those made by Marius, and was introduced into the Roman armies in the social war.

bore an oblong shield, four feet high by two and a half feet broad, with a helmet, breastplate, and greaves.

It is understood in the antiquities of this people, that when they were assembled for any purpose, whether of state or of war, they were termed the Army. In their musters a plebeian was a foot soldier, the knight a horseman, and the legion a mere detachment of the whole, draughted for the year, or imbodied for a particular service. The men, as well as the officers, in the first period of the history of the Republic, were annually relieved or exchanged; and even after it ceased to be the practice thus annually to relieve the private men, and after the same legions were employed during a succession of some years, yet the people, to the latest period of the commonwealth, continued to form the armies of their country; and the officer of state was still understood to command in virtue of his civil magistracy, or in virtue of a military qualification which never failed to accompany it. No citizen could aspire to any of the higher offices, in the commonwealth, until he had been enrolled in the legions, either ten years if on horseback, or sixteen years if on foot; and, notwithstanding the special commissions that were occasionally given for separate objects of state or of war, civil and military rank were never disjoined. Equal care was taken to furnish the rising statesman and warrior with the technical habits of either profession; or rather to instruct him, by his occasional application to both, not to mistake the forms of office in either for the business of state or of war, nor to rest his pretensions to command on any accomplishment short of that superior knowledge of mankind, and those excellent personal qualities of penetration, sagacity, and courage, which give the person possessed of them an ascendant, as a friend or as an enemy, in any scene or department of human affairs.

During a period of about one hundred and twenty years after the rebuilding of Rome, the Romans were engaged in a continual series of wars; first with the Latins and with their own colonies, who wished to disengage themselves from so unequal an alliance; and afterwards with the Etruscans on the one hand, and with the Samnites, Campanians, and Tarentines on the other. They quarrelled with the Samnites first in behalf of the Campanians, who, in order to obtain their protection, made a surrender of themselves and of all their possessions. This act of surrender they afterwards had occasion to enforce against the Campanians themselves, who endeavoured, when too late, to recover their liberties.

The Samnites were a fierce nation, inhabiting that tract

of the Apennines which extends from the confines of Latium to those of Apulia; and who, to the advantages of their mountainous situation, joined some singular and even romantic institutions, which enabled them, during above forty years, from the time at which their wars with the Romans began, to maintain the contest, and to keep the balance of power in suspense.

During the dependence of this quarrel, the Roman armies frequently penetrated into Lucania and Apulia, and before they had reduced the Samnites, were known as protectors and allies, or had forced their passage as conquerors to the southern extremities of Italy. And the state itself, under a variety of titles, was in reality the head, or held a species of sovereignty over all the nations who occupied that part of the peninsula.

The city of Tarentum, the most powerful of the Greek settlements in this quarter, having neglected her military establishments in proportion as she advanced in the arts of peace, was alarmed at the near approach of the Romans, and applied for protection to Pyrrhus the king of Epirus, at that time greatly distinguished among the military adventurers of Macedonia and Greece.* They wished to employ the military skill of this prince, without being exposed to fall a prey to his ambition; and invited him to come, without any army of his own, to take the command of their people, whose numbers they magnified, in order to induce him to accept of their offer. But, like most foreign military protectors, he appears to have had, together with many schemes of ambition against those on whom he made war, some designs likewise on the state he was brought to defend. With this double intention he did not rely on the forces of Tarentum, but passed into Italy at the head of a numerous army, formed on the model of the Macedonians, and accustomed to service in the wars of that country and of Greece.

He prevailed over the Romans in some of their first encounters; but found that partial victories did not subdue this people, nor decide the contest. Having vast schemes of ambition in Sicily and Africa, as well in Italy, he suddenly suspended his operations against the Romans, to comply with an invitation he received from Syracuse, to possess himself of that kingdom in behalf of his son, who had some pretensions to it in the right of Agathocles, from whom he was descended.

In order to pursue this object, he endeavoured to obtain

* U. C. 473.

a peace or cessation of arms in Italy; but was told, that, in order to treat with the Romans, he must evacuate their country and return to his own. With this answer he passed into Sicily; and after some operations which were successful, though not sufficiently supported by his partisans in that country to obtain the end of his expedition, he returned again into Italy for the defence of Tarentum; but found that during his absence the Romans had made a considerable progress, and were in condition to repay the defeats they had suffered in the beginning of the war. Having brought this matter to the proof in several encounters, he committed the defence of Tarentum to one of his officers; and after this fruitless attempt to make conquests beyond the Ionian sea, in which he had employed six years, he returned to his own country.

The Romans continuing the war against Tarentum, in about two years after the departure of Pyrrhus from Italy, made themselves masters of the place.* Here, it is mentioned, they found, for the first time, the plunder of an opulent city, containing the models of elegant workmanship in the fine arts, and the apparatus of an exquisite luxury.

From the reduction of Tarentum the Romans may be considered as the sovereigns of Italy, although their dominion was extremely ill defined, either in respect to its nature or to its extent.† They but in a few instances laid claim to absolute sovereignty, and least of all over those who were most submissive to their power. It was their maxim to spare the obsequious, but to crush the proud; an artful profession, by which, under the pretensions of generosity and magnanimity, they stated themselves as the sovereign nation. Under this presumptuous maxim their friendship was to be obtained by submission alone; and was, no less than their enmity, fatal to those who embraced it. The title of ally was, for the most part, no more than a specious name, under which they disguised their dominion, and by which they availed themselves of the strength and resources of other nations, with the least possible alarm to their jealousy or pride.

With the Latins they had early formed an alliance offensive and defensive, in which the parties mutually stipulated the number of troops to be furnished by each; the respective shares which each was to have in the spoils of their common enemies, and the manner of adjusting any disputes that might arise between them. This was the league

* U. C. 481.

† U. C. 481.

which the Latins were supposed to have so frequently broken, and of which the Romans so often exacted the observance by force.

In the first struggles which they made to restore their settlement destroyed by the Gauls, and in the subsequent wars they had to maintain, during a hundred years, in support of their new establishment, different cantons of these original confederates, as well as many of their own colonies, had taken very different parts, and in the treaties which ensued, obtained, or were sentenced to, different conditions; some were admitted to the freedom of Rome, and partook in the prerogative of Roman citizens. A few were, by their own choice, in preference to the character of Roman citizens, permitted to retain the independency of their towns, and were treated as allies. Others, under pretence of being admitted to the freedom of Rome, though without the right of suffrage, were deprived of their corporation establishments, and with the title of citizens, treated as subjects. A few were governed in form by a military power, and by a prefect or magistrate annually sent from Rome.

CHAP. IV.

Limits of Italy—Contiguous Nations—Ligurians—Gauls—Greek and Phœnician Colonies of Gaul and Spain—Nations of Illyricum—Of Greece—Achæan League—Thebans—Athenians—Asiatic Nations—Pergamus—Syria—Egypt—Carthage—The Mamertines of Messina—Occasion of the first War with Carthage—Losses of the Parties—Peace—State of the Romans—Political or Civil Institutions—Colonies—Musters—Operations on the Coin—Different Results of the War at Rome and Carthage—Mutiny and Invasion of the Mercenaries at Carthage—End of this War—Cession of Sardinia—War with the Illyrians—First Correspondence of Rome with Greece.

As the Romans, at the time to which our last observations refer, were become the sovereigns of Italy, or, by their ascendant in so powerful a country, were enabled to act a distinguished part among the nations around it; it is proper in this place to carry our observations beyond the boundaries of that Peninsula, and enumerate the powers that were then established on different sides of it, or beyond the narrow seas by which it was surrounded.*

Italy was not then supposed to comprehend the whole of

* U. C. 481.

that tract which has in later times been known under this name. Being bounded, as at present, on the south and east by the seas of Sicily and bay of Tarentum, it extended no further to the north-west than to the Arnus on the one hand, and to the Rubicon on the other. Beyond these limits the western coasts were inhabited by a number of tribes, which, under the name of Ligurians, occupied the descents of the Apennines and the south of the Alps quite to the sea-shore. On the other side of the Apennines, from Senegallia to the Alps, the rich and extensive plains on both sides of the Po were in the possession of Gaulish nations, who were said, some centuries before, to have passed the mountains, and who were then actually spread over a fertile tract of more than twelve hundred miles in circumference. They consisted of nine different hordes, that were supposed to have passed the Alps at different times. Of these the Laulebeci, Insubres, Cenomani, and Veneti occupied the northern banks of the Po, including what are now the states of Milan, Venice, and other parts of Lombardy on that side of the river. The Anianes, Boii, Ægones, and Senones, were settled to the southward, from the Po to the descents of the Apennines, and on the coasts of the Hadriatic to Senegallia, over what are now the states of Parma, Modena, Bologna, and Urbino. In this favourable situation they appear to have abated much of their native ferocity, though without acquiring, in any considerable degree, the arts that improve the conveniences of life. They fed chiefly on the milk or the flesh of their cattle, and were occupied entirely in the care of their arms and of their herds. By these, and the ornaments of gold, of which they were extremely fond, they estimated their riches. They were divided into tribes or cantons, and lived in cottages huddled together, without any form of towns or of villages. The leader of every horde was distinguished by his retinue, and valued himself chiefly on the number of his followers. They had made frequent encroachments on the states of Etruria and Umbria, but were met at last, and stopped in their progress, by the Romans. Such of them as were settled within the Rubicon, and from thence to Senegallia, had, about three years before the arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy, been obliged to acknowledge the authority of the Roman state.

The coasts of the Mediterranean, to the westward of Italy, had been known to the nations of Greece and of Asia, and had received many colonies from thence, which formed trading settlements, and remained altogether distinct from the natives. Such were the Greek colonies at Marseille

Emporiæ, Saguntum, and the Tyrian colony at Gades on the coast of the ocean. On the other side of Italy, and round the Hadriatic, were settled a number of small nations, the Istrians, Dalmatians, and Illyrians; of which, at the time when the Romans became acquainted with the navigation of this gulf, the Illyrians, being the chief or principal power, extended eastward to the confines of Macedonia.

Alexander the Great had finished the career of his victories about sixty years before this date.* His hereditary dominions, as well as his personal conquests, were dismembered, and become the patrimony of officers, who had learned under him to affect the majesty and the power of kings. Macedonia was governed by Antigonus Doson, who, together with the principality of Pella, held under his dependence Epirus, Thessaly, and Greece, to the isthmus of Corinth. He had contended with Pyrrhus, the late invader of Italy, for part of this territory; and, by the death of this adventurer, was now in possession of the whole.

On one part of the coast of the Ionian sea, and on the Gulf of Corinth, were settled the Etolians, who, during the prosperity of Greece, had been an obscure and barbarous horde; but had now, by the confederacy of a number of cantons, laid many districts around them under contribution, and acted a distinguished part in the wars and transactions that followed.

On the other side of the Gulf of Corinth a similar confederacy was formed by the Achæan league. The name of Achæa, in the fabulous ages, was the most general denomination of Greeks. When other names, of Dorians and Ionians, of Athenians and Spartans, became more distinguished, the name of Achæans was appropriated to the tribes who occupied the sea coast, or the Gulf of Corinth, from Elis to Sicyon. On this tract twelve little cantons, Dymæ, Pharæ, Tritæa, Rhipes, Thasium, Patræ, Pellene, Ægium, Bura, Carynia, Olenos, and Hellice, having changed their government from principalities to republics, formed themselves into a league for their common defence. Hellice had been, from time immemorial, the seat of their assembly; but this place having been overwhelmed by an inundation of the sea, their meetings were transferred to Ægium.

In the more famous times of Sparta, Athens, and Thebes, these little cantons were of no consideration in the history of Greece. They began to appear in support of the liberties of Greece against Philip the father of Alexander, and par-

* U. C. 421.

took with the other Greeks in the defeat which they received from that prince at Chæronea, and in all its consequences. Their league was accordingly dissolved by the conqueror, and some of their cantons separately annexed to the Macedonian monarchy. But about the time that Pyrrhus invaded Italy, Dymæ, Patræ, Pharæ, and Tritæa, found an opportunity to renew their ancient confederacy. They were joined in about five years afterwards by the canton of Ægium, and successively by those of Bura and Carynia. These, during a period of about twenty years, continued to be the only parties in this famous league. They had a general congress, at which they originally elected two annual officers of state, and a common secretary. They afterwards committed the executive power to one officer; and under the famous Aratus of Sicyon, united that republic, together with Corinth and Megara, to their league.

About the time when the Romans became masters of Tarentum, this combination was become the most considerable power of the Peloponnesus, and affected to unite the whole of it under their banners; but Sparta, though greatly fallen from the splendour of her ancient discipline and power, was still too proud, or too much under the direction of her ambitious leaders, to suffer herself to be absorbed in this upstart confederacy: she continued for some time its rival, and was at last the cause, or furnished the occasion, of its fall.

The Thebans and Athenians, though still pretending to the dignity of independent nations, were greatly reduced, and ready to become the prey of any party that was sufficiently powerful, to reach them, by breaking through the other barriers that were still opposed to the conquest of Greece.

In Asia, a considerable principality was formed round the city of Pergamus, and bore its name. Syria was become a mighty kingdom, extending from the coasts of Ionia to Armenia and Persia. This kingdom had been formed by Seleucus Nicanor, a principal officer in the army of Alexander, and it was now in the possession of his son, Antiochus Soter.

Egypt, in the same manner, had passed from the first Ptolemy to his son Philadelphus, who, upon the expulsion of Pyrrhus from Italy, had entered into a correspondence with the Romans. This kingdom included the island of Cyprus; and, having some provinces on the continent of Asia, extended from Cælo-Syria, of which the dominion was still in contest with Antiochus, to the deserts of Lybia on the west and on the south. Beyond these deserts, and

almost opposite to the island of Sicily, lay the famous republic of Carthage, which was now possessed of a considerable territory, surrounded by the petty African monarchies, out of which the great kingdom of Numidia was afterwards formed.

The city of Carthage is said to have been founded about a hundred years earlier than Rome, and was now unquestionably farther advanced in the commercial and lucrative arts, and superior in every resource to Rome, besides that which is derived from the national character, and which is the consequence of public virtue.

In respect to mere form, the constitution of both nations was nearly alike. They had a senate and popular assemblies, and annually elected two officers of state for the supreme direction of their civil and military affairs; and even at Carthage the departments of state were so fortunately balanced, as to have stood for ages the shock of corrupt factions, without having suffered any fatal revolution, or without falling into either extreme of anarchy or tyrannical usurpation.

The Carthaginians being, like Tyre, of which they were supposed to be a colony, settled on a peninsula, and at first without sufficient land or territory to maintain any considerable numbers of people, they applied themselves to such arts as might procure a subsistence from abroad; and became, upon the destruction of Tyre, the principal merchants and carriers to all the nations inhabiting the coasts of the Mediterranean sea. Their situation, so convenient for shipping, was extremely favourable to this pursuit; and their success in it soon put them in possession of a territory by which they became a landed as well as a naval power. They visited Spain, under pretence of giving support and assistance to the city of Gades, which, like themselves, was a colony from Tyre. They became masters of Sardinia, and had considerable possessions in Sicily, of which they were extremely desirous to seize the whole. From every part of their acquisitions they endeavoured to derive the profit of merchants, as well as the revenue of sovereigns.

In this republic, individuals had amassed great fortunes, and estimated rank by their wealth. A certain estate was requisite to qualify any citizen for the higher offices of state; and, in the canvass for elections, every preferment, whether civil or military, was venal. Ambition itself, therefore, became a principle of avarice, and every Carthaginian, in order to be great, was intent to be rich. Though the interests of commerce should have inculcated the desire of peace, yet the influence of a few leading men in the state,

and even the spirit of rapacity which pervaded the people, the necessity to which they were often reduced of providing settlements abroad for a populace who could not be easily governed at home, led them frequently into foreign wars, and even engaged them in projects of conquest. But notwithstanding this circumstance, the community stified or neglected the military character of their own citizens, and had perpetual recourse to foreigners, whom they trusted with their arms, and made the guardians of their wealth. Their armies, for the most part, were composed of Numidians, Mauritanians, Spaniards, Gauls, and fugitive slaves from every country around them. They were among the few nations of the world who had the ingenuity, or rather the misfortune, to make war without becoming military, and who could be victorious abroad, while they were exposed to be a prey to the meanest invader at home.

Under this wretched policy, however, the first offices of trust and command being reserved for the natives, though the character of the people in general was mean and illiberal, yet a few, being descended of those who had enjoyed the higher honours of the state, inherited the characters of statesmen and warriors; and, instead of suffering by the contagion of mercenary characters, they derived some additional elevation of mind from the contrast of manners they were taught to despise. And thus, though the state, in general, was degenerate, a few of its members were qualified for great affairs. War, and the other objects of state, naturally devolved on such men, and occasionally rendered them necessary to a sedentary or corrupted people, who, in ordinary times, were disposed to slight their abilities, or to distrust their power. They became unfortunately a party for war in the councils of their country, as those who were jealous of them became, with still less advantage to the public, a party for peace; or, when at war, a party who endeavoured to embarrass the conduct of it; and, under the effects of misfortune, were ever ready to purchase tranquillity by the most shameful and dangerous concessions.

Carthage being mistress of the sea, was already long known on the coasts of Italy: she had treaties subsisting with the Romans above two hundred years, in which they mutually settled the limits of their navigation, and the regulations of their trade. And the Romans, as parties in these treaties, appear to have had intercourse with foreign nations by sea, earlier than is stated in the other parts of their history.

The Carthaginians were already in possession of L^yB-

bæum, and of other posts on the island of Sicily, and had a design on the whole. The Romans were in sight of it; and, by their possession of Rhegium, commanded one side of the Straits. The other side was occupied by the Mamertines, a race of Italian extraction, who, being placed at Messina by the king of Syracuse to defend that station, barbarously murdered the citizens, and took possession of their habitations and effects.

This horrid action was afterwards imitated by a Roman legion posted at Rhegium during the late wars in Italy: these likewise murdered their hosts, and seized their possessions; but were punished by the Romans, for this act of cruelty and treachery, with the most exemplary rigour. They were conducted in chains to Rome, scourged, and beheaded by fifties at a time. The crime of the Mamertines was resented by the Sicilians in general with a like indignation; and the authors of it were pursued, by Hiero king of Syracuse in particular, with a generous and heroic revenge. They were, at length, reduced to such distress, that they were resolved to surrender themselves to the first power that could afford them protection. But, being divided in their choice, one party made an offer of their submission to the Carthaginians, the other to the Romans. The latter scrupled to protect a crime of which they had so lately punished an example in their own people. And, while they hesitated on the proposal, the Carthaginians, favoured by the delay of their rivals, and by the neighbourhood of their military stations, got the start of their competitors, and were received into the town of Messina.

This unexpected advantage gained by a power of which they were jealous, and the danger of suffering a rival to command the passage of the Straits, removed the scruples of the Romans; and the officer who commanded their forces in the contiguous parts of Italy, had orders to assemble all the shipping that could be found on the coast from Tarentum to Naples, to pass with his army into Sicily, and endeavour to dispossess the Carthaginians from the city of Messina.

As soon as this officer appeared in the road with a force so much superior to that of his rivals, the party in the city, that favoured the admission of the Romans, took arms, and forced the Carthaginians to evacuate the place.

Here commenced the first Punic war, about ten years after the departure of Pyrrhus from Italy, eight years after the surrender of Tarentum, and in the four hundred and ninetieth year of Rome. In this war, the first object of

either party was no more than to secure the possession of Messina, and to command the passage of the Straits which separate Italy from Sicily; but their views were gradually extended to objects of more importance, to the sovereignty of that island, and the dominion of the seas.

The contest between them was likely to be extremely unequal. On the one side appeared the resources of a great nation, collected from extensive dominions, a great naval force, standing armies, and the experience of distant operations. On the other, the ferocity or valour of a small State, hitherto exerted only against their neighbours of Italy, who, though subdued, were averse to subjection, and in no condition to furnish the necessary supplies for a distant war; without commerce or revenue, without any army but what was annually formed by detachments from the people, and without any officers besides the ordinary magistrates of the city; in short, without any naval force or experience of naval or distant operations.

Notwithstanding these unpromising appearances on the side of the Romans, the commanding aspect of their first descent upon Sicily procured them not only the possession of Messina, but soon after determined Hiero, the king of Syracuse, hitherto in alliance with the Carthaginians, to espouse their cause, to supply their army with provisions, and afterwards to join them with his own. Being thus reinforced by the natives of Sicily, they were enabled to recall part of the force with which they began the war; continued, though at a less expense, to act on the offensive; and drove the Carthaginians from many of their important stations in the island.

While the arms of the Romans and of Hiero were victorious on shore, the Carthaginians continued to be masters of the sea, kept possession of all the harbours in Sicily, overawed the coasts, obstructed the military convoys from Italy, and alarmed that country itself with frequent descents. It was evident, that, under these disadvantages, the Romans could neither make nor preserve any maritime acquisitions; and it was necessary, either to drop the contest in yielding the sea, or to endeavour, on that element likewise, to cope with their rival. Though not altogether as historians represent them, unacquainted with shipping, they were certainly inferior to the Carthaginians in the art of navigation, and altogether unprovided with ships of force. Fortunately for them, neither the art of sailing, nor that of constructing ships, was yet arrived at such a degree of perfection as not to be easily imitated by nations who had any experience or practice of the sea. Vessels of the

best construction that was then known were fit to be navigated only with oars, or in a fair wind and on a smooth sea. They might be built of green timber; and, in case of a storm, could run ashore under any cover, or upon any beach that was clear of rocks. Such ships as these the Romans, without hesitation, undertook to provide.

The Romans, while their galleys were building, trained their rowers to the oar on benches that were erected on the beach, and placed in the form of those of the real galley. Being sensible that the enemy must be still greatly superior in the management of their ships and in the quickness of their motions, they endeavoured to deprive them of this advantage, by preparing to grapple, and to bind their vessels together. In this condition the men might engage on equal terms, fight from their stages or decks as on solid ground, and the Roman buckler and sword have the same effect as on shore.

With an armament so prepared, still inferior to the enemy, and even unfortunate in its first attempts, they learned, by perseverance, to vanquish the masters of the sea on their own element; and not only protected the coasts of Italy, and supported their operations in Sicily, but, with a powerful fleet of three hundred and thirty sail, overcame at sea a superior number of the enemy, and carried the war to the gates of Carthage.

On this occasion took place the famous adventure of Regulus; who being successful in his first operations, gave the Romans some hopes of conquest in Africa: but they were checked at once by the defeat of their army, and the captivity of their general.* This event removed the seat of the war again into Sicily; and the Romans, still endeavouring to maintain a naval force, suffered so many losses, and incurred so many disasters by storms, that they were, during a certain period of the war, disgusted with the service at sea, and seemed to drop all pretensions to power on this element. The experience of a few years, however, while they endeavoured to continue their operations by land without any support from the sea, made them sensible of the necessity they were under of restoring their shipping; and they did so with a resolution and vigour which enabled them once more to prevail over the superior skill and experience of their enemy.

In this ruinous contest both parties made the utmost efforts, and the most uninterrupted exertion of their forces. Taking the forces of both sides, in one naval engagement,

five hundred gallees of five tier of oars, with two hundred and fifty thousand men, and in another, seven hundred gallees, with three hundred and fifty thousand men, were brought into action; and in the course of these struggles the Romans lost, either by tempests or by the hands of the enemy, seven hundred gallees; their antagonists, about five hundred. In the result of these destructive encounters, the Carthaginians, beginning to balance the inconveniences which attended the continuance of war against the concessions that were necessary to obtain peace, came to a resolution to accept of the following terms :*

That they should evacuate Sicily, and all the islands from thence to Africa :

That they should not for the future make war on Hiero king of Syracuse, nor on any of his allies :

That they should release all Roman captives without any ransom :

And within twenty years pay to the Romans a sum of three thousand Euboic talents.

Thus the Romans, in the result of a war, which was the first they undertook beyond the limits of Italy, entered on the possession of all that the Carthaginians held in the islands for which they contended; and, by a continuation of the same policy which they had so successfully pursued in Italy, by applying to their new acquisitions, instead of the alarming denomination of *subject*, the softer name of *ally*, they brought Hiero, who was sovereign of the greater part of Sicily, into a state of dependence on themselves.

At this time, when the nation emerged with so much lustre beyond the boundaries of Italy, the parties which divided the state, and whose animosity sharpened so much the pangs which preceded the birth of many of its public establishments, had no longer any object of contest. The officers of state were taken promiscuously from either class of the people, and the distinction of plebeian and patrician had in a great measure lost its effect. A happier species of aristocracy began to arise from the lustre of personal qualities, and the honours of family, which devolved upon those who were descended from citizens who had borne the higher offices of state, and were distinguished in their country's service.

The different orders of men in the commonwealth having obtained the institutions for which they severally contended, the number of officers was increased, for the better administration of affairs, which were fast accumulating. Thus a

* U. C. 512.

second pretor was added to the original establishment of this office; and, the persons who held it were destined to act either in a civil or military capacity, to hear causes in the city, or to command armies in the field. They were assisted in the first of these functions by a new institution, that of the centumvirs, or the hundred, who were draughted from the tribes, and appointed, during the year of their nomination, under the direction of the pretors, to take cognizance of civil disputes. The number of tribes, being now completed to thirty-five, and three of the centumvirs being draughted from each, made the whole amount to a hundred and five.

The city, during the late destructive war, sent abroad two colonies, one to *Castrum Innui*, a village of the Latins, the other to *Firmium* in the *Picenum*, on the opposite side of the peninsula, intended rather to guard and protect the coast, than to provide for any superabundance of the people, whose numbers at this time underwent a considerable diminution; the rolls having decreased in the course of five years, from two hundred and ninety-seven thousand two hundred and twenty-seven, to two hundred and fifty-one thousand two hundred and twenty-two. The revenue, to which citizens who were accustomed to pay with their personal service, had little to spare from their effects, and which was at all times probably scanty, being often exhausted by the expenses of the late war, brought the community under the necessity of acquitting itself of its debts, by diminishing the weight, or raising the current value of its coin. The *as*, which was the ordinary measure of valuation, being the *libra*, or pound of copper stamped, and hitherto containing twelve ounces, was reduced in its weight to two ounces.

In the circumstances or events which immediately followed the peace between Rome and Carthage, those nations showed the different tendency of their institutions and manners. The Romans, in the very struggles of a seemingly destructive contest, had acquired strength and security, not only by the reputation of great victories, but still more by the military spirit and improved discipline and skill of their people by sea and by land. Although their subjects in Italy revolted, and their allies withdrew their support, yet both were soon reduced, at the first appearance of these veteran soldiers who had been formed in the service of the preceding war.

The Carthaginians, on the contrary, had made war above twenty years without becoming more warlike; had exhausted their resources, and consumed the bread of their

own people in maintaining foreign mercenaries, who, instead of being an accession of strength, were ready to prey on their weakness, and to become the most formidable enemies to the state they had served. Their army, composed, as usual, of hirelings from Gaul, Spain, and the interior parts of Africa, estimated their services in the war which was then concluded at a higher value than the state was disposed to allow, and attempted to take by force what was refused to their representations and claims. Being assembled in the neighbourhood of Carthage to receive the arrears of their pay, the senate mildly proposed, in consideration of the distressed condition of the public revenue, that they should make some abatement of the sums that were due to them. But the state, instead of attaining the abatements which were thus proposed, only provoked men with arms in their hands to enter into altercations, and to multiply their claims and pretensions. The mercenaries took offence at the delays of payment, rose in their demands upon every concession, and marched at last to the capital, with all the appearances and threats of an open and victorious enemy. They issued a proclamation on their march, inviting all the provincial subjects of the commonwealth to assert their freedom, and, by the numbers that flocked to them from every quarter, became a mighty host, to which the city had nothing to oppose, but its walls. To effectuate the reduction of Carthage, they invested Tunis and Utica, and submitted to all the discipline of war from the officers whom they themselves had appointed to command.

In this crisis, the republic of Carthage, cut off from all its resources and ordinary supplies, attacked with that very sword on which it relied for defence, and in a situation extremely deplorable and dangerous, having still some confidence in the ability of their senators, and in the magnanimity of officers tried and experienced in arduous and perilous situations, was not altogether reduced to despair. Although the people had committed their arms into the hands of strangers, the command of armies had been still reserved to their own citizens; and now, by the presence and abilities of a few great men, they were taught to assume a necessary courage, to put themselves in a military posture, and to maintain, during three years, and through a scene of mutual cruelties and retaliations, unheard of in the contests of nations at war, a struggle of the greatest difficulty. In this struggle they prevailed at last by the total extirpation of this vile and outrageous enemy.

During the dependence of this odious revolt, the Romans

refrained from giving any countenance even against their rival to such unworthy antagonists. They refused to enter into any correspondence with a part of the rebel mercenaries, who, being stationed in Sardinia, offered to surrender that island into their hands. They prohibited the traders of Italy to furnish the rebels with any supply of provisions or stores, and abandoned every vessel that presumed to transgress these orders, to the mercy of the Carthaginian cruisers which plied before the harbours of Tunis and Utica. Above five hundred Roman prisoners, seized by these cruisers, were detained in the jails of Carthage. At the termination, however, of this war, when the Carthaginians were far from being disposed to renew any quarrel whatever, the Romans fixed on this as a ground of dispute, complained of piracies committed against the traders of Italy, under pretence of intercepting supplies to the rebels; and, by threatening immediate war upon this account, obtained from the state itself a surrender of the island of Sardinia, which they had refused to accept from the rebels, and got an addition of two hundred talents to the sum stipulated in the late treaty of peace, to make up for their pretended losses by the supposed unwarrantable capture of their ships.

Upon this surrender the Sardinians bore with some discontent the change of their Sovereigns; and, on the first prohibition of their usual commerce with Carthage, to which they had been long accustomed, took arms, and endeavoured for some time to withstand the orders which they were required to obey.

Soon after the Romans had reconciled these newly acquired subjects to their government, had quelled a revolt in Tuscany, and vanquished some cantons of Liguria, whom it is said they brought to submit as fast as the access to that country could be opened, they found themselves at peace with all the world; and, in token of this memorable circumstance, shut the gates of the temple of Janus; a ceremony which the continual succession of wars, from the reign of Numa to the present time, had prevented, during a period of four hundred and thirty years; a ceremony, which, when performed, marked a situation as transient as it was strange and uncommon.*

Fresh disturbances in some of the possessions recently seized by the republic, and a quarrel of some importance that carried her arms for the first time beyond the Hadriatic, embroiled her anew in a succession of wars and military adventures.

* U. C. 519.

The Illyrians had become of late a considerable nation, and were a party in the negotiations and quarrels of the Macedonians and the Greeks. Having convenient harbours and retreats for shipping, they carried on a piratical war with most of their neighbours, and, in particular, committed depredations on the traders of Italy, which it concerned the Romans, as the sovereigns of this country, to prevent. They accordingly sent deputies to complain of these practices, to demand a reparation of past injuries, and a security from any such attempts for the future. To the complaints of the deputies the queen of Illyricum refused to listen ; and, taking umbrage at certain expressions emitted by one of them, in the way of remonstrance, had him waylaid and assassinated on his return to Rome.

In revenge of this barbarous outrage, and of the former injuries received from that quarter, the Romans made war on the queen of Illyricum, obliged her to make reparation for the injuries she had done to the traders of Italy, to evacuate all the towns she had occupied on the coast, to restrain her subjects in the use of armed ships, and to forbid them to navigate the Ionian sea with more than two vessels in company.

The Romans, being desirous of having their conduct in this matter approved of by the nations of that continent, sent a copy of this treaty, together with an exposition of the motives which had induced them to cross the Adriatic, to be read in the assembly of the Achaean league. They soon after made a like communication at Athens and at Corinth, where, in consideration of the signal service they had performed against the Illyrians, then reputed the common enemy of civilized nations, they had an honorary place assigned them at the Isthmian games ; and in this manner made their first appearance in the councils of Greece.*

* U. C. 525.

CHAP. V.

Progress of the Romans within the Alps—Origin of the second Punic War—March of Hannibal into Italy—Progress—Action on the Tecinus—On the Trebia—On the Lake Thrasimenus—Battle of Cannæ—Hannibal not supported from Carthage—Sequel of the War—In Italy—And Africa—Scipio's Operations—Battle of Zama—End of the War.

THE city of Rome, and most of the districts of Italy, during the dependence of the last enumerated wars which were waged at a distance and beyond the seas, began to experience that uninterrupted tranquillity in which the capital and interior divisions of every considerable nation remain, even during the wars in which the state is engaged. They had indeed one source of alarm on the side of Cisalpine Gaul, which they thought it necessary to remove, in order to obtain that entire security to which they aspired. The country of the Senones, from Sena Gallia to the Rubicon, they had already subdued, even before the arrival of Pyrrhus in Italy ; but the richest and most fertile tracts on the Po were still in the possession of the Gaulish nations ; and it had been proposed, about four years after the conclusion of the first Punic war, to erect a barrier against the invasions of this people, by occupying with Roman colonies the country of the Senones, from Sena Gallia to the Rubicon. Although the inhabitants to be removed to make room for these settlements had been subject to the Romans above forty years, yet their brethren on the Po considered this act of violence as an insult to the Gaulish name, resolved to avenge it, and invited their countrymen from beyond the Alps to take part in the quarrel.

In consequence of their negotiations and concerts, in about eight years after the Romans were settled on the Rubicon, a great army of Gauls appeared on the Roman frontier. These nations used to make war by impetuous assaults and invasions, and either at once subdued and occupied the countries which they overran or, being repulsed, abandoned them without any farther intention to persist in the war. Their tumultuary operations, however, were subjects of the greatest alarm at Rome, and generally produced a suspension of all the ordinary forms of the commonwealth. On a prospect of the present alarm from that quarter, the senate, apprehending the necessity of great and sudden exertions of all their strength, ordered a general account to be taken of all the men fit to carry arms, whether

on foot or on horseback, that could be assembled for the defence of Italy ; and they mustered, on this famous occasion, above seven hundred thousand foot and seventy thousand horse. From this numerous return of men in arms, the state was enabled to make great detachments, which they stationed under the consuls and one of the pretors separately, for the defence of the commonwealth. The Gauls, having penetrated into Etruria, where the pretor was stationed, attacked and obliged him to retire. The consuls, however, being arrived with their several armies in different directions to support the pretor, renewed the conflict with united force, and put the greater part of the Gaulish invaders to the sword.

In the year following, the Romans carried the war into the enemy's country ; and in about three years more, passed the Po, and made themselves masters of all the plains on that river quite to the foot of the Alps.* To secure this valuable acquisition they projected two colonies of six thousand men each, one at Cremona and the other at Placentia, on the opposite sides of the Po ; but were disturbed in the execution of this project, first, by a revolt of the natives, who justly considered these settlements as military stations intended to repress and keep themselves in subjection ; and afterwards, by the arrival of a successful invader, who, by his conduct and implacable animosity, appeared to be the most formidable enemy that had ever attempted to shake the power, or to limit the progress of the Roman state.

The Carthaginians had been for some time employed in Spain, making trial of their strength, and forming their armies. In that country Hamilcar, an officer of distinguished fame in the late war with the Romans, and in that which ensued with the rebel mercenaries, had sought refuge from that disgust and those mortifications which, in the late treaty of peace, he felt from the abject councils of his country. And having found a pretence to levy new armies, he made some acquisitions of territory, to compensate the losses which Carthage had sustained by the surrender of Sardinia and of Sicily.

Spain appears to have been to the trading nations of Greece, Asia, and Africa, what America has been, though upon a larger scale, to the modern nations of Europe, an open field for new settlements, plantations, and conquests. The natives were brave, but impolitic, and ignorant of the arts of peace, occupied entirely with the care of their horses and their arms. These, says an historian, they valued more than their

* U. C. 529.

blood. They painted or stained their bodies, affected long hair with gaudy ornaments of silver and of gold. The men were averse to labour, and subsisted chiefly by the industry of their women. Their mountains abounded in mines of copper and of the precious metals; insomuch that, on some parts of the coast, it was reported that the natives had vessels and utensils of silver employed in the most common uses.

The Carthaginians had made their first visits to Spain under pretence of supporting the colony of Gades, which, like themselves, was sprung from Tyre. They made a settlement under the name of New Carthage, in a situation extremely favourable to the communication of Spain with Africa, and in the neighbourhood of the richest mines. Hamilcar, after a few successful campaigns, in extending the bounds of this settlement, being killed in battle, was succeeded by his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, who continued for some years to pursue the same designs.

The Romans, in the mean while, were occupied on the coast of Illyricum, or amused with alarms from Gaul. They were sensible of the progress made by their rivals in Spain; but imagining that any danger from that quarter was extremely remote, or while they had wars at once on both sides of the Hadriatic, being unwilling to engage at the same time with so many enemies, were content with a negotiation and a treaty, in which they stipulated with the Carthaginians that they should not pass the Iberus to the eastward, nor molest the city of Saguntum. This they considered as a proper barrier on that side, and professed for the inhabitants of that place the concern of allies. Trusting to the effect of this treaty, as sufficient to limit the progress of the Carthaginians in Spain, they proceeded, in the manner that has been mentioned, to contend with the Gauls for the dominion of Italy, which hitherto, under the frequent alarms they received from this people, was still insecure.

Hasdrubal, after nine years' service, being assassinated by a Spanish slave, who committed this desperate action in revenge of an injury which had been done to his master, was succeeded in the command of the Carthaginian troops in Spain by Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar. This young man, then of five and twenty years of age, who had, when a child, come into Spain with his father, seemed to inherit his genius, and preserved, probably with increasing animosity, his aversion to the Romans. Being reared and educated in camps, and from his earliest youth qualified to gain the confidence of soldiers, he on the death of Hasdrubal, by the choice of the troops, was raised to the command of that

army, and afterwards confirmed in it by the senate of Carthage.

The Carthaginians had now for some time ceased to feel the defeats and the sufferings which had induced them to accept of the late disadvantageous conditions of peace, and were sensible only of the lasting inconveniences to which that treaty exposed them. They had long felt, from the neighbourhood of the Romans, an insurmountable bar to their progress. They had felt, during above seventeen years from the date of their last treaty of peace, the loss of their maritime settlements, and the decline of their navigation.

Hamilcar, together with a considerable party of the senate, were supposed to have borne with the late humiliating peace, only that they might have leisure to provide for a subsequent war. "I have four sons," this famous warrior had been heard to say, "whom I shall rear like so many lions' whelps against the Romans." In this spirit he set armies on foot to be trained and accustomed to service in Spain, and had already projected the invasion of Italy from thence.

Whatever may have been the military services which the Carthaginians devised, the execution of them was secured by the coming of Hannibal to the head of their army. He was well formed for great enterprise, and professed an hereditary aversion to the Romans. In the first and second year of his command he continued the operations which had been begun by his predecessors in Spain; but during this time, although he made conquests beyond the Iberus, he did not molest the city of Saguntum, nor give any umbrage to the Romans. But, in the third year after his appointment, his progress alarmed the Saguntines, and induced them to send a deputation to Rome to impart their fears.

The Romans sent deputies into Spain, with orders to observe the posture of affairs, and to inform the Carthaginian officer on that station, of the engagements which had been entered into by his predecessor, and of the concern which they must undoubtedly take in the safety of Saguntum. The return which they had to this message gave sufficient intimation of an approaching war; and it appears that, before the Roman commissioners could have made their report, the siege of Saguntum was actually commenced by Hannibal. He had already formed his design for the invasion of Italy, and, that he might not leave to the Romans a place of arms and a powerful ally in the country from which he was about to depart, determined to occupy or destroy that place. He was impatient to reduce Saguntum before

any succours could arrive from Italy, or before any force could be collected against him, so as to fix the theatre of the war in Spain. He pressed the siege, therefore, with great impetuosity, exposing his person in every assault; and exciting, by his own example, with the pickaxe and spade, the parties at work in making his approaches. He was, nevertheless, by the valour of the besieged, which they exerted in hopes of relief from Rome, detained about eight months before this place, and deprived at last of great part of its spoils by the desperate resolution of the citizens, who chose to perish, with all their effects, rather than fall into the enemy's hands.* The booty, however, which he saved from this wreck enabled him, by his liberalities, to gain the affection of his army, and to provide for the execution of his design against Italy.

The attention of the Romans, during the dependence of this event, had been fixed on the settlements they were making at Cremona and Placentia, to keep in subjection the Gauls, and on a naval expedition which they had sent under the consul Æmilius to the coast of Illyricum. But, when roused from their inattention to Spanish affairs, by the fall of Saguntum, they proceeded according to the usual forms, and agreeably to the laws which they had, from time immemorial, prescribed to themselves in the case of injuries received, sent to demand satisfaction; complained at Carthage of the infraction of treaties; and required that Hannibal with his army should be delivered up to their messengers; or if this were refused, gave orders to denounce immediate war. The Roman commissioner, who spoke to this effect in the senate of Carthage, having made his demands, held up the lappet of his gown, and said, "Here are both peace and war, choose ye."—He was answered, "We choose that which you like best."—"Then it is war," he said; and from this time both parties prepared for the contest.†

Hannibal had been long devising the invasion of Italy, probably without communicating his design even to the councils of his own country. The war being now declared, he made his dispositions for the safety of Africa and Spain; gave intimation to the army under his command, that the Romans had required them to be delivered up, as a beast which commits a trespass is demanded in reparation for the damage he has done.

The Romans, a few years before, had mustered near eight hundred thousand men, to whom the use of arms was

* U. C. 534.

† U. C. 534.

familiar, to whom valour was the most admired of the virtues, and who were ready to assemble in any numbers proportioned to the service for which they might be required: the march from Spain into Italy lay across tremendous mountains, and through the territory of fierce and barbarous nations, who might not be inclined tamely to suffer a stranger to pass through their country, or lose any opportunity to enrich themselves with his spoils.

From such topics as these, historians have magnified the courage of this celebrated warrior at the expense of his judgment. It is probable, however, that both were equally exerted in this memorable service. In the contest of nations, that country, which is made the seat of the war, for the most part labours under great comparative disadvantage, is obliged to subvert the army of its enemy as well as its own, is exposed to devastation, to hurry, confusion, and irresolution of councils; so much that, in nations powerful abroad, invasions often betray great incapacity and weakness, or at least fix the whole sufferings of the war upon those who are invaded. Hannibal, besides this general consideration, had with great care informed himself of the real state of Italy, and knew, that though the Roman musters were formidable, yet much of their supposed strength consisted of discordant parts; a number of separate cantons recently united, and many of them disaffected to the power by which they were cemented together. A few striking examples of success, therefore, for which he trusted to his own conduct, and to the superiority of veterans hardened in the service of many years, were likely to let loose the discontents which subsisted in Italy, and to shake the fidelity of those allies who composed so great a part of the Roman strength. Even with a less favourable prospect of success, the risk was but small, compared to the chance of gain. A single army was to be staked against a mighty state.

Hannibal collected together for this expedition ninety thousand foot and twelve thousand horse. In his march to the Iberus, he met with no interruption. From thence to the Pyrenees, being opposed by the natives, he forced his way through their country; but apprehending some inconvenience from such an enemy left in his rear, he stationed his brother Hanno, with ten thousand foot and one thousand horse, to observe their motions, and to keep them in awe. After he had begun to ascend the Pyrenees, a considerable body of his Spanish allies deserted him in the night, and fell back to their own country. This example,

he had reason to believe, would prove contagious; and as the likeliest way to prevent its effects, he gave out, that the party which had left him, being no longer wanted for the purposes they served on the march, were returned by his orders to their own country; that he meant to spare a few more of the troops of the same nation, as being unnecessary in the remaining parts of the service; and actually dismissed a considerable body to confirm this opinion. By these separations, or by the swords of the enemy, his numbers, in descending the mountains, were reduced from ninety to fifty thousand foot and nine thousand horse, with seven and thirty elephants.

This celebrated march took place in the year of Rome five hundred and thirty-four, and in the consulate of Publius Cornelius Scipio, and Tiberius Sempronius Longus. The Romans, as usual on such occasions, raised two consular armies, and proposed, by immediate armaments directed to Spain and to Africa, to fix the scene of the war in the enemy's country.

Sempronius assembled an army and a fleet in the ports of Sicily, and had orders to pass into Africa. Scipio embarked with some legions for Spain, and, touching on the coast of Gaul, first learned that a Carthaginian army was marching by land into Italy. This intelligence determined him to land his troops at Marseilles, and to send out a detachment of horse to observe the country, and to procure farther and more particular information of the enemy.

Hannibal had arrived on the Rhone at some distance above its separation into two channels, and about four days' march from the sea. In order to effect the passage of the river, he instantly collected all the boats that could be found on its extensive navigation. At the same time, the natives, being unacquainted with strangers in any other capacity than that of enemies, assembled in great numbers to dispute his farther progress in their country.

Finding so powerful a resistance in front, he delayed the embarkation of his army on the Rhone, and sent a detachment up the banks of the river to pass it at a different place, and to make a diversion on the flank or the rear of the enemy who opposed him.

On the fifth day after the departure of this party, Hannibal, having intelligence that they had succeeded in passing the Rhone, made his disposition to profit by the diversion they were ordered to make in his favour. The larger vessels, which were destined to transport the cavalry, were ranged towards the stream, to break the force of the current; and many of the horses were fastened to the stern of

the boats. The smaller canoes were ranged below, and were to carry over a body of foot.

The Gauls, seeing these preparations, left their camp, and advanced to meet the enemy. They were drawn up on the banks of the river, when the Carthaginian detachment arrived on their rear, and lighted fires as a signal of their approach. Hannibal observing the smoke, notwithstanding the posture which the enemy had taken to resist his landing, instantly put off from the shore : both armies shouted ; but the Gauls being thrown into great consternation by the report and effects of an attack which they little expected on their rear, without resistance gave way to the Carthaginians in front, and were speedily routed. Hannibal, having thus lodged himself on the eastern banks of the Rhon in a few days, without any farther interruption or loss passed that river with his elephants, baggage, and the remainder of his army.

Soon after the Carthaginian general had surmounted this difficulty, intelligence came that a Roman army had arrived on the coast, and was disembarked at Marseilles. To gain further and more certain information of this enemy, he, nearly about the same time that Scipio had sent a detachment on the same design, directed a party of horse to examine the country. These parties met ; and, after a smart engagement, returned to their several armies with certain accounts of an enemy being near.

Scipio advanced with the utmost despatch to fix the scene of the war in Gaul ; and Hannibal hastened his departure, being equally intent on removing it, if possible, into Italy. The latter, in order to keep clear of the enemy, directed his march at a distance from the sea coast, and took his route by the banks of the Rhone. After four days' march from the place where he had passed this river, he came to its confluence with another river, which was probably the Isere, though by Polybius himself, who visited the tract of this march, the place seems to be mistaken for the confluence of the Rhone and Saone.* Here he found two brothers contending for the throne of their father, and

* This famous route has been a subject of different opinions, and of some controversy. In a country that is raised into vast mountains, round which the way must be found by narrow valleys, and the channels of rivers it is impossible to decide any question of this sort from the map. Polybius visited the ground, in order to satisfy himself on the tract of this famous route ; and, from this circumstance, as well as from his general knowledge of war, is undoubtedly the best authority to whom we can have recourse in this question. By his account, Hannibal, after four marches from the place at which he had passed the Rhone, came to the confluence of this with another river, which is evidently the Isere. From thence, having continued his route ten days

gained a useful ally by espousing the cause of the elder. Being, in return for this service, supplied with arms, shoes, and other necessities, and attended by the prince himself, who with a numerous body covered his rear, he continued his march during ten days, probably on the Isere, and about a hundred miles above the place where he had passed the Rhone, began to make his way over the summit of the Alps; a labour in which he was employed with his army during fifteen days.

The natives, either fearing him as an enemy, or proposing to plunder his baggage, had occupied every post at which they could obstruct his march; assailed him from the heights, endeavoured to overwhelm his army in the gorges of the mountains, or force them over precipices, which frequently sunk perpendicular under the narrow paths by which they were to pass.

Near to the summits of the ridge, at which he arrived by a continual ascent of many days, he had his way to form on the sides of frozen mountains, and through masses of perennial ice, which, at the approach of winter, were now covered with recent snow. Many of his men and horses, coming from a warm climate, perished by the cold; and his army was reduced to twenty thousand foot and six thousand cavalry, a force, in all appearance, extremely disproportioned to the service for which they were destined.

The Roman consul, in the mean time, had, in search of his enemy, directed his march to the Rhone; and, in three days after the departure of Hannibal, had arrived at the place where he had passed that river; but was satisfied that

on the river, and marched about a hundred miles, he began to ascend to the summit, and was employed in that difficult work fifteen days. This account may incline us to believe, that Hannibal followed the course of the Isere from its confluence with the Rhone to about Confians; that, having surmounted the summit, he descended into Italy by the channel of another river, or the Vale of Aoste. Such are the passages by which ridges of mountains, in every instance, are to be traversed. It is indeed asserted, or implied in the text of Polybius, that Hannibal marched ten days on the Rhone after its confluence with the Arar or Isara; but it is probable, that, in visiting a barbarous country, in which the Romans had yet no possessions, and with the language of which he was unacquainted, he may have mistaken the Isere for the Rhone, and consequently the Rhone for the Arar or Saone. The Rhone and Isere take their rise from the same ridge, and run nearly in the same directions. In this account of the course of the supposed Rhone which he visited, he mentions nothing of the Lake of Geneva, which is scarcely possible, if he had seen it. Polyb. lib. iii. c. 47.

According to this conjecture, Hannibal having marched by the vale of Isere, Grenoble, Chamberry, and Montmelian, and descended by the vale of Aoste, must have passed the summit at or near the lesser abbey of St Bernard.

any further attempts to pursue him in this direction, would only carry himself away from what was to be the scene of the war; he returned therefore without loss of time to his ships; sent his brother, Cneius Scipio, with the greater part of the army, to pursue the objects of the war in Spain; and he himself, with the remainder, set sail for Pisa, where he landed and put himself at the head of the legions which he found in that quarter; and which had been appointed to restore the settlements of Cremona and Placentia. With these forces he passed the Po, and was arrived on the Tecinus, when Hannibal came down into the plain country at some distance below Turin.

The Carthaginian general, at his arrival in those parts, had moved to his right; and, to gratify his new allies the Insubres, inhabiting what is now the duchy of Milan, who were then at war with the Taurini or Piedmontese, he laid siege to the capital of that country, and in three days reduced it by force. From thence he continued his march on the left of the Po; and, as the armies advanced, both generals, as if by concert, approached with their cavalry, or light troops, mutually to observe each other. They met on the Tecinus with some degree of surprise on both sides, and were necessarily engaged in a conflict, which served as a trial of their respective forces, and in which the Italian cavalry were defeated by the Spanish and African horse. The Roman consul was wounded, and with much difficulty rescued from the enemy by his son Publius Cornelius, afterwards so conspicuous in the history of this war, but then only a youth of seventeen years of age, entering on his military service.

The Roman detachment, it seems, had an easy retreat from the place of this encounter to that of their main army, and were not pursued. Scipio repassed the Po, marched up the Trebia, and, to stop the progress of the Carthaginians, while he waited for instructions or reinforcements from Rome, took post on the banks of that river. While he lay in this position, an alarming effect of his defeat, and of the disaffection of some Gauls who professed to be his allies, appeared in the desertion of two thousand horsemen of that nation, who went over to the enemy.

The Roman senate received these accounts with surprise, and with some degree of consternation. With a pusillanimity, also, uncommon in their councils, they ordered the other consul, Sempronius Longus, to desist from his design upon Africa, recalled him with his army from Sicily, and directed him, without delay, to join his colleague.

Sempronius, therefore, after he had met and defeated a

Carthaginian fleet on the coast of Sicily, and was preparing for a descent on Africa, suddenly changed his course, and having turned the eastern promontories of Sicily and Italy, steered for Ariminum, where he landed; and joined his colleague on the Trebia.

By the arrival of a second Roman consul, the balance of forces was again restored, and the natives still remained in suspense between the two parties at war. They had waited to see how the scales were likely to incline, and had not repaired to the standard of Hannibal, in the manner, it is probable, he expected; and this, with every other circumstance of the war, forced him to rapid and hazardous counsels. He had been, ever since the encounter on the Teci-nus, cautiously avoided by Scipio; who, even after he was reinforced by the other consular army, endeavoured to engage his colleague likewise in the same dilatory measures; but Sempronius, imputing this caution to the impression which Scipio had taken from his late defeat, and being confident of his own strength, discovered to the Carthaginian general an inclination to meet him, and to decide the campaign by a general action. Sempronius was farther encouraged in this intention by his success in some encounters of foraging parties, which happened soon after he had arrived; and Hannibal, seeing this disposition of his enemy, took measures to bring on the engagement in circumstances the most favourable to himself.

He had a plain in his front, through which the Trebia ran, and parted the two armies. He wished to bring the Romans to his own side of the river, and to fight on the ground where his army was accustomed to form. Here, besides the other advantages which he proposed to take, he had an opportunity to place an ambuscade, from which he could attack the enemy on the flank, or the rear, while they should be engaged in front. It was the middle of winter, and there were frequent showers of snow. The enemy's infantry, if they should ford the river, and afterwards remain any time inactive, were likely to suffer considerably from the effects of wet and cold. Hannibal, to lay them under this disadvantage, sent his cavalry across the fords, with orders to parade on the ground before the enemy's lines; and, if attacked, to repass the river with every appearance of flight. He had, in the mean time, concealed a thousand chosen men under the shrubby banks of a brook, which fell into the Trebia beyond the intended field of battle. He had ordered his army to be in readiness, and to prepare themselves with a hearty meal for the fatigues they were likely to undergo.

When the Carthaginian cavalry, passing the river as they had been ordered, presented themselves to the Romans, it was but break of day, and before the usual hour of the first meal in the Roman camp. The legions were, nevertheless, hastily formed; and pursued the enemy to where they were seen in disorder to pass the river; and there, by the directions of their general, who supposed he had gained an advantage, and with the ardour which is usual in the pursuit of victory, they passed the fords, and made a display of their forces on the opposite bank. Hannibal, expecting this event, had already formed his troops on the plain, and made a show of only covering the retreat of his cavalry, while he knew that a general action could no longer be avoided. After it began it front, the Romans were attacked in the rear by the party which had been posted in ambush for this purpose; and this being added to the other disadvantages under which they engaged, they were defeated with great slaughter.

The legions of the centre, to the amount of ten thousand men, cut their way through the enemy's line, and escaped to Placentia. Of the remainder of the army, the greater part either fell in the field, perished in attempting to repass the river, or were taken by the enemy. In this action, although few of the Africans fell by the sword, they suffered considerably by the cold and asperity of the season, to which they were not accustomed; and of the elephants, of which Hannibal had brought a considerable number into this country, only one survived.

In consequence of this victory, Hannibal secured his quarters on the Po; and by the treachery of a native of Brundisium, who commanded at Clastidium, got possession of that place, after the Romans had fortified and furnished it with considerable magazines for the supply of their own army. In his treatment of the prisoners taken at this place, he made a distinction between the citizens of Rome and their allies: the first he used with severity, the others he dismissed to their several countries, with assurances that he was come to make war on the Romans, and not on the injured inhabitants of Italy.

The Roman consul, Sempronius, was among those who escaped to Placentia. He meant, in his despatches to the senate, to have disguised the amount of his loss; but the difficulty with which his messenger arrived through a country overrun by the enemy, with many other consequences of his defeat, soon published at Rome the extent of that calamity. The people, however, as awakened from a dream of pusillanimity, in which they had hitherto seemed to con-

fine their views to the defence of Italy, they not only commanded fresh levies to replace the army they had lost on the Trebia, but they ordered the consul Scipio to his first destination in Spain, and sent forces to Sardinia, Sicily, Tarentum, and every other station where they apprehended any defection of their allies, or any impression to be made by the enemy.

The unfortunate Sempronius was succeeded by Caius Flaminius and Cn. Servilius; the first, being of obscure extraction, was chosen in opposition to the nobles, to whom the people imputed the disasters of the present war. He was ordered early in the spring to take post at Arretium, that he might guard the passes of the Apennines and cover Etruria, while the other consul was stationed at Ariminum to stop the progress of the enemy, if he attempted to pass by the eastern coast.

Hannibal, after his first winter in Italy, took the field for an early campaign; and being inclined to counsels the most likely to surprise his enemies, took his way to Etruria, by a passage in which the vales of the Apennines were marshy, and, from the effects of the seasons, still covered with water. In a struggle of many days with the hardships of this dangerous march, he lost many of his horses and much of his baggage; and himself, being seized with an inflammation in one of his eyes, lost the use of it. Having appeared, however, in a quarter where he was not expected, he availed himself of this degree of surprise with all his former activity and vigour.

The character of Flaminius, who was raised by the favour of the people in opposition to the senate, and who was now disposed to gratify his constituents by some action of splendour and success, encouraged Hannibal to hope that he might derive some advantage from the ignorance and presumption of his enemy. He therefore endeavoured to provoke the new consul, by destroying the country in his presence, and to brave his resentment, by seeming, on many occasions, to expose himself to his attacks. He even ventured to penetrate into the country beyond him with an appearance of contempt. In one of these movements he marched by the banks of the Lake Trasimenus, over which the mountains rose with a sudden and steep ascent. He trusted that the Roman consul would follow him, and occupied a post from which with advantage to attack him, if he should venture to engage amidst the difficulties of this narrow way. On the day in which his design was ripe for execution, he was favoured in concealing his position on the ascent of the mountains by a fog which covered the

brows of the hills; and he succeeded in drawing the Roman consul into a snare, in which he perished, with the greater part of his army.

The loss of the Romans in this action amounted to fifteen thousand men who fell by the sword, or who were forced into the lake and drowned. Of those who escaped by different ways, some continued their flight for fourscore miles, the distance of this field of battle from Rome, and arrived in the city with the news of this disastrous event. On the first reports great multitudes assembled at the place from which the people were accustomed to receive a communication of public despatches from the officers of state; and the pretor, who then commanded in the city, being to inform them of what had passed, began his account of the action with these words: "We are vanquished in a great battle; the consul, with great part of his army, is slain." He was about to proceed, but could not be heard for the consternation, and the cries which arose among the people.

To increase the general affliction, farther accounts were brought, at the same time, that four thousand horse, which had been sent, upon hearing that Hannibal had passed the Apennines, by the consul Servilius, to support his colleague, were intercepted by the enemy and taken. The senate continued their meetings for many days without interruption, and the result of their deliberations was to name a dictator. This measure, except to dispense with some form that hampered the ordinary magistrate, had not been adopted during an interval of five and thirty years. The choice fell upon Quintus Fabius Maximus. In proceeding to name him, the usual form could not be observed. Of the consuls, of whom one or the other, according to ancient practice, ought to name the dictator, one was dead; the other, being at a distance, was prevented by the enemy from any communication with the city. The senate, therefore, resolved that not a dictator, but a pro-dictator, should be named; and that the people should themselves choose this officer, with all the powers that were usually intrusted to the dictator himself. Fabius was accordingly elected pro-dictator, and in this capacity named M. Minutius Rufus for his second in command, or general of the horse.

While the Romans were thus preparing again to collect their forces, Hannibal continued to pursue his advantage. He might, with an enemy more easily subdued or daunted than the Romans, already have expected great fruit from his victories, at least he might have expected offers of concession and overtures of peace: but it is probable that he knew the character of this people enough, not to flatter

himself so early in the war with these expectations, or to hope that he could make any impression by a nearer approach to the city, or by any attempt on its walls. He had already, by his presence, enabled the nations of the northern and western parts of Italy to shake off the dominion of Rome. He had the same measures to pursue with respect to the nations of the south. The capital, he probably supposed, might be deprived of the support of its allies, cut off from its resources, and even destroyed; but while the state existed could never be brought to yield to an enemy.

Under these impressions the Carthaginian general, leaving Rome at a great distance on his right, repassed the Apennines to the coast of Picenum, and from thence directed his march to Apulia. Here he proceeded, as he had done on the side of Etruria and Gaul, to lay waste the Roman settlements, and to detach the natives from their allegiance to Rome. But while he pursued this plan in one extremity of Italy, the Romans took measures to recover the possessions they had lost on the other, or at least to prevent the disaffected Gauls from making any considerable diversion in favour of their enemy.

For this purpose, while Fabius Maximus was assembling an army to oppose Hannibal in Apulia, the pretor, Lucius Posthumius, was sent with a proper force to the Po. Fabius having united the troops that had served under the consul Servilius, with four legions newly raised by himself, followed the enemy. On his march he issued a proclamation, requiring all the inhabitants of open towns and villages in that quarter of Italy to retire into places of safety, and the inhabitants of every district to which the enemy approached, to set fire to their habitations and granaries, and to destroy whatever they could not remove in their flight. Though determined not to hazard a battle, he drew near to the Carthaginian army, and continued from the heights to observe and to circumscribe their motions. Time alone, he trusted, would decide the war in his favour, against an enemy who was far removed from any supply or recruit, and in a country that was daily wasting by the effect of his own depredations.

Hannibal, after endeavouring in vain to bring the Roman dictator to a battle, perceived his design to protract the war; and considering inaction as the principal evil he himself had to fear, frequently exposed his detachments, and even his whole army, in dangerous situations. The advantages he gave by these acts of temerity were sometimes effectually seized by his wary antagonist, but more fre-

quently recovered by his own singular conduct and unfailing resources.

In this temporary stagnation of Hannibal's fortune, and in the frequent opportunities which the Romans had, though in trifling encounters, to measure their own strength with that of the enemy, their confidence began to revive. The public resumed the tranquillity of its councils, and looked round with deliberation to collect its force. The people and the army recovered from their late consternation.

A slight advantage over Hannibal, who had too much exposed his foraging parties, gained by the general of the horse in the absence of the dictator, confirmed the army and the people in this opinion, and greatly sank the reputation of Fabius. As he could not be superseded before the usual term of his office was expired, the senate and people raised the general of the horse to an equal command with the dictator, and left them to adjust their pretensions between them.

Minutius being now associated with the dictator, in order to be free from the restraints of a joint command, and from the wary counsels of his colleague, desired, as the properest way of adjusting their pretensions, to divide the army between them. In this new situation he soon after, by his rashness, exposed himself and his division to be entirely cut off by the enemy. But being rescued by Fabius, he gave proofs of a magnanimous spirit, confessed the favour he had received, and committing himself, with the whole army to the conduct of his colleague, he left this cautious officer, during the remaining period of their joint command, to pursue the plan he had formed for the war.

At this time, however, the people, and even the senate, were not willing to wait for the effect of such seemingly languid and dilatory measures as Fabius was inclined to pursue. They resolved to augment the army in Italy to eight legions, which, with an equal number of the allies, amounted to eighty thousand foot and seven thousand two hundred horse; and they intended, in the approaching election of consuls, to choose men, not only of reputed abilities, but of decisive and resolute counsels. As such they elected C. Terentius Varro, supposed to be of a bold and dauntless spirit; and, in order to temper his ardour, joined with him in the command L. Emilius Paulus, an officer of approved experience, who had formerly obtained a triumph for his victories in Illyricum, and who was high in the confidence of the senate, as well as in that of the people.

In the autumn before the nomination of these officers to

command the Roman army, Hannibal had surprised the fortress of Cannæ on the Aufidus, a place to which the Roman citizens of that quarter had retired with their effects, and at which they had collected considerable magazines and stores. This, among other circumstances, determined the senate to hazard a battle, and, to furnish the new consuls with instructions to this effect.

These officers, it appears, having opened the campaign on the banks of the Aufidus, advanced by mutual consent within six miles of the Carthaginian camp, which covered the village of Cannæ. Here they differed in their opinions, and, by a strange defect in the Roman policy, had no rule by which to decide their precedency, being obliged to take the command each a day in his turn.

Varro, contrary to the opinion of his colleague, proposed to give battle on the plain, and with this intention, as often as the command devolved upon him, still advanced on the enemy. In order that he might occupy the passage and both sides of the Aufidus, he encamped in two separate divisions on its opposite banks, having his larger division on the right of the river, opposed to Hannibal's camp. Still taking the opportunity of his turn to command the army, he passed with the larger division to a plain, supposed to be on the left of the Aufidus, and there, though the field was too narrow to receive the legions in their usual form, he pressed them together, and gave the enemy, if he chose it, an opportunity to engage. To accommodate his order to the extent of his ground, he contracted the head and the intervals of his manipules or columns, making their depth greatly to exceed the front which they turned to the enemy.

He placed his cavalry on the flanks, the Roman knights on his right towards the river, and the horsemen of the allies on the left.

Hannibal no sooner saw this movement and disposition of the enemy, than he hastened to meet them on the plain which they had chosen for the field of action. He likewise passed the Aufidus, and, with his left to the river, and his front to the south, formed his army upon an equal line with that of the enemy.

He placed the Gaulish and Spanish cavalry on his left facing the Roman knights, and the Numidians on his right facing the allies.

The flanks of his infantry, on the right and the left, were composed of the African foot, armed in the Roman manner, with the pilum, the heavy buckler, and the stabbing sword. His centre, though opposed to the choice of the Roman

legions, consisted of the Gaulish and the Spanish foot, variously armed and intermixed together.

Hitherto no advantage seemed to be taken on either side, As the armies fronted south and north, even the sun, which rose soon after they were formed, shone upon the flanks, and was no disadvantage to either. The superiority of numbers was greatly on the side of the Romans; but Hannibal rested his hopes of victory on two circumstances; first, on a motion to be made by his cavalry, if they prevailed on either side of the enemy's wings; next, on a position he was to take with his centre, in order to begin the action from thence, to bring the Roman legions into some disorder, and expose them, under that disadvantage to the attack which he was prepared to make with his veterans on both their flanks.

The action accordingly began with a charge of the Gaulish and Spanish horse, who, being superior to the Roman knights, drove them from their ground, forced them into the river, and put the greater part of them to the sword. By this event the flank of the Roman army, which might have been joined to the Aufidus, was entirely uncovered.

Having performed this service, the victorious cavalry had orders to wheel at full gallop round the rear of their own army, and to join the Numidian horse on their right, who were still engaged with the Roman allies. By their unexpected junction, the left wing of the Roman army was likewise put to flight, and pursued by the African horse; at the same time the Spanish cavalry prepared to attack the Roman infantry, wherever they should be ordered, on the flank or the rear.

While these important events took place on the wings, Hannibal amused the Roman legions of the main body with a singular movement that was made by the Gauls and Spaniards, and with which he proposed to begin the action. These came forward, not in a straight line abreast, but swelling out to a curve in the centre, without disjoining their flanks from the African infantry, who remained firm on their ground.

By this motion they formed a kind of crescent convex to the front. The Roman maniples of the right and the left, fearing, by this singular disposition, to have no share in the action, hastened to bend their line into a corresponding curve, and, in proportion as they came to close with the enemy, charged them with a confident and impetuous courage. The Gauls and Spaniards resisted this charge no longer than was necessary to awaken the precipitant ardour with which victorious troops often blindly pursue a flying

enemy. And the Roman line being bent, and fronting inwards to the centre of its concave, the legions pursued where the enemy led them. Hurrying from the flanks to share in the victory, they narrowed their space as they advanced, and the men who were accustomed to have a square of six feet clear for wielding their arms, being now pressed together, so as to prevent entirely the use of their swords, found themselves struggling against each other for space, in an inextricable and hopeless confusion.

Hannibal, who had waited for this event, ordered a general charge of his cavalry on the rear of the Roman legions, and at the same time an attack from his African infantry on both their flanks; by these dispositions and joint operations, without any considerable loss to himself, he effected an almost incredible slaughter of his enemies.* With the loss of no more than four thousand, and these chiefly of the Spanish and Gaulish infantry, he put fifty thousand of the Romans to the sword.

The consul, *Emilius Paulus*, had been wounded in the shock of the cavalry; but when he saw the condition in which the infantry were engaged, he refused to be carried off, and was slain. The consuls of the preceding year, with others of the same rank, were likewise killed. Of six thousand horse only seventy troopers escaped with *Varro*. Of the infantry three thousand fled from the carnage that took place on the field of battle, and ten thousand who had been posted to guard the camp were taken.

The unfortunate consul, with such of the stragglers as joined him in his retreat, took post at *Venusia*; and put himself in a posture to resist the enemy, till he could have instructions and reinforcements from *Rome*.

This calamity which had befallen the Romans in *Apulia*, was accompanied with the defeat of the pretor *Posthumius*, who, with his army, on the other extremity of the country, was cut off by the Gauls. A general ferment arose throughout all Italy. Many cantons of Grecian extraction, having been about sixty years subject to *Rome*, now declared for *Carthage*. Others, feeling themselves released from the dominion of the Romans, but intending to recover their liberties, not merely to change their masters, now waited for an opportunity to stipulate the conditions on which they were to join the victor. Of this number were the cities of *Capua*, *Tarentum*, *Locri*, *Metapontus*, *Crotona*, and other towns in the south-east of the peninsula. In other cantons, the people being divided and opposed to each other with

* U. C. 537.

great animosity, severally called to their assistance such of the parties at war as they judged were most likely to support them against their antagonists. Some of the Roman colonies, even within the districts that were open to the enemy's incursions, still adhered to the metropolis; but the possessions of the republic were greatly reduced, and scarcely equalled what the state had acquired before the expulsion of Pyrrhus from Italy, or even before the annexation of Campania, or the conquest of Samnium. The allegiance of her subjects and the faith of her allies in Sicily were greatly shaken. Hiero, the king of Syracuse, died soon after this event, leaving his successors to change the party of the vanquished for that of the victor.

Demetrius, the exiled king of Pharos, being still at the court of Macedonia, and much in the confidence of Philip, who had recently mounted the throne of that kingdom, urged that it was impossible to remain an indifferent spectator in the contest of such powerful nations, persuaded the king to prefer the alliance of Carthage to that of Rome, and to join with Hannibal in the reduction of the Roman power; observing, that with the merit of declaring himself while the event was yet in any degree uncertain, the king of Macedonia would be justly entitled to a proper share of the advantages to be reaped in the conquest. Philip accordingly endeavoured to accommodate the differences which he had to adjust with the Grecian states, and sent an officer into Italy to treat with Hannibal. In the negotiation which followed it was agreed, that the king of Macedonia and the republic of Carthage should consider the Romans as common enemies; that they should pursue the war in Italy with their forces united, and make no peace but on terms mutually agreeable to both. In this treaty the interest of the prince of Pharos was particularly attended to; and his restoration to the kingdom from which he had been expelled by the Romans, with the recovery of the hostages which had been exacted from him, were made principal articles.

Hannibal, from the time of his arrival in Italy, after having made war for three years in that country, had received no supply from Africa, and seemed to be left to pursue the career of his fate with such resources as he could devise for himself; but this alliance with the king of Macedonia promised amply to make up for the deficiency of his aids from Carthage; and Philip, by an easy passage into Italy, was likely to furnish him with every kind of support or encouragement that was necessary to accomplish the end of the war.

The Romans were apprized of this formidable accession to the power of their enemy, as well as of the general defection of their own allies, and of the revolt of their subjects. When the vanquished consul returned to the city, in order to attend the nomination of a person who might be charged with the care of the commonwealth, the senate, as conscious that he had acted at Cannæ by their own instructions, went out in a kind of procession to meet him; and, upon a noble idea, that men are not answerable for the strokes of fortune, nor for the effects of superior address in an enemy, they overlooked his temerity and his misconduct in the action; they attended only to the undaunted aspect he preserved after his defeat, returned him thanks for not having despaired of the commonwealth; and from thenceforward continued their preparations for war, with all the dignity and pride of the most prosperous fortune. They refused to ransom the prisoners who had been taken by the enemy at Cannæ, and treated with sullen contempt, rather than severity, those who by an early flight had escaped from the field. They prepared to attack or to resist at once, in all the different quarters to which the war was likely to extend, and took their measures for the support of it in Spain, in Sardinia and Sicily, as well as in Italy. They continued their fleets at sea; not only observed and obstructed the communications of Carthage with the seats of the war, but having intercepted part of the correspondence of Philip with Hannibal, they sent a powerful squadron to the coast of Epirus; and, by an alliance with the states of Etolia, whom they persuaded to renew their late war with Philip, found that prince sufficient employment on the frontiers of his own kingdom, effectually prevented his sending any supply to Hannibal, and, in the sequel, reduced him to the humiliating necessity of making a separate peace.

In the ordinary notions which are entertained of battles and their consequences, the last victory of Hannibal at Cannæ, in the sequel of so many others that preceded it, ought to have decided the war; and succeeding ages have blamed this general for not marching directly to the capital, in order to bring the contest to a speedy termination by the reduction of Rome itself. But his own judgment is of much more weight than that of the persons who censure him. He knew the character of the Romans and his own strength. Though victorious, he was greatly weakened by his victories, and at a distance from the means of a reinforcement or supply. He was unprovided with engines of attack; and, so far from being in a condition to venture on the siege of Rome, that he could not undertake even that of Naples,

which, after the battle of Cannæ, refused to open its gates ; and, indeed, soon after this date he received a check from Marcellus in attempting the siege of Nola.

The Romans, immediately after their disaster at Cannæ, prepared again to act on the offensive, formed a fresh army of five and twenty thousand men, which they sent, under the dictator Junius Pera, to collect the remains of their late vanquished forces, and to annoy the enemy wherever they might find him exposed.

Hannibal kept in motion with his army to protect the cantons that were inclined to declare on his side ; but together with the extent and multiplication of his new possessions, which obliged him to divide his army in order to occupy and to secure them, he became sensible of his weakness ; and, with the accounts sent to Carthage of his victories, he likewise sent representations of his losses, and demanded a supply of men, of stores, and of money. But the councils of that republic, though abject in misfortune, were insolent or remiss in prosperity. Being broken into factions, the projects of one party, however wise, were frustrated by the opposition of the other. One faction received the applications of Hannibal with scorn, and moved that the occasion should be seized to treat with the Romans, when the state had reason to expect the most advantageous terms. But no measures were adopted, either to obtain peace, or effectually to support the war.

The friends, as well as the enemies of Hannibal, contributed to the neglect with which he was treated. In proportion as his friends admired him, and gloried in his fortune, they acted as if he alone were able to surmount every difficulty ; and they accordingly were remiss in supporting him. The republic, under the effects of this wretched policy, with all the advantages of her navigation and of her trade, suffered her navy to decline, and permitted the Romans to obstruct, or molest, all the passages by which she could communicate with her armies in Spain and Italy, or her allies in Sicily and Greece. They voted indeed to Hannibal, on the present occasion, a reinforcement of four thousand Numidian horse, forty elephants, and a sum of money. But this resolution appears to have languished in the execution ; and the armament, when ready to sail, was suffered to be diverted from its purpose, and ordered to Spain instead of Italy.

The soldiers of Hannibal, now elated with victory, perhaps grown rich with the plunder of the countries they had overrun, and of the armies they had defeated ; and presuming that the war was at an end, or that they them-

selves ought to be relieved, or sent to enjoy the rewards of so glorious and so hard a service, became remiss in their discipline, or indulged themselves in all the excesses, of which the means were to be found in their present situation. Being mere soldiers of fortune, without a country, or any civil ties to unite them together, they were governed by the sole authority of their leader, and by their confidence in his singular abilities. Although there is no instance of their openly mutinying against him in a body, there are many instances of their separately and clandestinely deserting his service. The Spanish and Numidian horse, in particular, to whom he owed great part of his victories, upon some disappointment in their hopes, or upon a disgust taken at the mere stagnation of his fortune, went over in troops and squadrons to the enemy.

Notwithstanding these mortifications and disappointments, Hannibal still kept his footing in Italy for sixteen years; and so long gave sufficient occupation to the Romans, in recovering, by slow and cautious steps, what he had ravished from them. When the war had taken this turn, and the Romans, by the growing skill and ability of their leaders, as well as by the unconquerable spirit of their people, began to prevail, Hannibal, receiving no support directly from Africa, endeavoured to procure it from Spain by the junction of his brother Hasdrubal, to whom he recommended a second passage over the Alps, in imitation of that which he himself had accomplished. Every attempt of this sort, however, had been defeated, during six years, by the vigour and abilities of the two Scipios, Cneius and Publius, and afterwards by the superior genius of the young Publius Scipio, who, succeeding the father and the uncle, as will be seen in the sequel, supported, with fresh lustre, the cause of his country.

The two Scipios, after some varieties of fortune, though, while they acted together, they were generally successful, having, in the seventh year of this war, separated their forces, were both, within the space of forty days, betrayed or deserted by their allies, and cut off by the superior force of the enemy.

The natives of Spain had, by their want of union and military skill, suffered many foreign establishments to be made in their country; they had permitted the Carthaginians, in particular, to possess themselves of a considerable territory; but afterwards, in order to remove them from thence, accepted of the protection of the Romans; and, in the sequel, occasionally applied to either of these parties for aid against the other, being, during the greater part of this war. the unstable friends, or irresolute enemies of both.

A service of so much danger, so little in public view, and at a distance from the principal scenes of the war, was not sought for as an opportunity to accumulate fame. The young Scipio, fired with the memory of his father and of his uncle, who had fallen in that service, and, instead of being deterred by their fate, eager to revenge their fall, courted a command, which every other Roman is said to have declined. This young man, as has been observed, had begun his military services, in the first year of this war, on the Tecinus, where he had the good fortune to rescue his father. He was afterwards present at the battle of Cannæ, and was one of the few, who, from that disastrous field, forced their way to Canusium. Being chosen commander by those who escaped to this place, he prevented the effect of a desperate resolution they had taken to abandon Italy. Many of the severer forms of the commonwealth having been dispensed with in the present exigencies of the state, Scipio had been chosen edile, though under the legal standing age, being only turned of twenty-four.

The Romans had been hitherto preserved in all the extremities of their fortune by the superiority of their national character, and by means of political establishments, which, although they do not inspire men with superior genius, yet raise ordinary citizens to a degree of elevation approaching to heroism; enabling the states they compose to subsist in great dangers, and to await the appearance of superior men. They had not yet opposed to Hannibal an officer of similar talents, or of a like superiority to the ordinary race of mankind. Scipio was the first who gave indubitable proofs of his title to this character. Upon his arrival in Spain, with a fleet of thirty galleys, and ten thousand men, he found the remains of the vanquished Romans retired within the Iberus, where, under the command of T. Fontei and Lucius Marcius, they had scarcely been able to withstand the further progress of the enemy. There he accordingly landed, and fixed his principal quarters for the winter at Tarragona. By his information of the posture of the enemy, it appeared, that they had placed all their magazines and stores at New Carthage; and that, thinking this place sufficiently secured by a garrison of a thousand men, they had separated their army into three divisions, and were gone in different directions to extend their possessions, or to cover the territories they had acquired. Of these divisions, none were nearer to their principal station than ten days' march.

Upon these informations, Scipio formed a project to surprise the town of New Carthage, though at a distance from

Tarragona of above three hundred miles. He rested his hopes of success on the security of his enemies, and on the prospect of being able to accomplish the greater part of his march before his design should be suspected, or before any measures could be taken to prevent him. For this purpose he disclosed it to Lælius alone; and gave him orders to steer for that place with his fleet, while he himself made hasty marches by land. This city was situated, like Old Carthage, on a peninsula, or neck of land, surrounded by the sea. Scipio took post on the isthmus, fortified himself towards the continent, from which he had reason to expect some attempt would be made to relieve the place, and secured himself on that side, before he attacked the town.

In his first attempts on the ramparts he was repulsed; but observing, that at low water, the walls were accessible at a weaker place than that at which he made his assault; and having encouraged his men, by informing them that the god of the sea had promised to favour them, which they thought to be verified by the seasonable ebb which ensued, he there planted his ladders, and forced his way into the town. Here he made a great booty in captives, money, and ships.

In this manner Scipio conducted his first exploit in Spain; and having carried on the war with equal ability and success for five years, he obliged the Carthaginians, after repeated defeats, to abandon that country. He himself, while Hasdrubal attempted to join his brother Hannibal in Lucania, and Mago to make a diversion in his favour in Liguria, returned to Rome. He was yet under thirty years of age, and not legally qualified to bear the office of consul. But having an unquestionable title to the highest confidence of his country, the services which he had already performed procured a dispensation in his favour. He was accordingly raised to the consulate; and when the provinces came to be assigned to the officers of state, he moved that Africa should be included in the number, and be allotted to himself: "There," he said, "the Carthaginians may receive the deepest wounds, and from thence be the soonest obliged for their own safety to recall their forces from Italy."

This motion was unfavourably received by the greater part of the senate; and the great Fabius, from a prepossession in favour of that dilatory war, by which he himself had acquired so much glory; and by which, at a time when procrastination was necessary, he had retrieved the fortunes of his country, obstinately opposed the adopting of this hazardous project.

It had been, for the most part, an established maxim in the counsels of Rome, to carry war, when in their power,

into the enemy's country. They had been prevented in the present case only by the unexpected appearance of Hannibal in Italy, and were likely to return to the execution of their first design as soon as their affairs at home should furnish them with a sufficient respite. We may, therefore, conceive what they felt of the difficulties of the present war, from this and other circumstances; that even after fortune had so greatly inclined in their favour, they did not yet think themselves in condition to retaliate on the enemy; or safe against the designs which Hannibal might form in Italy, if they should divide their forces, or detach so great a part of them as might be necessary to execute the project of a war in Africa.

They concluded, however, at last, with some hesitation that Scipio, while the other consul should remain opposed to Hannibal in Italy, might have for his province the island of Sicily, dispose of the forces that were still there, receive the voluntary supplies of men and of money, which he himself might be able to procure; and if he found, upon mature deliberation, a proper opportunity, that he might make a descent upon Africa. Agreeably to this resolution, he set out for the province assigned him, having a considerable fleet equipped by private contribution, and a body of seven thousand volunteers, who embarked in high expectation of the service in which he proposed to employ them.

While Scipio, by his exertions in Spain, was rising to this degree of eminence in the councils of his country, the war, both in Sicily and in Italy, had been attended with many signal events.

The fortunes of Hannibal, as we have already remarked, had been some time on the decline. Capua and Tarentum, notwithstanding his utmost efforts to preserve them, had been taken by the Romans. While the first of these places was besieged, he endeavoured to force the enemy's lines: and being repulsed, made a feint, by a hasty march towards Rome itself, to draw off the besiegers. By this movement he obtained a sight of that famous city; but again retired without having gained any advantage from this intended diversion. His allies, in Sicily, were entirely overwhelmed by the reduction of Syracuse; but that which chiefly affected his cause, by cutting off all hopes of future supplies or reinforcements, was the fall of his brother Hasdrubal. This officer had found means to elude the forces of Scipio in Spain; and attempted, by pursuing the tract of his brother into Italy, to join him in that country. In this design he actually surmounted all the difficulties of the Pyrenees and of the Alps, had passed the Po and the Rubicon, and advanced to the

Metaurus before he met with any considerable check. There, at last, he encountered with the Roman consuls, M. Claudius Nero and M. Livius Salinator, and was defeated with the loss of his whole army, amounting to fifty thousand men, of whom not one escaped being taken or slain.

In the following year, Mago, as we have observed, being unable to effect any considerable service in Spain, had orders to make sail for Italy, and once more endeavour to reinforce the army of Hannibal. But, having lost some time in a fruitless attempt on New Carthage, and a report in the mean time having spread of Scipio's intention to invade Africa, he received a second order to land at Genoa; and, that he might distract or employ the forces of the Romans at home, endeavour to rekindle the war in Liguria and Gaul.

Such was the state of affairs when Scipio proposed to invade Africa, passed into Sicily, and employed the whole year of his consulate in making preparations. In this interval, however, having access by sea to the coasts which were occupied by Hannibal in Italy, he forced the town of Locri, and posted a garrison there, under the command of Pleminius, an officer, whose singular abuses of power became the subjects of complaint at Rome, and drew some censure on Scipio himself, by whom he was employed, and supposed to be countenanced.

Scipio, while he commanded the Roman army in Spain, having already conceived his design upon Africa, had with this view opened a correspondence with Syphax, king of Numidia; and had actually made a visit in person to this prince, who, being at variance with Carthage, was easily prevailed upon to promise his support to the Romans, in case they should carry the war into that country. The Roman general, now ready to embark with a considerable army, sent Lælius with the first division, probably to examine the coast, to choose a proper station at which to fix the assembling of his fleet, and to call upon the king of Numidia to perform his engagements.

This division of the fleet, at its first appearance, was supposed to bring the Roman proconsul, with all his forces, from Sicily; and the Carthaginians, whatever reason they might, for some time, have had to expect this event, were, in a great measure, unprepared for it. They had their levies to make at home, and troops to hire from abroad; their fortifications were out of repair, and their stores and magazines unfurnished. Even their fleet was not in a condition to meet that of the enemy. They now hastened to supply these defects; and, though undeceived with respect to the numbers and force of the first embarkation, they made no

doubt that they were soon to expect another; accordingly they continued their preparations, and took every measure to secure themselves, or to avert the storm with which they were threatened.

They had recently made their peace with Syphax, king of Numidia; and, instead of an enemy in the person of this prince, had obtained for themselves a zealous ally. He had broke off his engagements with Scipio and the Romans, tempted by his passion for Sophonisba, the daughter of Hasdrubal, a principal citizen of Carthage, who refused to marry him on any other terms. But this transaction, which procured to the Carthaginians one ally, lost them another; for this high-minded woman, who, instead of a dower, contracted for armies in defence of her country, had formerly captivated Massinissa, another Numidian prince, that, being deprived of his kingdom by Syphax, had received his education, and formed his attachments, at Carthage.

Such was the state of parties in Africa, when this country was about to become the scene of war. The Carthaginians, still in hopes of diverting the storm, sent earnest instructions to both their generals to press upon the Romans in Italy, and to make every effort to distract or to occupy their forces, and to leave them no leisure for the invasion of Africa. They sent, at the same time, an embassy to the king of Macedonia, to remind him of the engagements into which he had entered with Hannibal, and to represent the danger to which he and every other prince must be exposed from a people so ambitious as the Romans, if they were suffered to unite, by a conquest, the resources of Carthage with those of Rome.

Philip, at the earnest entreaty of many Grecian states, who were anxious that the Romans should have no pretext to embroil the affairs of Greece, had, in the preceding year, made a separate peace, first with the Etolians, and afterwards with the Romans themselves; and was now extremely averse to renew the quarrel. The occasion, however, appeared to be of great moment; and he listened so far to the remonstrances of the Carthaginians, as to furnish them with a body of four thousand men, and a supply of money.

The harbour of Hippo, about fifty miles west from Carthage, and under the Fair Promontory, being seized by Lælius, furnished a place of reception for Scipio's fleet. This officer accordingly sailed from Sicily with fifty armed galleys, and four hundred transports. As he had reason to expect, that the country would be laid waste before him, great part of this shipping was employed in carrying his provisions and stores. The numbers of his army are not

mentioned His first object was to make himself master of Utica, situated about half way between Carthage and Hippo. the place where he landed. He accordingly, without loss of time, presented himself before it; but soon found himself unable to execute his purpose. The country, to a considerable distance, was laid waste or deserted by the natives, and could not subsist his army. The Carthaginians had a great force in the field, consisting of thirty thousand men, under Hasdrubal, the son of Gisgo, together with fifty thousand foot and ten thousand horse, under Syphax, king of Numidia, who now advanced to the relief of Utica.

Scipio, on the junction and approach of these numerous armies, retired from Utica, took possession of a peninsula on the coast, fortified the isthmus which led to it, and in this station having a safe retreat, both for his fleet and his army, continued to be supplied with provisions by sea from Sardinia, Sicily, and Italy. But being thus reduced to act on the defensive in the presence of a superior enemy, and not likely, without some powerful reinforcements from Italy, to make any further impression on Africa, he had recourse to a stratagem which, though amounting nearly to a breach of faith, was supposed to be allowed in war with an African enemy.

The combined armies of Carthage and Numidia lay in two separate encampments. and, it being winter, were lodged in huts covered with brushwood and the leaves of the palm. In these circumstances the Roman general formed a design to set fire to their camp, and, in the midst of the confusion which that alarm might occasion, to attack them in the night. In order to gain a sufficient knowledge of the ground, and of the ways by which his emissaries must pass in the execution of this design, he entered into a negotiation, and affected to treat of conditions for terminating the war. Being possessed of these informations, he broke off the treaty, advanced with his army in the night, and, in many different places at once, set fire to Hasdrubal's camp. The flames, being easily caught by the dry materials, spread with the greatest rapidity. The Carthaginians supposing that these fires were accidental, and having no apprehension of the presence of an enemy, ran without arms to extinguish them: and the Numidians, with still less concern, left their huts to gaze on the scene, or to lend their assistance. In this state of security and confusion Scipio attacked and dispersed them with great slaughter; and being, in consequence of this action, again master of the field, he returned to Utica, and renewed the siege or blockade of that place.

It had been already proposed at Carthage to have recourse

to their last resort, the recalling of Hannibal to Italy. But this motion, upon a report from Hasdrubal and Syphax, that they were again arming and assembling their forces, and that they were joined by a recruit of four thousand men newly arrived from Spain, was for some time laid aside. These hopes, however, were speedily blasted by a second defeat which the combined army received before they were fully assembled, and by a revolution which ensued in the kingdom of Numidia, where Syphax, pursued by Massinissa and Lælius, was vanquished and driven from his kingdom, which from thenceforward became the possession of his rival, and a great accession of strength to the Romans. On this calamity Hasdrubal being threatened by the populace of Carthage with vengeance for his repeated miscarriages, and being aware of the relentless and sanguinary spirit of his countrymen, durst not trust himself in their hands; and in a species of exile, with a body of eight thousand men that adhered to him, withdrew from their service.

In this extremity there was no hope but in the presence of Hannibal; and expresses were accordingly sent both to Mago and himself, to hasten their return into Africa, with all the forces they could bring for the defence of their country.

Hannibal, it is probable, had for some time been prepared for this measure, having transports in readiness to embark his army; yet he is said to have received the order with some expressions of rage. "They have now accomplished," he said (speaking of the opposite faction at Carthage,) "what, by withholding from me the necessary supports in this war, they have long endeavoured to effect. They have wished to destroy the family of Barcas; and rather than fail in their aim, are willing to bury it at last under the ruins of their country."

While the Carthaginians were thus driven to their last resource, Scipio advanced towards their city, and invested at once both Tunis and Utica, which, though at the distance of above thirty miles from each other, may be considered as bastions on the right and the left, which flanked and commanded the country which led to this famous place. His approach gave the citizens a fresh alarm, and seemed to bring their danger too near to suffer them to await the arrival of relief from Italy. It appeared necessary to stay the arm of the victor by a treaty; and thirty senators were accordingly deputed to sue for peace. These deputies, in their address to the Roman proconsul, laid the blame of the war upon Hannibal, supported, as they alleged, by a desperate faction who had adopted his wild designs. They intreated that the Romans would once more be pleased

to spare a republic which was again brought to the brink of ruin by the precipitant counsels of a few of its members.

In answer to this abject request, Scipio mentioned the terms upon which he supposed that the Romans would be willing to treat of a peace. A cessation of arms was agreed to, and a negotiation commenced; but it was suddenly interrupted and prevented of its final effect by the arrival of Hannibal. This general, after many changes of fortune, having taken the necessary precautions to secure his retreat, in case he should be called off for the defence of Carthage; now in the seventeenth year of the war, and after he had supported himself sixteen years in Italy, by the sole force of his personal character and abilities, against the whole weight, institutions, resources, discipline, and national character of the Romans, transported his army from thence, landed at Hadrumetum, at a distance from any of the quarters occupied by the Romans, and drew to his standard all the remains of the lately vanquished armies of Carthage, and all the forces which the republic was yet in a state to supply.*

The forcing of Hannibal to evacuate Italy was a victory to Scipio; as this was the first fruit which he ventured to promise from the invasion of Africa. With this enemy, however, in his rear, it was not expedient to continue the attack of Tunis or Utica. He withdrew his army from both these places, and prepared to contend for the possession of the field.

The Carthaginian leader, having collected his forces at Hadrumetum, marched to the westward, intending to occupy the banks of the Bagrada, and from thence to observe and counteract the operations of his enemy. Scipio, intending to prevent him, or to occupy the advantageous ground on the upper Bragada, took his route to the same country and while both directed their march to Sicca, they met on the plains of Zama.

When the armies arrived on this ground, neither party was in condition to protract the war. Hannibal, whose interest it would have been to avoid any hazardous measures, and to tire out his enemy by delays, if he were in possession of his own country, or able to protect the capital from insult, was in reality obliged to risk the whole of its fortunes, in order to rescue it from the hands of the enemy, or to prevent their renewing the blockade.

Scipio was far advanced in an enemy's country, which was soon likely to be deserted by its natives, and exhausted of every means of subsistence; he was far removed from

the sea, the principal and only secure source of any lasting supply; surrounded by enemies; a great army under Hannibal in his front; the cities of Utica, Carthage, and Tunis, with all the armed force that defended them, in his rear.

In such circumstances both parties probably saw the necessity of immediate action; and the Carthaginian general, sensible of the unequal stake he was to play, the safety of his country against the fortune of a single army, whose loss would not materially affect the state from whence they came, chose to try the effect of a negotiation, and for this purpose desired a personal interview with Scipio.

In compliance with this request, the Roman general put his army in motion, and the Carthaginians advancing at the same time, they halted at the distance of thirty stadia, or about three miles, from each other. The generals, attended by a few horse, met on an eminence between their lines. Hannibal began the conference, by expressing his regret that the Carthaginians should have aimed at any conquests beyond their own coasts in Africa, or the Romans beyond those of Italy. "We began," he said, "with a contest for Sicily; we proceeded to dispute the possession of Spain, and we have each in our turns seen our native land overrun with strangers, and our country in danger of becoming a prey to its enemies. It is time that we should distrust our fortune, and drop an animosity which has brought us both to the verge of destruction. This language indeed may have little weight with you, who have been successful in all your attempts, and who have not yet experienced any reverse of fortune; but I pray you to profit by the experience of others. You now behold in me a person who was once almost master of your country, and who am now brought, at last, to the defence of my own. I encamped within five miles of Rome, and offered the possessions round the forum to sale. Urge not the chance of war too far. I now offer to surrender, on the part of Carthage, all her pretensions to Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, and every other island that lies between this continent and yours. I wish only for peace to my country, that she may enjoy undisturbed her ancient possessions on this coast; and I think, that the terms I offer you are sufficiently advantageous and honourable to procure it."

To this address Scipio replied, "That the Romans had not been aggressors in the present or preceding wars with Carthage: that they strove to maintain their own rights, and to protect their allies; and that, suitably to these righteous intentions, they had been favoured by the justice of the gods: that no one knew better than himself the instability

of human affairs, nor should be more on his guard against the chances of war. The terms," he said, "which you now propose might have been accepted of, had you offered them while yet in Italy, and had proposed, as a prelude to the treaty, to remove from thence; but now, that you are driven from every post, you propose to surrender, and are forced, not only to evacuate the Roman territory, but are stripped of part of your own. These concessions are no longer sufficient; they are no more than a part of the conditions already agreed to by your countrymen, and which they, on your appearance in Africa, so basely retracted. Besides what you now offer, it was promised on their part, that all Roman captives should be restored without ransom; that all armed ships should be delivered up; that a sum of five thousand talents should be paid, and hostages given by Carthage for the performance of all these articles.

"On the credit of this agreement we granted a cessation of arms, but were shamefully betrayed by the councils of Carthage. Now to abate any part of the articles which were then stipulated, would be to reward a breach of faith, and to instruct nations hereafter how to profit by perfidy. You may therefore be assured, that I will not so much as transmit to Rome any proposal that does not contain, as preliminaries, every article formerly stipulated, together with such additional concessions as may induce the Romans to renew the treaty. On any other terms than these, Carthage must vanquish, or submit at discretion."

From this interview both parties withdrew with an immediate prospect of action; and on the following day, neither having any hopes of advantage from delay or surprise, came forth into the plain in order of battle.

Hannibal formed his army in three lines with their elephants in front.

Scipio drew forth his legions in their usual divisions, but somewhat differently disposed.

Hannibal had above eighty elephants, with which he proposed to begin the action. Behind these he formed the mercenary troops, composed of Gauls, Ligurians, and Spaniards. In a second line he placed the Africans and natives of Carthage; and in a third line, about half a quarter of a mile behind the first, he placed the veterans who had shared with himself in all the dangers and honours of the Italian war. He placed his cavalry in the wings opposite to those of the enemy.

Scipio posted Lælius with the Roman cavalry on his left, and Massinissa with the Numidian horse on his right. He placed the maniples, or divisions of the legions, not as

usual mutually covering their intervals, but covering each other from front to rear. His intention in this disposition was to leave continued avenues or lanes, through which the elephants might pass without disordering the columns. At the head of each line he placed the velites, or irregular infantry, with orders to gall the elephants, and endeavour to force them back upon their own lines; or, if this could not be effected, to fly before them into the intervals of the heavy-armed foot, and, by the ways which were left open between the maniples, to conduct them into the rear. It being the nature of these animals, even in their wild state, to be the dupes of their own resentment, and to follow the hunter by whom they are galled into any snare that is prepared for them; the design thus formed by Scipio to mislead them, accordingly proved successful. As soon as the cavalry began to skirmish on the wings, Hannibal gave the signal for the elephants to charge. They were received by a shower of missile weapons from the Roman light infantry, and, as usual, carried their riders in different directions. Some broke into their own line with considerable disorder, others fled between the armies and escaped by the flanks, and many, incited with rage, as Scipio had foreseen, pursued the enemy that galled them through the intervals of the Roman divisions quite out of the action; and in a little time the front of the two armies was cleared of these animals, and of all the irregulars who had skirmished between them in the beginning of the battle.

In the mean time the first and second line of Hannibal's foot had advanced, to profit by the impression which the elephants were likely to make. The third line still remained on its ground, and seemed to stand aloof from the action.

In this posture, the first line of the Carthaginian army, composed of Gauls and Ligurians, engaged with the Roman legions; and, after a short resistance, were forced back on the second line, who, having orders not to receive them, nor allow them to pass, presented their arms. The fugitives were accordingly massacred on both sides, and fell by the swords of their own party, or by those of the enemy.

The second line, consisting of the African and native troops of Carthage, had a similar fate; they perished by the hands of the Romans, or by those of their own reserve, who had orders to receive them on their swords, and turn them back, if possible, against the enemy.

Scipio, after so much blood had been shed, finding his men out of breath, and spent with hard labour, embarrassed with heaps of the slain, scarcely able to keep their footing on ground become slippery with mud and gore, and in these

circumstances likely to be instantly attacked by a fresh enemy, who had yet borne no part in the contest; he endeavoured, without loss of time, to put himself in a posture to renew the engagement.

His cavalry, by good fortune, in these hazardous circumstances, were victorious on both the wings, and were gone in pursuit of the enemy. He ordered the ground to be cleared; and his columns, in the original form of the action, having been somewhat displaced, he ordered those of the first line to close to the centre; those of the second and third to divide, and, gaining the flanks to, form in a continued line with the front. In this manner, while the ground was clearing of the dead, probably by the Velites or irregular troops, he, with the least possible loss of time, and without any interval of confusion, completed his line to receive the enemy. An action ensued, which, being to decide the event of this memorable war, was likely to remain some time in suspense; when the cavalry of the Roman army, returning from the pursuit of the horse they had routed, fell on the flank of the Carthaginian infantry, and obliged them to give way.

Hannibal had rested his hopes of victory on the disorder that might arise from the attack of his elephants, and if this should fail, on the steady valour of the veterans, whom he reserved for the last effort to be made, when he supposed that the Romans, already exhausted in their conflict with the two several lines whom he sacrificed to their ardour in the beginning of the battle, might be able to contend with the third, yet fresh for action and inured to victory. He was disappointed in the effect of his elephants, by the precaution which Scipio had taken in opening his intervals, and in forming continued lanes for their passage from front to rear; and of the effect of his reserve, by the return of the enemy's horse, while the action was yet undecided. Having taken no measures to secure a retreat, nor to save any part of his army, he obstinately fought every minute of the day to the last; and when he could delay the victory of his enemy no longer, he quitted the field with a small party of horse, of whom many, overwhelmed with hunger and fatigue, having fallen by the way, he arrived with a few, in the course of two days and two nights, at Hadrumentum. Here he embarked and proceeded by sea to Carthage. His arrival convinced his countrymen of the extent of their loss. Seeing Hannibal without an army, they believed themselves vanquished; and, with minds unprovided with that spirit which supported the Romans when overthrown at Trasimenum and Cannæ, were now desirous, by any conces-

sions, to avert the supposed necessary consequences of their fate.

The riotous populace, that had so lately pursued with vengeance, and threatened to tear asunder the supposed authors of peace, were now silent, and ready to embrace any terms that might be prescribed by the enemy. Hannibal, knowing how little his countrymen were qualified to contend with misfortune, confessed in the Senate, that he was come from deciding, not the event of a single battle, but the fate of a great war, and advised them to accept of the victor's terms. They accordingly determined to sue for peace.

In the mean time the Roman army, in pursuit of its victory, was returned to the coast; and having received from Italy a large supply of stores and military engines, together with a reinforcement of fifty galleys, was in a condition, not only to resume the siege of Utica and Tunis, but likewise to threaten with a storm the capital itself; and, for this purpose, began to invest the town and block up the harbour.

Scipio being himself embarked, and conducting the fleet to its station, was met by a Carthaginian vessel that hoisted wreaths of olive and other ensigns of peace. This vessel had ten commissioners on board, who were authorized to declare the submission of Carthage, and to receive the victor's commands.

The ambition of Scipio might have inclined him to urge his victory to the utmost, that he might carry, instead of a treaty, the spoils of Carthage to adorn his triumph at Rome. But he is said to have spared the rival of his country, in order to maintain the emulation of courage and of national virtue. This motive Cato, who had served under him in the capacity of questor, and who was not inclined to flatter, did him the honour to assign in a speech to the senate.

Scipio, having appointed the Carthaginian commissioners to attend him at Tunis, prescribed the following terms:

That Carthage should continue to hold in Africa all that she had possessed before the war, and be governed by her own laws and institutions:

That she should make immediate restitution of all Roman ships or other effects taken in violation of the late truce:

Should release or deliver up all captives, deserters, or fugitive slaves, taken or received during any part of the war:

Surrender the whole of her fleet, saving ten galleys of three tier of oars:

Deliver up all the elephants she then had in the stalls of the republic, and refrain from taming or breaking any more of those animals: H

That she should not make war on any nation whatever without consent of the Romans :

That she should indemnify Massinissa for all the losses he had sustained in the late war :

And, to reimburse the Romans, pay a sum of ten thousand talents, at the rate of two hundred talents a year for fifty years :

That the state should give hostages for the performance of these several articles, such as Scipio should select from the noblest families of Carthage not under fourteen, nor exceeding thirty years of age.

And that, until this treaty should be ratified, they should supply the Roman forces in Africa with pay and provisions.

When these conditions were reported in the senate of Carthage, one of the members arose, and in terms of indignation, attempted to dissuade the acceptance of them : but Hannibal, with the tone of a master, interrupted and commanded him silence. This action was resented by a general cry of displeasure ; and Hannibal, in excuse of his rashness, informed the senate, that he had left Carthage while yet a child of nine years old ; that he was now at the age of forty-five ; and, after a life spent in camps and military operations, returned for the first time to bear his part in political counsels ; that he hoped they would bear with his inexperience in matters of civil form, and regard more the tendency than the manner of what he had done ; that he was sensible the proposed terms of peace were unfavourable, but he knew not how else his country was to be rescued from her present difficulties ; he wished to reserve her for a time in which she could exert her resolution with more advantage. He hoped that the senate would, in the present extremity, accept, without hesitation, and even without consulting the people, conditions which, though hard, were notwithstanding, less fatal to the commonwealth than any one could have hoped for in the night that followed the battle of Zama.

The conditions were accordingly accepted, and deputies were sent to Rome with concessions, which in some measure stripped the republic of her sovereignty. The ratification of the treaty was remitted to Scipio, and the peace concluded on the terms he had prescribed.*

Four thousand Roman captives were instantly released : five hundred galleys were delivered up and burned : the first payment of two hundred talents was exacted, and, under the execution of this article, many members of the Carthaginian senate were in tears. Hannibal was observed to smile, and

being questioned on this insult to the public distress, made answer, that a smile of scorn for those who felt not the loss of their country, until it affected their own interest, was an expression of sorrow for Carthage.

CHAP. VI.

State of Rome at the Peace with Carthage—Wars with the Gauls—With the Macedonians—Battle of Cynocephala—Peace—Freedom to Greece—Preludes to the War with Antiochus—Flight of Hannibal to that Prince—Antiochus passes into Europe—Dispositions made by the Romans—Flight of Antiochus to Asia—His Defeat at the Mountains of Sipylus—Peace and Settlement of Asia—Course of Roman Affairs at Home, &c.

IN the course of the war, which terminated in so distinguished a superiority of the Roman over the Carthaginian republic, the victors had experienced much greater distress than had, even in the last stage of the conflict, fallen to the share of the vanquished. The greater part of their territory, during a series of years, lay waste; was ruined in its habitations, plundered of its slaves and its cattle, and deserted of its people. The city itself was reduced to a scanty supply of provisions that threatened immediate famine. The numbers of the people on the rolls, either by desertion or by the sword of the enemy, uncommonly fatal in such a series of battles, were reduced from two hundred and seventy thousand to nearly the half.

In the musters and levies, no less than twelve colonies at once withheld their names, and refused their support. Yet, proof against the whole of these sufferings, the Romans maintained the conflict with a resolution, which seemed to imply, that they considered the smallest concession as equivalent to ruin. In the further exertion of this unconquerable spirit, when the pressure of this war was removed, their fortunes rose to a flood of prosperity and greatness, proportioned to the low ebb to which they seemed to have fallen in the course of it.

They joined, in Sicily, to their former possessions, the city of Syracuse, and the whole kingdom of Hiero. In Spain, they succeeded to all the possessions, to all the claims and pretensions of Carthage, and became masters of all that had been the subject of dispute in the war. They brought Carthage herself under contribution, and reduced her almost to the state of a province.

On the side of Macedonia and Illyricum, in their treaty with Philip and his allies, they retained to themselves considerable pledges, not only of security, but of power; and

began to be considered in the councils of Greece, as the principal arbiters of the fortunes of nations.

In Italy, where their progress was still of greater consequence, they became more absolute masters than they had been before the war.—The cantons, which, in so general a defection of their other allies, had continued faithful to them, were fond of the merit they had acquired, and were confirmed in their attachment by the habits of zeal which they had exerted in so prosperous a cause. Those, on the contrary, who had revolted, or withdrawn their allegiance, were reduced to a state of submission more entire than they had formerly acknowledged; and the sovereignty of this whole country being, till now, precarious and tottering, derived, from the very storm which had shaken it, stability and force.

The Romans, being altogether men of the sword, or of the state, made no application to letters or sedentary occupations. They had hitherto no historian, poet, or philosopher; and it was only now, that any taste began to appear for the compositions of such authors. Fabius, Ennius, and Cato, became the first historians of their country, and raised the first literary monuments of genius that were to remain with posterity.

The inclination which now appeared for the learning of the Greeks was, by many, considered as a mark of degeneracy, and gave rise to the never-ending dispute, which, in this as in other nations, took place between the patrons of ancient and modern manners. The admirers of ancient times, being attached to what they received from their ancestors, were disposed to reject every new improvement, and seemed willing to stop the progress of ingenuity itself. The gay, and the fashionable, on the other hand, liked what was new; were fond of every change, and would ever adopt the latest invention as the model of propriety, elegance, and beauty.

To the simplicity of the Roman manners in other respects, and to the ability of the most accomplished councils of state, was joined a very gross superstition, which led to many acts of absurdity and cruelty. In this particular it appears, that the conceptions of men are altogether unconnected with their civil and political, as well as military character; and that the rites they adopt, even when innocent, and the most admissible expressions of worship, do not deserve to be recorded for any other purpose, than to show how far they are arbitrary; and how little, in many instances, they are directed, even among nations otherwise the most accomplished, by any rule of utility, humanity, or reason.

The peace with Carthage was introduced with some popular acts in favour of those who had suffered remarkably in the hardships and dangers of the war. Large quantities of corn that had been seized in the magazines of the enemy, were sold in the city at a low price, and a considerable distribution of land was made to numbers of the people in reward of their long and perilous services.

These precedents, however reasonable in the circumstances from which they arose, were the sources of great abuse; private citizens, in the sequel, were taught to rely on public gratuities, and were made to hope, that, in the midst of sloth and riot, they might subsist without care, and without industry. Soldiers were taught to expect extraordinary rewards for ordinary services; and ambitious leaders were instructed how to transfer the affection and the hopes of the legions from the republic to themselves.

The treaty with Carthage, while it terminated the principal war in which the Romans were engaged, left them at leisure to pursue a variety of quarrels, which still remained on their hands, rather than bestowed entire peace. The Insubres, and other Gaulish nations on the Po, although they had not taken the full advantage, which the presence of Hannibal in Italy might have given them against the Romans, were unable to remain at peace, and were unwilling to acknowledge the sovereignty of any nation over their own. Having a Carthaginian exile, of the name of Hamilcar, at their head, they attempted again to dislodge the colonies of Cremona and Placentia; and, on that side, with various events for some years, furnished occupation to the arms of the republic.

Philip, notwithstanding the treaty of peace, which, about three years before, he had concluded with the Romans, had lately supplied the Carthaginians with an aid of four thousand men, and a sum of money. Of the men he had sent to the assistance of Carthage, many had been taken at the battle of Zama, and detained as captives. Trusting, however, to the authority of his crown, he sent, during the dependance of the treaty between the Romans and Carthaginians, a message to demand the enlargement of those Macedonian captives. To this message the senate replied with disdain, that the king of Macedonia appeared to desire a war and should have it. The people, nevertheless, wearied and exhausted with the late contest, engaged in this war with uncommon reluctance. Philip, from being the head of a free confederacy, in which the Achæans, and many other states of Greece, were united, aspired to become the despotic sovereign of that country; and, either by

insinuation or force, had made himself master of most places of consequence round the *Ægean* sea, whether in Europe or Asia. Upon the death of Ptolemy Philopater, and the succession of an infant son of that prince to the throne of Egypt, Philip had entered into a treaty with Antiochus, king of Syria, to divide between them the possessions of the Egyptian monarchy; and, in order to be ready for his more distant operations, was busy in reducing the places which still held out against him in Greece, and in its neighbourhood.

For this purpose he sent an army with orders to take possession of Athens, and was himself employed in the siege of Abydos. The Athenians sent a message to Rome to sue for protection; a suit which the Romans readily granted, and the officers, yet remaining in Sicily at the head of the sea and the land forces that had been employed against Carthage had orders, without touching on Italy, to make sail for the coast of Epirus.

The consul Sulpicius was destined to command in that country. He found, upon his arrival, that Attalus, the king of Pergamus, and the republic of Rhodes, had taken arms to oppose the progress of Philip.* In concert with these allies, and in conjunction with the Dardanians and other cantons who joined him on the frontiers of Macedonia, the Roman consul was enabled to relieve and to protect the Athenians. But the other states of Greece, though already averse to the pretensions of Philip, and impatient of his usurpations; even the Etolians, though the most determined opponents of this prince, seemed to be undecided on this occasion, and deferred entering into any engagement with the Romans. The reputation of the Macedonian armies was still very high; and it was doubtful, whether these Italian invaders, considered as an upstart and a barbarous power, might be able to protect the states that declared for them against the vengeance of so great a king.

The two first years of the war elapsed without any decisive event. Philip took post on the mountains that separate Epirus from Thessaly, and effectually prevented the Romans from penetrating any farther. But, in the third year, Titus Quintius Flamininus, yet a young man under thirty years of age, being consul, and destined to this command, brought to an immediate issue a contest which, till then, had been held in suspense.

The Roman legion, except in its first encounters with Pyrrhus, had never measured its force, or compared its ad-

* U. C. 552.

vantages with any troops formed on the Grecian model, and, to those who reasoned on the subject, may have appeared greatly inferior to the Macedonian phalanx. One presumption, indeed, had appeared in favour of the legion, that both Pyrrhus and Hannibal thought proper to adopt its weapons, though there is no account of their having imitated the line of battle, or form of its manipules.

The phalanx was calculated to present a strong and impenetrable front, supported by a depth of column, which might be varied occasionally to suit with the ground. The men were armed with spears of twenty-one or twenty-four feet in length. The five first ranks could level and carry their points to the front of the column. The remainder rested their spears obliquely on the shoulders of those that were before them; and, in this posture, formed a kind of shed to intercept the missiles of the enemy; and, with their pressure, supported, or urged, the front of their own column.

When Flaminius arrived in Epirus, Philip received him in a rugged pass, where the Aous bursts from the mountains that separate Epirus from Thessaly. This post was strong, and could be defended even by irregular troops; but the phalanx, in this place, had none of its peculiar advantages; the Romans got round it upon the heights, and obliged the king of Macedonia to retire.* He fled through Thessaly, and, to incommode the enemy in their attempts to pursue him, laid waste the country as he passed.

The flight of Philip determined the Etolians to take part in the war against him; and the Roman general, after the operations of the campaign, being to winter in Phocis on the gulf of Corinth, found, that the greater part of the Achæan states were likewise disposed to join him. He took advantage of this disposition, and got possession of all the towns in the Peloponnesus, except Corinth and Argos, which hitherto had been in alliance with the enemy.

In the following spring, Philip, having with great industry collected and disciplined the forces of his kingdom, received Flaminius in Thessaly. The armies met in the neighbourhood of Pheræ; but the country, being interspersed with gardens, and cut with plantations and hedges, the king declined a battle, and withdrew. Flaminius, knowing that he had magazines at Scotusa, supposed that he was gone towards that place, and followed by a route that was separated from that of the king by a ridge of hills. In the first day's march, the Romans and Macedonians were

* U. C. 555.

hid from each other by the heights; on the second day they were covered by a thick fog, which hindered them from seeing distinctly even the different parts of their own armies.

The scouts and advanced parties on both sides, had, about the same time, ascended the heights, to gain some observation of their enemy. They met by surprise, and could not avoid an engagement. Each party sent for support to the main body on their respective armies. The Romans had begun to give way, when a reinforcement arrived, that enabled them, in their turn, to press on the enemy, and to recover the height from which they had been forced. Philip was determined not to hazard his phalanx on that unfavourable ground, broken and interspersed with little hills; which, on account of their figure, were called the *Cynocephalæ*. He sent, nevertheless, all his horse and irregular infantry to extricate his advanced party, and to draw them off with honour. Upon their arrival, the advantage came to be on the side of the Macedonians; and the Roman irregulars were forced from the hills in the utmost disorder. The cry of victory was carried back to the camp of the king. His courtiers exclaimed that now was the time to urge a flying enemy, and to complete his advantage. The king hesitated, but could not resist the general voice. He ordered the phalanx to move; and he himself at the head of the right wing, while his left was marching in column, had arrived and formed on the hill.—On his way to this ground, he was flattered with recent tracks of the victory which had been gained by his troops.

Flamininus, at the same time, alarmed at the defeat of his light infantry, and seeing a kind of panic likely to spread through the legions, put the whole army in motion, and advanced to receive his flying parties. In that point of time the fog cleared up, and showed the right of the Macedonian phalanx already formed upon the height.

Flamininus hastily attacked this body, and being unable to make any impression, gave up the day, on that quarter, for lost. But, observing that the enemy opposite to his right were not yet come to their ground, he instantly repaired to that wing, and, with his elephants and light infantry, supported by the legions, attacked them before the phalanx was formed, and put them to flight.

In this state of the action, a tribune of the victorious legion, being advanced in pursuit of the enemy, as they fled beyond the flank of their own phalanx on the right, took that body in the rear; and, by this fortunate attempt, in so critical a moment, completed the victory in all parts of the field.

From this field the king of Macedonia fled with a mind already disposed not to urge the fate of the war any farther. He retired to the passes of the mountains that surround the valley of Tempe, and from thence sent a message to the Roman general with overtures of peace.

Flamininus encouraged the advances that were made to him by Philip, granted a cessation of arms, gave him an opportunity to continue his applications for peace at Rome, and forwarded the messenger whom he sent on this business. The senate, on being informed that the king of Macedonia cast himself entirely on the mercy and justice of the Romans, named ten commissioners to be joined with Flamininus, and to determine, in presence of the other parties concerned in the war, what were to be the terms on which peace should be granted.*

The time was not yet come for the Romans to lay hold of any possessions beyond the sea of Iona. They had passed into that country as the protectors of Athens, were now satisfied with the title of deliverers of Greece, and obliged the king of Macedonia to withdraw his garrisons from every fortress in that country, leaving every Grecian city, whether of Europe or Asia, to the full enjoyment of its own independence and separate laws.

To secure the effects of this treaty, they obliged him to surrender all his ships of war, except one galley, reduce his ordinary military establishment to five hundred men, and give up entirely the use of elephants.

For themselves, they desired only to have the Roman captives restored, deserters delivered up, and a sum of one thousand talents to reimburse the expense of the war.

To give the greater solemnity to the gift of liberty which they made to the Grecian states, they had this act of splendid munificence proclaimed at the Isthmus of Corinth, in presence of great multitudes from every part of Greece met to solemnize the ordinary games; and, in return, were extolled by the flatterers of their power, or the dupes of their policy, as the common restorers of freedom to mankind.

The Romans hastened the completion of the treaty, by which they disarmed the king of Macedonia, upon having received information, that Antiochus, king of Syria, was in motion with a mighty force, and, without declaring his intentions, made sail towards Europe. This prince succeeded to the kingdom of Syria a few years before Ptolemy Philopater began to reign in Egypt, or Philip in Greece; and

* U. C. 557.

was nearly of the same age with those princes. In his youth he waged war with the kingdom of Egypt for the possession of the Celo-Syria, and with the Satraps or governors of his own provinces, who attempted to render themselves independent, and to dismember his kingdom. His success in re-uniting all the members of his own monarchy, put him in possession of a great empire, which reached from the extremities of Armenia and Persia, to Sardis and the seas of Greece. The splendour of his fortunes procured him the title of Antiochus the Great. The crown of Egypt had been, for some time, the principal object of his jealousy and of his ambition. He had made an alliance with Philip, in which the common object of the parties was to avail themselves of the minority of Ptolemy: but he was not aware, in time, how much the king of Macedonia stood in need of his support against the Romans; or how much it was his interest to preserve that kingdom as a barrier against the encroachments of an ambitious people, who now began to direct their views to the east. He advanced, however, though now too late, by the coast of Asia to the Hellespont, with a fleet and an army rather destined for observation, than for any decided part in a war which was brought to a conclusion about the time of his arrival in those parts.

At Lysimachia, the Roman deputies, who were charged with the adjustment and execution of the late treaty, met with Antiochus, and demanded a restitution of all the towns he had taken from Ptolemy, enjoining him to refrain from any attempts on the freedom of Greece.

To these requisitions the king of Syria with scorn replied, That he knew the extent of his rights, and was not to be taught by the Romans: that they were busy in setting bounds to the ambition of other states, but set no bounds to their own; advised them to confine their views to the affairs of Italy, and to leave those of Asia to the parties concerned.

During the conferences which were held on these subjects, the parties received a report of the death of Ptolemy, the infant king of Egypt; which, though incorrect, occasioned the return of Antiochus into Syria, and suspended for some time the war which he was disposed to carry into Europe.

Under pretence of observing the motions of this prince, the Romans, although they had professed an intention to evacuate the Greek cities, still kept possession of Demetrias, a convenient seaport in Thessaly, and of Chalcis on the straits of Eubœa; and Flamininus, under pretence of restraining the violence of Nabis, the tyrant of Lacedemon,

and of restoring the tranquillity of that country, still remained with an army in the Peloponnesus.

While the Romans were carrying their fortunes with so high a hand in this part of the world, and defeating armies hitherto deemed invincible, they received a considerable check in Spain.

That country had been recently divided into two provinces; and, though now possessed by the Romans, without the competition of any foreign rival, it continued to be held by a very difficult and precarious tenure, that of force, opposed to the impatience and continual revolts of a fierce and numerous people.

Spain had already furnished to Italy its principal supplies of silver and gold. At every triumph obtained in that country, the precious metals were brought in considerable quantities to the treasury of Rome; but were purchased for the most part with the blood of her legions, and led her into a succession of wars, in which she experienced defeat as well as victory. About the time that Flaminius had terminated the war in Macedonia, the Proconsul Sempromius, in the nearer province of Spain, was defeated with the loss of many officers of rank. He himself was wounded in the action, and soon after died.

Even the Roman possessions in Italy were not yet fully recovered from the troubles that had arisen in the time of the late war with Carthage. The Gaulish nations on the Po still continued in a state of hostility. The slaves, of which the numbers had greatly increased in Etruria, and other parts of the country, being mostly captives taken from enemies inured to arms and to violence, interrupted their servitude with frequent and dangerous insurrections. Having persons among them, who had been accustomed to command as well as to obey, they often deserted from their masters, formed into regular bodies, and encountered the armies of the republic in battle.

The state, nevertheless, though still occupied in this manner with petty enemies and desultory wars, never lost sight of the great objects of its jealousy, from whom were to be apprehended a more regular opposition, and better concerted designs against its power. Among these, the Carthaginians were not likely to continue longer at peace than until they recovered their strength, or had the prospect of some powerful support.—Antiochus, possessed of all the resources of Asia, was ready to join with this or any other state that was inclined to check the advancement of the Roman power.

About a year after the conclusion of the war with Philip

the Romans received intelligence, that the Carthaginians had entered into a correspondence with Antiochus; and as their supposed implacable enemy, Hannibal, was then in one of the first offices of state at Carthage, it was not doubted, that the secret intrigues of those parties were hostile to Rome.* It was determined, therefore, to send a proper commission into Africa, under pretence of an amicable mediation, in some differences that subsisted between Masinissa and the people of Carthage; but with injunctions to the commissioners to penetrate, if possible, the designs of the Carthaginians; and, if necessary, to demand that Hannibal, the supposed author of a dangerous conspiracy against the peace of both the republics, should be delivered up.

This great man, from the termination of the late war, had acquitted himself in the political departments, to which he had been appointed, with an integrity and ability worthy of his high reputation as a soldier; but his reformatory in a corrupted state had procured him enemies at home, not less dangerous than those he had encountered abroad. Upon the arrival of the Roman deputies, he suspected that the commission regarded himself, and made no doubt that a faction whose ambition he had restrained, and many particular persons whom he had recently incensed by the reformation of certain abuses in which they were interested, would gladly seize that opportunity to rid themselves of a powerful enemy, and from fear or some other motives, prevail on a corrupted people to deliver him up to the Romans. It is said, that he had been long prepared for an emergence of this sort, and, without any embarrassment, appeared, upon the arrival of these messengers, in all the functions of his public character; but at night withdrew to the coast, and set sail for Asia. He was received by Antiochus at Ephesus, and treated as a person worthy to direct the councils of a great king.

Flaminius had, during the greater part of this interval, remained in Greece, and had been occupied in settling the affairs of that country. He made war at the same time against Nabis the tyrant of Lacedemon; and obliged him to evacuate Argos, and to cede all his possessions on the coast. By these means he removed all the dangers with which any of the states of the Achean league had been threatened, and restored them to the full possession of their freedom.

To leave no ground of jealousy or distrust in Greece, Flaminius persuaded the Roman commissioners to evacu-

ate Demetrias, Chalcis, and Corinth, which they were disposed to retain in the prospect of a war with Antiochus; and having thus concluded the affairs that were intrusted to him, he returned into Italy, and made his entry at Rome in a triumphal procession, which lasted three days, with a splendid display of spoils, captives, and treasure.

All the troubles of Greece, at the departure of Flamininus, seemed to be composed; these appearances, however, were but of short duration. Nabis was impatient under his late concessions; and flattering himself that the Romans would not repossess the sea merely to exclude him from the possession of a few places of little consequence on the coast of the Peloponnesus, began to employ insinuation, corruption, and open force, in order to recover the towns he had lost. In this design he was encouraged by the Etolians, who flattered him with the hopes of support, not only from themselves, but likewise from Antiochus, and even from Philip; all of whom had an evident interest in repressing the growing power of the Italian republic. The Etolians had expected, at the close of the war with Philip, to come into the place of that prince, as the head of all the Grecian confederacies, and to have a principal share in the spoils of his kingdom. They urged the Roman commissioners to the final suppression of that monarchy; and, being disappointed in all their hopes, complained of the Romans, as bestowing upon others the fruits of a victory which had been obtained chiefly by their means, and as having, under the pretence of setting the Greeks at liberty, reduced that country into a weak and disjointed state, which might in any future period render it an easy prey to themselves.

At the conclusion of the peace with Philip, Antiochus thinking himself by the effect of that treaty aggrieved, in respect to the freedom granted to some cantons in Thrace, on which he derived a claim from his ancestors, sent an embassy to Rome with remonstrances on that subject. The Romans made answer, in the capacity which they had assumed of the deliverers of Greece, that they would oppose every attempt to enslave any Grecian settlement; and as they had no designs on Asia, they expected that the king of Syria would not intermeddle in the concerns of Europe. While they gave this answer to the ambassador of Antiochus, they resolved, under pretence of treating with the king, to send commissioners, in their turn, to observe his motions.

At this time it became known that Antiochus was meditating the invasion of Italy as well as of Greece; that the first of these objects was to be committed to Hannibal, who

undertook to prevail on the republic of Carthage to take a principal share in the war ; and that, for this purpose, he had sent a proper person to concert measures with his party at Carthage ; but the intrigue being discovered, the Carthaginians, in order to exculpate themselves, sent an account of it to Rome.

Before this intelligence had been received, the Roman commissioners were set out for Asia. They had an audience of the king of Syria at Apamea, and a conference afterwards, on the object of their commission, with a principal officer of his court at Ephesus.

The deputies of the cities whose interest was in question were also present at these conferences, and each pleaded the cause of his country. In the mean time the Romans were preparing for hostilities. Under pretence of repressing the violences committed by Nabia, they ordered one army into Greece, and stationed a second on the coast of Calabria and Apulia, in order to support the operation of the first. They had reason to consider the Etolians as enemies, and even to distrust the intentions of many of the republics lately restored to their liberty ; and sent a fresh commission into Greece, requiring those who were named in it to act under the direction of Flaminius.

The Etolians had already invited Antiochus to pass into Europe. The measure was accordingly under deliberation in the council of this prince. Hannibal warmly recommended the invasion of Italy as the most effectual blow that could be struck at the Romans. He made an offer of himself for this service, demanding a hundred galleys, ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse. With this armament he proposed to present himself on the coast of Africa, and, from what further reinforcements or supplies he could derive from Carthage, to effect his descent upon Italy.

These counsels, however, were given in vain. Hannibal, as a person likely to reap all the glory of every service in which he bore any part, was become an object of jealousy to the court of Antiochus, and to the king himself. His advice being received with more aversion than respect, served to determine the king against every measure he proposed.

Flattered with great expectations, Antiochus set sail for Europe with ten thousand foot, some elephants, and a body of horse.* He was received at Demetrias with acclamations of joy ; but soon after, in the sequel, came to understand that his allies in that country had sent for him to bear the burden of the war, and were devising how they should

reap for themselves the advantages that might be made to arise from it.

The Etolians, at whose instance Antiochus had come into Greece, were still divided. One party among them contended for peace, and alleged that the presence of the king of Syria was a fortunate circumstance, as it might give them an opportunity to negotiate with greater advantage. Another party contended for immediate war; insisting that force alone could obtain any equitable terms from such a party as that they had to do with.

The resolution for war with the Romans was taken in this assembly, and Antiochus was declared head of the confederacy to be formed for mutual support in the conduct of it. This prince endeavoured to obtain a declaration to the same effect from the Achæans and Beotians; but being disappointed in his application to those states, he left part of his forces at Demetrias, and he himself having negotiated his admission at Chalcis on the Straits of Eubæa, retired, as if he had come to act upon the defensive, behind the Euripus, and established his court at that place for the winter.

Meantime the Romans prepared themselves as for a struggle of great difficulty, and probably of long duration. They considered the abilities of Hannibal, employed to conduct the forces of Asia, as a sufficient ground of alarm. Their first object was to guard Italy and their other possessions. An army of observation was for this purpose stationed at Tarentum. A numerous fleet was ordered to protect the coast. The pretors and other officers of state, with proper forces under their command, had charge of the different districts of Italy that were suspected of inclining to the enemy, or of being disaffected to the commonwealth.

Having made these dispositions for their own security, they proceeded to form an army which was to act offensively, and to fix the scene of the war in their enemy's country. *Bebius*, a pretor of the preceding year, under pretence of opposing *Nabis*, who had renewed the war in the Peloponnesus, had already passed into Epirus with a considerable force. *Acilius Glabrio*, one of the consuls of the present year, to whose lot this province had fallen, was understood to have in charge the farther preparations that were making for a war in that country, and hastened the assembling of an army and fleet sufficient to disconcert the measures of the parties that were supposed to be forming against the Romans.

The equipment of the fleet was retarded by a dispute that arose with eight of the maritime colonies or seaports, who

pretended to a right of exemption from the present service. But their plea, upon an appeal to the tribunes, and a reference from them to the senate, was overruled.

Antiochus passed the winter at Chalcis in a manner too common with princes of a mean capacity, who put every matter of personal caprice on the same footing with the affairs of state. Having in the spring traversed the country from Beotia to Acarnania, negotiating treaties with petty states, he had passed into Thessaly, and had besieged Larissa, when the Roman pretor began to advance from Epirus.

After the contending parties had thus taken the field, and the armies of Rome and of Syria were about to decide the superiority on the frontiers of Macedonia, Philip seemed to remain in suspense, having yet made no open declaration to which side he inclined. The princes who divided the Macedonian empire were not only rivals in power, they were in some degree mutual pretenders to the thrones which they severally occupied; Philip, probably considering Antiochus, in this capacity, as the principal object of his jealousy, took his resolution to declare for the Romans; and having accordingly joined the pretor on the confines of Thessaly, their vanguard advanced to observe the position and motions of the enemy.

Antiochus, upon the junction of these forces, thought proper to raise the siege of Larissa.—From this time forward he seemed to have dropped all his sanguine expectations of conquest in Europe, was contented to act on the defensive, and when the Roman consul arrived in Epirus, and directed his march towards Thessaly, he took post at the Straits of Thermopylæ, intending to shut up this passage into Greece: but being dislodged from thence, his army was routed, the greater part of it perished in the flight, and he himself, with no more than five hundred men, escaped to Chalcis, his former retreat in Eubœa, from whence he soon after set sail for Asia.

Upon the flight of Antiochus, the Etolians alone remained in the predicament of open enemies to the Romans. They were yet extremely irresolute and distracted in their councils. The consul advanced into their country, laid siege to Naupactus, and having reduced that place and the whole nation to great distress, agreed to a cessation of arms, only while they sent deputies to Rome to implore forgiveness and to make their peace with the senate. Such was the posture of affairs when Lucius Cornelius Scipio, being elected one of the consuls for the ensuing year, was destined to succeed Acilius Glabrio in Etolia; and, with his

brother Publius, the victor in the battle of Zama, who was to act as second in command, had orders to prosecute the war against the kingdom of Syria.

These leaders being arrived in Greece, and intent on the removal of the war into Asia, willingly accepted of the submission of all the towns that had incurred any suspicion during the stay of Antiochus in Europe; and, leaving the difference which remained to be settled with the Etolians in a state of negotiation, they proceeded without delay, by the route of Macedonia and Thrace, towards the Hellespont.

The fleets of Asia and Europe, during this march of the Roman army, contended for the command of the seas. That of Europe, which was joined by the navy of Rhodes, and even by that of the Carthaginians, who, to vindicate themselves from any blame in the present war, had taken part with their rival, after various encounters, obtained the victory in a decisive battle, which made them entire masters of the sea, and opened all the ports of Asia to the shipping of the Romans.

The king of Syria had fortified Sestos and Abydos on the Hellespont, and Lysimachia on the isthmus of Chersonesus, with an apparent resolution to dispute the march and passage of the Scipios at all these different stations, but on the total defeat of his navy, he either considered those places as lost, or, fearing to have his forces separately cut off in attempting to defend them, he withdrew his garrisons from Lysimachia, Sestos, and Abydos; and while he thus opened the way for his enemies to reach him, gave other signs of despondency, or of a disposition to sink under adversity, making overtures of peace, and offering to yield every point which he had formerly disputed in the war. In reply to these offers he was told, that he must do a great deal more; that he must submit to such terms as the Romans were entitled to expect from victory.—But as he continued to assemble his forces, he chose rather to stake his fortune on the decision of a battle; and having in vain endeavoured to make himself master of Pergamus, the capital of Eumenes, he fell back on Thyatira, and from thence proceeded to take post on the mountains of Sipylus, where he meant to contend for the empire of Asia.

In the mean time the Scipios advanced to the Hellespont, and without any resistance passed the Strait. This descent was considered by the Romans as an epoch of great renown; and the messenger who brought the accounts of it was received with processions and solemn rites. Supplications and prayers were offered up to the gods, that this first

landing of a Roman army in Asia might be prosperous for the commonwealth.*

Publius Scipio, the famous antagonist of Hannibal, soon after his arrival in Asia, was taken ill; or, what may be supposed for his honour, being desirous not to rob his brother of any share in the glory which he perceived was to be easily won against the present enemy, he affected indisposition, and remained at a distance from the camp. Lucius, thus left alone to command the Roman army, advanced upon the king, attacked him in the post he had chosen, and, in a decisive victory, dispersed the splendid forces of Asia, with all their apparatus of armed chariots, horses, and elephants, harnessed with gold.

Thyatira, Sardis, and Magnesia soon after opened their gates to the Romans; and the king himself by a messenger from Apamea, whither he had fled, again made haste to own himself vanquished, and to sue for peace.

The Romans, to display a moderation which they frequently affected in the midst of their victories, renewed the same conditions which they had prescribed on their arrival in Asia; and a cessation of arms being granted, officers from Antiochus, and from all the other parties concerned in the approaching treaty, repaired to Rome, in order to receive the final decision of the senate and people, on the future settlement of their affairs.

Eumenes, the king of Pergamus, on this occasion, attended in person, and, together with the republic of Rhodes, who had distinguished themselves by their zeal and faithful services in the late war, became the principal gainer in the treaty.

It was agreed by the senate, that, according to the articles already prescribed by the consul, Antiochus should resign all his pretensions in Europe, and contract the boundaries of his kingdom in Asia within the mountains of Taurus:

That he should pay to the Romans, at successive terms, five thousand talents to reimburse the expense of the war:

To Eumenes four hundred talents on the score of a debt that had been due to his father.

And, for the performance of these conditions, should give twenty hostages, such as the Romans should name.

In the farther execution of this treaty, they published to all parties the following instructions, as the basis on which the commissioners were to proceed:

That the preliminaries of the peace with Antiochus already offered should be ratified:

That all the provinces which he was to evacuate, except Caria and Lycia, were to be assigned to Eumenes :

That those provinces bounded by the Meander on the east, should be given to the republic of Rhodes :

That all the Greek cities which had been tributary to Eumenes should continue so, and all which had been tributary to Antiochus should be set free.

A settlement was accordingly soon after made in Asia on these terms ; and the Romans, while they were hastening to universal dominion, reserved nothing for the present, but the supreme ascendant over all the conquered provinces that were given away, and over those who received them. The Etolians were now the only parties in Greece who pretended to hold their liberties, or their possessions, by any other tenure than that of a grant from the Romans.

During the dependance of the war in Asia, the Etolians were making continual efforts to recover their own losses, and to preserve the city of Ambracia, then besieged by the Romans ; but, upon the defeat of Antiochus, the Ambraciots surrendered at discretion, and the Etolians sued for peace.

While the Etolians were concluding a peace, or rather obtaining a pardon, the Consul Manlius, who had succeeded the Scipios in Asia, willing, if possible, to bring back into Italy, together with the victorious legions, some pretence of a triumph for himself, led his army against the Galatians. These were the descendants of a barbarous horde, which had, some ages before, migrated from the north of Europe, visited Italy and Greece in their way, and stopped on the Halys in the Lesser Asia, where they made a settlement, round which they levied contributions quite to the shores of the Euxine, the Mediterranean, and Egean seas. Their forces had lately made a part in the army of Antiochus, and they had not yet acceded to the peace which that prince had accepted. By these means they furnished the Roman consul with a pretence for invading their country ; and being unable to resist him, submitted at discretion.

Thus ended the first expedition of the Romans into Asia : in the result of which, without seeming to enlarge their own dominions, they had greatly reduced the powers both of the Syrian and Macedonian monarchies ; and by restoring, whether from inclination or policy, every state to its independence, they had balanced a multitude of parties against each other, in such a manner, as that no formidable combination was likely to be formed against themselves ; or if any one, or a few parties, should presume to withstand their power, many others were ready to join in the cry of ingra-

titude, and to treat any opposition that was made to them as an unworthy return to those who had so generously espoused the cause of mankind.

The pacification of Asia and Greece left the republic at leisure to manage its ordinary quarrels with nations unsubdued on the opposite frontier. In the west, hostilities had subsisted without interruption, during the whole time that the state was intent on its wars in the east; and triumphal processions were exhibited by turns from those opposite quarters.

In Spain the commanders were, for the most part, annually relieved, and the army annually recruited from Italy. The variety of events which are mentioned, and the continuance of the war itself are sufficient to evince that no decisive victories were obtained, or conquests finally made. On the coast of Spain there were many Greek or African settlements established for commerce. Of these the Romans, either as having supplanted the Carthaginians, formerly their masters, or as having subdued the natives, were still in possession. But the interior parts of the country were occupied by many hordes, who appear to have been collected in townships and fortified stations, from which they assembled to oppose the Roman armies in the field, or in which they defended themselves with obstinate valour. Though often defeated, they still renewed the contest. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, in the year of Rome five hundred and seventy-four, about ten years after the peace with Antiochus, is said to have received the submission of one hundred and three towns of that country. The troubles of Spain were, nevertheless, renewed under his successors, and continued to occupy the Roman arms with a repetition of similar operations, and a like variety of events.

The war in Liguria was nearly of the same description with that in Spain; continued still to occupy a certain part of the Roman force; and, both before and after the late expedition to Greece and Asia, was for some years the principal employment of both the consuls. Here, however, the Romans made a more sensible progress towards an entire conquest than they made in Spain. They facilitated their access to the country by highways across the mountains; they reduced the numbers of the enemy by the sword and by the ordinary distresses of war; and, after the experience of many pretended submissions and repeated revolts of that people, who seemed to derive the ferocity of their spirit, as well as the security of their possessions, from the rugged and inaccessible nature of their country, it was determined to transplant the natives to some of the more accessible parts

of Italy, where the lands, being waste from the effect of former wars, were still unoccupied and at the disposal of the republic.

CHAP. VII.

State of Italy—Character of the Roman Policy—Death of Scipio and of Hannibal—Indulgence of the Romans to the King of Macedonia—Complaints against Philip—Succession of Perseus, and Origin of the War—Action on the Peneus—Overtures of Peace—Progress of the War—Defeat of Perseus at Lydna by Paulus Emilius—His flight and Captivity—Settlement of Macedonia and Illyricum—Manners of the Romans.

By the methods above related the Romans proceeded to extend their dominion over all the districts around them, and either brought to their own standard, or disarmed, the several nations who had hitherto resisted their power. While they were about to accomplish this end, the Transalpine Gauls, still having their views directed to the southward of the mountains, made some attempts at migration into Italy, in one of which they settled a party of their people at Aquileia. The Romans were alarmed and ordered these strangers to be dislodged and reconducted across the Alps.

This circumstance suggested the design of securing the frontier on that side by a colony; and for this purpose a body of Latins was accordingly sent to Aquileia, a settlement which nearly completed the Roman establishments within the Alps. The country was now, in a great measure, occupied by colonies of Roman and Latin extraction, who, depending on Rome for protection, served, wherever they were settled, to carry the deepest impression of her authority, and to keep the natives in a state of subjection to her government.

The domestic policy of the state, during this period, appears to have been orderly and wise beyond that of any other time. The distinction between patrician and plebeian was become altogether nominal. The descendants of those who had held the higher offices of state, were in consequence of the preferments of their ancestors, considered as noble.

The authority of the senate, the dignity of the equestrian order, and the manners of the people, in general, were guarded, and, in a great measure, preserved, by the integrity and strict exercise of the censorial power. The wisest

and the most respected of the citizens, from every condition, were raised into office; and the assemblies, whether of the senate or the people, without envy, and without jealousy, suffered themselves to be governed by the counsels of a few able and virtuous men. It is impossible otherwise to account for that splendour with which the affairs of this republic, from the time of the first Punic war to that of the last wars with Macedonia and Carthage, though committed to hands that were continually changing, were, nevertheless, uniformly and ably conducted.

The spirit of the people was in a high degree democratical. The great Scipio, with his brother Lucius, on their return from Asia, encountered a prosecution, unworthily supported by a popular clamour, which brought them to trial on a formal charge of secreting part of the treasure received from Antiochus. At his citation, Publius Scipio called for the paper of accounts, on which he had entered all the sums he had received in Asia; and, while the people expected that he was to satisfy them by a state of particulars, he tore the scroll in their presence; and, taking the privilege of a Roman citizen, retired, without deigning to give any answer, and went as an exile into a country village of Italy, where he soon after died.

The same year likewise terminated the life of his antagonist Hannibal. This great man, himself a sufficient object of jealousy to nations, was, by an article in the late treaty of peace with Antiochus, to have been delivered up to the Romans; and had, in order to avoid that danger, retired into Crete. From thence he took refuge with Prusias, king of Bithynia, where the enmity of Rome still pursued him, and where an embassy was sent to demand that he should be delivered up. As soon as he knew that this demand was actually made, and that the avenues to his dwelling were secured in order to seize him, he took poison, and died.

The Romans had been so well satisfied with the part which was taken by Philip in the late war with Antiochus, that they released his son Demetrius, then at Rome, a hostage for payment of the father's tribute, of which they likewise remitted a part. They continued in this disposition during four years after the late peace with the king of Syria; and, in this interval, permitted the kingdom of Macedonia, by the improvement of its revenue, and the increase of its people, in a great measure to recover its former strength. These circumstances of prosperity, did not fail to excite apprehension in the minds of all those who, holding independent possessions in that neighbourhood, and on complaints against Philip being made at Rome, the senate, in their usual form

sent a select number of their members to make inquiry into the real state of affairs. Before a tribunal thus constituted, the king of Macedonia was cited to appear as a private party, first at Tempe, to answer a charge of the Thessalians, and afterwards at Theasalonica, to answer one from Eumenes. After a discussion, sufficiently humbling to a sovereign, he received sentence, by which he was required to evacuate all the places he had occupied beyond the ancient limits of his kingdom.

A second commission was granted to see the sentence of the first put in execution; and as soon as it became publicly known, that the Romans were willing to receive complaints against Philip, and were disposed to protect every person who incurred his displeasure, the city was crowded with strangers, and the senate was occupied, from morning to night, in hearing the representations that were made by their allies on the subject of the usurpations and oppressions they had suffered.

Philip, to divert the storm, had sent his younger son, Demetrius, to answer the several charges which were expected to be brought against him; and, in the end, obtained a resolution of the senate to accommodate matters on an amicable footing. This resolution was grounded on pretence of the favour which the Romans bore to Demetrius, who had long resided as a hostage in their city. "The king will please to know," they said, "that he has done one thing extremely agreeable to the Romans, in trusting his cause to an advocate so well established in their esteem and regard."

This language of the Roman senate respecting Demetrius, together with dangerous suggestions from some of his own confidants probably inspired the young man with thoughts, or rendered him suspected of designs, injurious to the rights of Perseus, his elder brother. This prince took the alarm, and never ceased to excite the suspicions already formed in the breast of the father, until he prevailed in securing his own succession by the death of his younger brother.

Philip, having ordered the execution of one son to gratify the jealousy of the other, lived about three years after this action, suffering part of the punishment that was due to him on that account, in the most gloomy apprehensions of danger from his surviving son, and died in great solicitude for the fate of his kingdom.

Perseus, nevertheless, in ascending the throne of Macedonia, gave hopes of a better and happier reign than that of his predecessor. He was immediately acknowledged by the Romans; and, during a few years after his accession, appeared to have no cause of disquietude from this people,

Although he had adopted the measures of his father, and endeavoured, by attention to his revenue, his army, and magazines, and by forming alliances with some of the warlike Thracian hordes in his neighbourhood, to put his kingdom in a posture of defence, and in condition to assert its independence; yet he appears to have excited less jealousy in the minds of his neighbours. The progress which he made seems to have escaped the attention of the Romans; until, at last awakened by the report of a secret correspondence which he carried on with the republic of Carthage, they thought proper to send a deputation into Macedonia, in order to observe his motions.

By the deputies employed in this service, the Romans obtained intelligence, that Perseus had made advances to the Achæans as well as to the Carthaginians, and to other states; and was likely to form a powerful party among the Greeks.

From this time forward the leaders of the Roman councils seemed to have taken a resolution to remove this subject of jealousy, and to suppress the Macedonian monarchy.

The Roman senate had already granted two separate commissions, the one of a deputation to visit Macedonia, and to observe the motions of Perseus; the other of an embassy into Egypt, to confirm their alliance with Ptolemy. On hearing of the attempt that had been made to assassinate Eumenes, they directed one of the pretors, Caius Licinius, with a proper force to pass into Epirus.

Perseus, alarmed by the arrival of a Roman force in his neighbourhood, sent an embassy to Rome with expostulations on the subject, and with offers, by every reasonable concession that the senate or the people could require, to avert the storm which threatened him. But the Romans gave intimation, that, if for the future he should have any thing to offer, he might have recourse to the commander of the Roman army in Epirus.

The interview, which Perseus soon after had with the Roman commissioners, terminated with the strongest signs of hostility on both sides. The king, however, having taken minutes of what passed at their conference, sent copies to all the neighbouring states, in order to exculpate himself from any guilt in the approaching war; and as the event afterwards showed how much it was the interest of every state to support him, he being the only power that could give them any protection against the Romans; so numbers, already moved by this apprehension, were inclined to favour his cause. The Beotians and Epirots, as well as the Illyrians, openly declared for the king of Macedonia.

These circumstances were stated at Rome as additional grounds of complaint against the king; and his endeavours to vindicate the part he had acted, were considered as attempts to form a hostile confederacy against the republic.

Additional fleets and armies were accordingly assembled, and directed towards Epirus; and a declaration of war was issued in the form of an act of the Roman people.

Macedonia had now been above twenty years exempted from any signal calamity, had re-established its armies, and filled its magazines and its coffers. The military establishment amounted to forty thousand men; the greater part formed and disciplined upon the plan of the phalanx, and supported with numerous troops of irregulars from the warlike cantons of Thrace. The king himself, in the vigour of manhood, sensible that the storm could not be diverted, affected rather to desire than to decline the contest; and, under all these circumstances, nations seemingly least interested in the consequences were intent on the scene that was about to be opened before them.

Eumenes, supposed to be incited by inveterate animosity to Perseus, and by recent provocations, prepared to fulfil his professions in behalf of the Romans.

Ariarathes, the king of Cappadocia, equally inclined by policy to wish for a counterpoise to the Macedonian power, but having recently formed an alliance by marriage with the family of Perseus, determined to be neutral in the war.

Ptolemy Philomater, who then filled the throne of Egypt, was a minor. Antiochus Epiphanes, who had lately succeeded his brother Seleucus, in the kingdom of Syria, having been some time a hostage at Rome, affected in his own court the manners of a Roman demagogue; but was chiefly intent on his pretensions to Celosyria, which he hoped to make good under favour of the approaching conjuncture formed by the minority of Ptolemy, and by the avocation of the Roman forces in Greece.

The Carthaginians, and the king of Numidia, while they severally preferred their complaints against each other before the Roman senate, vied likewise in their professions of zeal for the Roman republic, and in their offers of supply of men, horses, provisions, or ships.

Gentius, the king of Illyricum, had incurred the jealousy of the Romans; but remained undetermined what part he should take.

Cotys, a Thracian king, declared openly for Perseus. The people of Greece, in their several republics, were divided among themselves. The popular parties in general, being desirous to exchange the government of their own

aristocracies for that of a monarchy, favoured the king of Macedonia. The leading men were either inclined to the Romans, or wished to balance the rival powers, so as to have, in the protection of the one, some security against the usurpations of the other.

In the following summer, about seven years after the accession of Perseus to the throne of Macedonia, the war in that kingdom being committed to the Consul Licinius, this general followed the army which had been transported to the coast of Epirus; and while the Roman fleet, with their allies, assembled in the straits of Eubœa, the armies on both sides began their operations. The Macedonians encamped at Sycurium on the declivity of mount Ossa. The Roman consul penetrated into Thessaly; and having passed the river Peneus, took post at Scea, twelve miles from the camp of the enemy. Here he was joined by Attalus, brother to the king of Pergamus, with four thousand men, and by smaller bodies collected from different states of Greece.

Perseus endeavoured to lay waste the kingdom of Phœæ, from which the Romans drew the greatest part of their subsistence; and an action ensued, in which the whole cavalry and light infantry of both armies being engaged, the Romans were defeated; and the consul, no longer able to support his foraging parties on that side of the Peneus against a superior enemy, decamped in the night, and re-passed the river.

Although this victory had a tendency to raise the hopes of the king, it was by him wisely considered as a fit opportunity to renew the overtures of peace; and, in order to bring on a negotiation, it was resolved, that the conditions which, under the misfortune of repeated defeats, had been offered by his father, should be made the preliminaries of the present treaty.

The Romans treated the concessions of Perseus with disdain, haughtily answering, that he must submit at discretion.

This reply was received at the court of Perseus with extreme surprise. But it produced still farther concessions; and instead of resentment from the king, a repetition of his message with an offer to augment the tribute which had been paid by his father.

The remainder of the summer having passed in the operations of foraging parties, without any considerable action, the Romans retired for the winter into Beotia. On this coast the fleet, having met with no enemy at sea, had made repeated descents to distress the inhabitants who had declared for the king. The consul took possession of his

quarters, without any resistance, in the interior parts of the country; and in this, with the progress that was made by the army employed on the side of Illyricum in detaching that nation from Perseus, consisted the service of the first campaign.

Licinius, at the expiration of the usual term, was relieved by his successor in office, A. Hostilius Marcius. This commander, being defeated and baffled in some attempts he made to penetrate into the kingdom of Macedonia, appears to have made a campaign still less fortunate than that of his predecessor; and the senate, at the end of the summer, having ordered him home to preside at the annual elections, sent a deputation to visit the army, and to inquire into the cause of their miscarriages, and the slowness of their progress.

The Romans, although they had experienced disappointments in the beginning of other wars, particularly in their first encounters with Pyrrhus and with Hannibal; and had reason to expect a similar effect in the opening of the present war, appear to have been greatly mortified and surprised at this unpromising aspect of their enterprise.

At the beginning of this war the legions were augmented from five thousand two hundred foot and two hundred horse, to six thousand foot and three hundred horse; and probably, to raise the authority of the consul more effectually into that of a commander-in-chief, he was commissioned to name the tribunes, as well as the centurions of the army, that were to serve under his orders: but, upon a complaint that this extension of the consul's powers did not, by enforcing the discipline of the army, serve the purpose for which it was made, the people resumed their right of election in the appointment even of inferior officers. The deputies, now sent into Macedonia by the senate, returned, and communicated their report, that the legions employed in that country were extremely incomplete, numbers both of the lower officers and private men being, by the dangerous indulgence of their leaders, suffered to absent themselves from their colours.

In the present contest, the checks of the first and the second year of the war, though extremely mortifying to the Romans, were received without any signs of irresolution, or change of their purpose. In the third year after hostilities commenced, the command of the army in Macedonia devolved on Q. Marcius Philippus, who, being chosen one of the consuls, drew his province as usual by lot. This officer had been employed in one of the late deputations that were sent into Greece; had shown his ability in the course of negotiations which preceded the war; and now, by his

conduct as a general, broke through the line which the king had endeavoured to secure the passes of the mountains, and to cover the frontier of his kingdom. But, when he had penetrated into Macedonia, he found himself at the end of the season, and for want of proper supplies of provisions on that side of the mountains, unable to pursue the advantage he had gained. Here, therefore, he staid only to deliver his army, to Emilius Paullus, who had been named to succeed him. This was the son of that Paullus, who, being one of the consuls who commanded the Roman army at Cannæ, threw away his life rather than survive that defeat. The son was now turned of sixty; and by the length of his service, and the variety of his experience in Liguria and Spain, was well acquainted with the chances of war.

Emilius, upon his arrival in Macedonia, found the king intrenched on the banks of the Enipeus, with his right and left covered by mountains, on which all the passes were secured.—After some delay, during which he was employed in observing the enemy's disposition, or in improving the discipline of his own army, he sent a detachment to dispossess the Macedonians of one of the stations which they occupied on the heights, with orders to the officer who commanded in this service, that, if he succeeded in it, he should fall down on the plain in the rear of the enemy; he himself, in the mean time, made a feint to attack them in front.

The post on the heights being forced, Perseus relinquished his present disposition, and fell back towards Pydna on the banks of the Aliacmon. Here it became necessary for him, either to hazard a battle, or, on account of the nature of the country behind him, to separate his forces.

He preferred the first, and made choice of a plain that was fit to receive the phalanx, and was skirted with hills, on which his light troops could act with advantage.

Here too the Roman consul continued to press upon him, and was inclined to seize the first opportunity of deciding the war. Both armies, as by appointment, presented themselves on the plain in order of battle, and Emilius Paullus seemed eager to engage; but, as he himself used to confess having never beheld an appearance so formidable as when the Macedonians levelled their spears, he thought proper to halt. Though much disconcerted, he endeavoured to preserve his countenance, and would not recede from his ground; and that he might encamp his army where they now stood, ordered the first line to remain under arms, and ready to attack the enemy, while those who were behind them began to intrench; having in this manner cast up a breast-work of considerable strength, he retired behind it, and under,

that cover completed the fortifications of a camp in the usual form.

In this position he waited for an opportunity to draw on an engagement, when the enemy should be less prepared to receive him, or not have time to avail themselves so much of that formidable order which constituted the strength of the phalanx.

This occasion soon afterwards seemed to be offered by a skirmish which happened in the fields between the two armies. A horse having broke loose from the camp of the Romans, fled towards that of the Macedonians, was followed by the soldiers from whom he had escaped, and met by their enemy from the opposite camp. These parties engaged, and each being joined by numbers from their respective armies, brought on at last a general action. The ground was favourable to the phalanx; and the Macedonians, though hastily formed, still possessed against the Romans the advantage of their weapons, and of their formidable order. They filled up the plain in front, and could not be flanked. They had only to maintain their ground, and had no occasion to discompose their ranks, in time of the action, by any change of position. They accordingly withstood with ease the first shock of the Roman legions; but were broken and disjointed in the sequel by the seemingly irregular attacks which were made at intervals by the manipules, or the separate divisions of the Roman foot. The parts of the phalanx that were attacked, whether they were pressed in, or came forward to press on their enemy, could not keep in an exact line with the parts that were not attacked. Openings were made, at which the Roman soldier, with his buckler and short sword, could easily enter. Emilius, observing this advantage, directed his attack on those places at which the front of the phalanx was broken; and the legionary soldier, having got within the point of his antagonist's spear, pierced to the heart of the column, and in this position made a havock which soon threw the whole into disorder and general rout.

Twenty thousand of the Macedonians were killed in the field, five thousand were made prisoners in their flight; and six thousand that shut themselves up in the town of Pydna were obliged to surrender at discretion.

After this defeat, the king of Macedonia, with a few attendants, fled to Pella, where, having taken up his children and the remains of his treasure, amounting to ten thousand talents, or about two millions of pounds sterling, he continued his flight to Amphipolis, and from thence to Samothracia, where he took refuge in the famous sanctuary of that island.

Emilius pushed on to Amphipolis, receiving the submission of all the towns and districts as he passed. The pretor, Octavius, then commanding the Roman fleet, beset the island of Samothracia with his ships; and, without violating the sanctuary, took measures that effectually prevented the king's escape.

This unfortunate prince, with some of his children, delivered themselves up to the pretor, and were conducted to the camp of Emilius. The king threw himself on the ground, and would have embraced the victor's knees, when the Roman general, with a condescension that is extolled by ancient historians, gave him his hand, and raised him from the ground.

While the war in Macedonia was coming to this issue, that in Illyricum had a like termination, and ended about the same time in the captivity of the king.

News of both were received at Rome about the same time, and filled the temples, as usual, with multitudes who crowded to perform the public rites of thanksgiving, that were ordered by the senate. Soon after which, embassies arrived from all the kings and states of the then known world, with addresses of congratulation on so great an event. The senate proceeded to form a plan for the settlement of Macedonia.

It was resolved to extinguish the monarchy, to divide its territory into four districts, and in each to establish a republican government, administered by councils and magistrates chosen by the people. This among the Greeks, could bear the interpretation of bestowing absolute liberty. Ten commissioners were named to carry this plan into execution in Macedonia, and five were appointed for a similar purpose in Illyricum. Emilius was continued in his command, and the army ordered to remain in Macedonia until the settlement of the province should be completed.

A like plan was followed with respect to Illyricum, which was divided into three districts; and the kings both of Macedonia and of this country, with many other captives, were conducted to Rome to adorn the triumph of their conquerors.

While the event of the Macedonian war was yet undecided, and no considerable advantage, either of conduct or fortune, appeared on the side of the Romans, they still preserved the usual arrogance of their manner, and interposed with the same imperious ascendant in the affairs of Greece, Asia, and Africa, that they could have done in consequence of the most decisive victory. It was at this time that, by the celebrated message of Popilius Lenus, they put a stop to the conquests of Antiochus Epiphanes in Egypt. This

prince, trusting to the full employment with which the Roman forces were engaged, had ventured to invade this kingdom, and was in possession of every part of it, except the city of Alexandria. He was occupied in the siege of this place, when Popilius arrived and delivered him an order of the senate to desist. The king made answer, That he would consider of it. "Determine before you pass this line," said the Roman, tracing a circle with the rod which he held in his hand. The Romans gave orders to Emilius, in passing through Epirus, to lay that country under military execution. Seventy towns were accordingly destroyed, and a hundred and fifty thousand of the people sold for slaves.

The senate refused to admit the ambassadors of Rhodes, who came to congratulate the Roman people on their victory at Pydna; and while Eumenes was coming in person to pay his court to the senate, they resolved to forbid the concourse of kings to Rome.

They in reality, from this time forward, though in the style of allies, treated the Grecian republics as subjects.

Such was the rank which the Romans assumed among nations; while their statesmen still retained much of their primeval rusticity, and did not consider the distinctions of fortune and equipage as the appurtenances of power or of high command. Cato, though a citizen of the highest rank, and vested successively with the dignities of consul and of censor, used to partake in the labour of his own slaves, and to feed with them from the same dish at their meals. When he commanded the armies of the republic, the daily allowance of his household was no more than three medimni, or about as many bushels of wheat for his family, and half a medimnus, or half a bushel of barley for his horses. In surveying his province he usually travelled on foot, attended by a single slave who carried his baggage.

These particulars are mentioned perhaps as peculiar to Cato; but such singularities in the manners of a person placed so high among the people, carry some general intimation of the fashion of the times.

A spirit of equality yet reigned among the members of the commonwealth, which rejected the distinctions of fortune, and checked the admiration of private wealth. In all military donations the centurion had no more than double the allowance of a private soldier, and no military rank was indelible. The consul and commander-in-chief of one year served not only in the ranks, but even as a tribune or inferior officer in the next; and the same person who had displayed the genius and ability of the general, still valued himself on the courage and address of a legionary soldier.

The sumptuary laws of this age were suited to the idea of citizens who were determined not only to contribute their utmost to the grandeur of the state; but to forego the means of luxury or personal distinction. Roman ladies were restrained, except in religious processions, from the use of carriages any where within the city, or at the distance of less than a mile from its walls; and yet the space over which they were to preserve their communications extended to a circuit of fourteen miles, and began to be so much crowded with buildings or cottages, that, even before the reduction of Macedonia, it was become necessary to restrain private persons from encroaching on the streets, squares, and other spaces reserved for public conveniency. In a place of this magnitude, and so stocked with inhabitants, the female sex was also forbid the use of variegated or party-coloured clothes, or of more than half an ounce of gold in the ornament of their persons.

The attention of the legislature was carried into the detail of entertainments or feasts. In one act the number of the guests, and in a subsequent one the expense of their meals, were limited.

Superstition made a principal article in the character of the people. It subjected them continually to be occupied or alarmed with prodigies and ominous appearances, of which they endeavoured to avert the effects by rites and expiations, as strange and irrational as the presages on which they had grounded their fears. Great part of their time was accordingly taken up with processions and public shows, and much of their substance, even to the whole annual produce of their herds, was occasionally expended in sacrifices, or in the performance of public vows. The first officers of state, in their functions of the priesthood, performed the part of the cook and the butcher; and, while the senate was deliberating on questions of great moment, examined the entrails of a victim, in order to know what the gods had determined.

According to the opinions entertained in those times, sorcery was a principal expedient employed by those who had secret designs on the life of their neighbour. It was supposed to make a part in the statutory crime of poisoning.

The manners of the people of Italy were at times subject to strange disorders, or the magistrate gave credit to wild and improbable reports. The story of the Bacchanals, dated in the year of Rome five hundred and sixty-six, or about twenty years before the conquest of Macedonia, may be considered as an instance of one or the other. A society, under the name of Bacchanals, had been instituted, on the

suggestion of a Greek pretender to divination. The desire of being admitted into this society prevailed throughout Italy, and the sect became extremely numerous. As they commonly met in the night, they were said at certain hours to extinguish their lights, and to indulge themselves in every practice of horror, rape, incest, and murder; crimes under which no sect or fraternity could possibly subsist, but which, in being imputed to numbers in this credulous age, gave occasion to a severe inquisition, and proved fatal to many persons in Rome, and throughout Italy.

The extreme superstition, however, of those times, in some of its effects, vied with genuine religion; and, by the regard it inspired, more especially for the obligation of oaths, became a principle of public order and of public duty, and in many instances superseded the use of penal or compulsory laws.

In the period to which these observations refer, that is, in the sixth century of the Roman state, the first dawning of literature began to appear. It has been mentioned that a custom prevailed among the primitive Romans, as among other rude nations, at their feasts to sing or rehearse heroic ballads which recorded their own deeds or those of their ancestors. This practice had been some time discontinued, and the compositions themselves were lost. They were succeeded by pretended monuments of history equally fallacious, the orations which, having been pronounced at funerals, were like titles of honour, preserved in the archives of every noble house, but which were rather calculated to flatter the vanity of families, than to record the truth.

The Romans owed the earliest compilations of their history to Greeks; and in their own first attempts to relate their story employed the language of that people. Nævius and Ennius, who were the first that wrote in the Latin tongue, composed their relations in verse. Livius Andronicus, and afterwards Plautus and Terence, translated the Greek fable, and exhibited in the streets of Rome, not the Roman, but Grecian manners. The two last are said to have been persons of mean condition; the one to have subsisted by turning a baker's mill, the other to have been a captive and a slave. Both of them had probably possessed the Greek tongue as a vulgar dialect, which was yet spoken in many parts of Italy, and from this circumstance, became acquainted with the elegant compositions of Philemon and Menander. Their comedies were acted in the streets, without any seats or benches for the reception of an audience.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PROGRESS AND TERMINATION
OF THE
ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

State, Manners, and Policy of the Times—Repeated Complaints from Carthage—Hostile Disposition of the Romans—Resolution to remove Carthage from the Coast—Measures taken for this purpose—Carthage Besieged—Taken and destroyed—Revolt of the Macedonians—Their Kingdom reduced to the Form of a Roman Province—Fate of the Achean League—Operations in Spain—Conduct of Viriathus—State of Numantia—Blockade of Numantia—Its Destruction—Revolt of the Slaves in Sicily—Legal Establishments and Manners of the City.

THE reduction of Macedonia was in many respects a remarkable era in the history of Rome. Before this date Roman citizens had been treated as subjects, and permitted themselves to be taxed. They were required at every census to make a return of their effects upon oath, and, besides other stated or occasional contributions to the public, paid a certain rate on the whole value of their property. But upon this event they assumed more entirely the character of sovereigns; and, having a treasury replenished with the spoils of that kingdom, exempted themselves from their former burdens.

From the conclusion of the war with Perseus, the Romans, for twenty years, do not seem to have been engaged with any considerable enemy; and their numerous colonies, now dispersed over Italy, from Aquileia to Rhegium, probably made great advances during this period, in agriculture, commerce, and the other arts of peace. Among their public works are mentioned, not only temples and fortifications,

particulars in which men attain to magnificence even in rude ages, but likewise aqueducts, market-places, pavements, highways, and other conveniences, the preludes or attendants of wealth and commerce.

Cato, in pleading against the repeated election of the same person into the office of consul, exclaimed against the luxury of the times, and alleged, that so many citizens could not support their extravagance by any other means than that of draining the provinces by virtue of their repeated appointments to command. "Observe," he said, "their villas how curiously built, how richly furnished with ivory and precious wood. Their very floors are coloured or stained in the Punic fashion."

The Romans had formerly made laws to fix the age at which citizens might be chosen into the different offices of state. And on the occasion on which Cato made this speech, they excluded the same person from being repeatedly chosen. They likewise made additions to former sumptuary laws. The census, or enrolment of the people, began to be made with more care than formerly: even the Latin allies, though migrating to Rome, were excluded from the rolls; and the people generally mustered from three to four hundred thousand men.

While the Romans had no war to maintain with the more regular and formidable rivals of their power, they still employed their legions on the frontier of their provinces in Spain, Dalmatia, Liguria, and on the descents of the Alps. They opened, for the first time, an intercourse with the Transalpine nations, in a treaty of alliance with the republic of Marseilles; in consequence of which, they protected that mercantile settlement from the attacks of fierce tribes, who infested them from the maritime extremities of the Alps and Apennines.

During the present respite from any considerable war, the Romans balanced the kingdoms of Pergamus, Bithynia, and Cappadocia against each other, in such a manner as to be able, at pleasure, to oppress any of those powers that should become refractory or formidable to their interest.

They made the kingdom of Syria devolve on a minor, the son of Antiochus; and, under the pretence of this minority, sent a commission to take charge of the kingdom. But their commissioners were, with the connivance of the court, assaulted in a riot at Antioch; some of them were killed, and others forced to fly from the country.

Demetrius, the son of Seleucus, who ought to have succeeded to his father in the monarchy of Syria, being, at the death of that prince, a hostage at Rome, had been sup-

planted by his younger brother, the father of that minor prince who was now acknowledged by the Romans.

Upon the insult that had been thus offered to the Roman commission at Antioch, Demetrius thought it a favourable opportunity to urge his claim, and to prevail on the senate to restore him to the succession of his father's crown: but these crafty usurpers denied his request.

Demetrius, however, made his escape from Rome, and, by the death of the minor and his tutor, got unrivalled possession of the kingdom of Syria.

As patrons of the kingdom of Egypt, they promoted the division of that country between the two brothers, who were then joined in the sovereignty, and rivals for the sole possession of the throne.

During the dependence of these transactions, the senate had repeated complaints from Africa, which ended in a war that proved fatal at last to the ancient rivals of their power. In the conduct of this war, being now less dependent than formerly on the opinion of the world, they, contrary to their usual pretensions to national generosity and liberality, sacrificed, without reserve, entire nations to the ambition, or to the meanest jealousy, of their own republic.

The province of Emporiæ, a district lying on the coast, and the richest part of the Carthaginian territory, had been violently seized by Gala king of Numidia, and father of Massinissa. It had been again restored by Syphax, when he supplanted the family of Gala on the throne of that kingdom; but now again usurped by Massinissa on recovering the crown by the power of the Romans, to whose favour he trusted; and the Carthaginians, precluded by the late treaty from making war on any ally of the Romans, had recourse to complaints and representations, which they made at Rome, both before and after the reduction of Macedonia. The Roman senate had, for five and twenty years, eluded these complaints, and, during this time, was in the practice of sending commissioners into Africa, under pretence of hearing the parties in this important dispute, but with instructions or dispositions to favour Massinissa, and to observe, with a jealous eye, the condition and the movements of their ancient rival.

The Carthaginians, yet possessed of ample resources, and, if wealth or magnificence could constitute strength, still a powerful nation; being weary of repeated applications, to which they could obtain no satisfying answer, took their resolution to arm, and to assert by force their claim to the territory in question.

They were met in the field by the army of Massinissa.

commanded by himself, though now about ninety years of age, and were defeated.

This unfortunate event disappointed their hopes, and exposed them to the resentment of the Romans, who considered the attempt they had made to do themselves justice, as a contravention of the late treaty, and a departure from the articles of peace between the two nations.

The expediency of a war with Carthage had been for some time a subject of debate in the Roman senate. Deputies had been sent into Africa, to procure the information that was necessary to determine this question. Among these Cato, being struck with the greatness, wealth, and populousness of that republic, and with the amazing fertility of its territory, when he made his report in the senate, exhorted the members strongly to war. This, and every other speech on this subject, Cato concluded with his famous saying: that "Carthage should be destroyed."

Scipio Nasica, another speaker in this debate, contended for peace. He represented the forces of Carthage as not sufficient to alarm the Romans; or, if really greater than there was any reason to suppose them, no more than were requisite to exercise the virtues of a people already, for want of proper exertion, begun to suffer some abatement in their vigilance, discipline, and valour.

In this diversity of opinions, it appeared soon after, that the senate took a middle course, resolved not to destroy, but to remove the inhabitants of Carthage to a new situation, at least ten miles from the sea.

The Carthaginians, after their late unfortunate adventure with Massinissa, were willing to preserve their effects, and to purchase tranquillity by the lowest concessions. But as the measure now proposed by the Roman senate amounted to a deprivation of all that property which is vested in houses or public edifices, and an entire suppression of all those local means of subsistence which could not be easily transferred, it was not supposed that their consent could be easily obtained, and it was accordingly resolved to keep the design a secret, until effectual means were prepared for its execution.

The consuls, without any declaration of war, were instructed to arm, and to pass with their forces into Sicily. As their arrival on that island, which was then in a state of profound peace, evidently implied a design upon Africa, the Carthaginians were distracted with opposite counsels. They laid the blame of the war with Massinissa on Hasdrubal and his abettors, whom they ordered into exile; but, without coming to any other resolutions, sent a deputation,

with full powers to conclude as circumstances might seem to require, and agree to whatever they should find most expedient for the commonwealth. These deputies, on their arrival at Rome, finding no disposition in the senate to treat with them upon equal terms, resolved to arrest, by the most implicit submission, the sword that was lifted up against their country. They accordingly confessed the imprudence of their late conduct, and implored forgiveness. They quoted the sentence of banishment passed upon Hasdrubal and his party, as an evidence of their contrition for the hostilities lately offered to Massinissa; and they made a formal surrender of their city and its territory to be disposed of at the pleasure of the Romans.

In return to this act of submission, they were told, that the Romans approved their behaviour, and meant to leave them in possession of their freedom, their laws, their territory, and of all their effects, whether private or public: but, as a pledge of their compliance with the measures that might be necessary to prevent the return of former disputes, they demanded three hundred hostages, the children of senators, and of the first families in Carthage. This demand being reported in the city gave a general alarm; but the authors of these counsels were too far advanced to recede. They tore from the arms of their parents the children of the first families in the commonwealth; and, amidst the cries of affliction and despair, embarked those hostages for Sicily. Upon this island they were delivered over to the Roman consuls, and were by them sent forward to Rome.

The commanders of the Roman armament, without explaining themselves any further, continued their voyage, and, by their appearance on the coast of Africa, gave a fresh alarm at Carthage. Deputies from the unfortunate inhabitants of that place went to receive them at Utica, and were told, that they must deliver up all their arms, ships, engines of war, naval and military stores. Even these alarming commands they received as the strokes of fate, which could not be avoided. "We do not mean," said one of the deputies, "to dispute your commands; but we entreat you to consider, to what a helpless state you are about to reduce an unfortunate people, who, by this hard condition, will be rendered unable to preserve peace among their own citizens at home, or to defend themselves against the meanest invader from abroad. We have banished Hasdrubal in order to receive you: we have declared him an enemy to his country, that you might be our friends: but when we are disarmed, who can prevent this exile from returning to occupy the city of Carthage against you? With twenty

thousand men that follow him, if he comes into the direction of our government, he will soon oblige us to make war on you." In answer to this piteous expostulation, the Roman generals undertook the protection of Carthage, and ordered commissaries to receive the several articles that were to be delivered up, and to see the arsenals and the docks destroyed.

It is reported, that there were delivered up to these commissaries forty thousand suits of armour, twenty thousand catapultæ, or large engines of war, with a plentiful store of darts, arrows, and other missiles.

So far the Romans proceeded with caution, well knowing the veneration which mankind entertain for the seats and tombs of their ancestors, with the shrines and consecrated temples of their gods; and dreading the effects of despair, as soon as the Carthaginians should perceive how much they were to be affected in their private and public property. But now, thinking their object secure, they proceeded to declare their intentions. The consul called the Carthaginian deputies into his presence, and beginning with an exhortation, that they should bear with equanimity what the necessity of their fortune imposed, intimated, the definitive resolution of the Roman senate, that the people of Carthage should relinquish their present situation, and build on any other part of their territory, not less than eighty stadia, or about ten miles, removed from the sea. The amazement and sorrow with which these orders were received, justified the precautions which the Romans had taken to secure the execution of them. The deputies threw themselves upon the ground, and endeavoured, from motives of pity, or of reason, to obtain a revocation of this cruel and arbitrary decree.

The Roman consul replied by repeating the express orders of the senate, and bid the Carthaginians remember, that states were composed of men, not of ramparts and walls. That the Roman senate had promised to spare and protect the republic of Carthage; and that they had fulfilled this engagement by leaving the people in possession of their freedom and their laws. That the sacred places should remain untouched, and that the shrines of the gods would still be within the reach of their pious visits. That the distance to which it was proposed to remove Carthage from the sea was not so great as the distance at which Rome herself was situated from it; and that the Romans had taken their resolution, that the people of Carthage should no longer have under their immediate view that element which opened a way to their ambition, had tempted them

first into Sicily, afterwards into Spain, and last of all into Italy, and to the gates of Rome; and which would never cease to suggest projects dangerous to themselves, and inconsistent with the peace of mankind. In the Carthaginian senate the message of the deputies was received with cries of despair, which soon conveyed to the people in the streets a knowledge of the conditions imposed upon them. They burst into the place where the senate was assembled, and laid violent hands on all the members who had advised or borne any part in the late degrading submissions, or who had contributed to bring the state into its present helpless condition.

The multitude indulged themselves in every species of riot, but a few had the precaution to shut the gates, to stretch the chain which protected the entrance of the harbour, and to make a collection of stones on the battlements, these being the only weapons they had left to repel the first attacks of the Romans. The remains of the senate too, without reflecting on the desperate state of their affairs, resolved on war. Despair and frenzy succeeded in every breast to dejection and meanness.

Assemblies were called to reverse the sentence of banishment lately pronounced against Hasdrubal, and against the troops under his command. These exiles were entreated to hasten their return for the defence of a city bereft of arms, ships, military and naval stores. The people, in the mean time, with an ardour which reason, and the hopes of success during the prosperity of the republic could not have inspired, endeavoured to replace the arms and the stores which they had so shamefully surrendered. They demolished their houses to supply the docks with timber. They opened the temples and other public buildings to accommodate the workmen; and, without distinction of sex, condition, or age, became labourers in the public works, collected materials, furnished provisions, or bore a part in any labour that was thought necessary to put the city in a state of defence. They supplied the founders and the armourers with the brass and iron of their domestic utensils; or, where these metals were deficient, brought what they could furnish of silver and gold. They joined, with the other materials which were used in the roperies, their hair to be spun into cordage for the shipping, and into braces for their engines of war.

The Roman consuls, apprized of what was in agitation, willing to await the returns of reason, and to let these first ebullitions of frenzy subside, for some days made no attempts on the city. But, hearing of the approach of Has-

drubal, they thought it necessary to endeavour, before his arrival, to possess themselves of the gates. Having in vain attempted to scale the walls, they were obliged to undergo the labours of a regular siege; and, though they made a breach, were repulsed in attempting to force the city by storm.

Hasdrubal had taken post on the creek which separated the peninsula of Carthage from the continent, maintained his communication by water, and supplied the inhabitants with provisions and arms. The Romans, seeing that they could not reduce the city while Hasdrubal retained this post, endeavoured to dislodge him, but were defeated, and obliged to raise the siege. They had already spent two years in this enterprise, changed their commanders twice, but without advancing their fortunes. They began to incur the discredit of having formed against a neighbouring commonwealth an invidious design which they could not accomplish. Enemies in every quarter, in Greece, Macedonia, and Spain, were encouraged to declare against them; and even Massinissa, unwilling to see their power substituted for that of Carthage, and jealous of the avidity with which they endeavoured to become masters in Africa, and to snatch from his hands a prey in which he thought himself entitled to share, withdrew his forces, and left them singly to contend with the difficulties in which they began to be involved.

The Romans imputed the miscarriage of their troops to the misconduct of their generals; and appointed Scipio, by birth the son of Emilius Paullus, and by adoption the grandson of Scipio Africanus, to the province of Africa, in preference to his colleague, without the usual method of casting lots.

The mere change of the commander, and better discipline in the Roman army, soon altered the state and prospects of the war. The first object of Scipio was to cut off the communications of the Carthaginians with the country, and to intercept their supply of provisions and other articles necessary to withstand a siege.

Carthage was situated at the bottom of a spacious bay, covered on the west by the promontory of Apollo, on the east by that of Hermes, or Mercury, at the distance of about fifteen leagues from each other. The city stood on a peninsula joined to the mainland by an isthmus about three miles in breadth, and covering a basin or harbour, in which their docks and their shipping were secured from storms and hostile attacks. The Byrsa, or citadel, commanded the isthmus, and presented at this only entrance to the town by

land, a wall thirty feet thick and sixty feet high. The whole circumference of the place was above twenty miles.

The besiegers, by their shipping, had access to that side of the town on which the walls were washed by the sea; but were shut out from the harbour by a chain which was stretched across the entrance. Hasdrubal had taken post on the basin over against the town, and by these means still preserved the communication of the city with the country. Scipio, to dislodge him from this post, made a feint at a distant part of the fortifications to scale the walls, actually gained the battlements, and gave an alarm which obliged the Carthaginian general to throw himself into the city. Scipio, satisfied with having obtained his end, took possession of the post which the other had abandoned; and being now master of the isthmus, and the whole continental side of the harbour, advanced to the walls of the Byrsa. In his camp he covered himself as usual with double lines; one facing the fortifications of the enemy, consisting of a curtain twelve feet high, with towers at proper intervals, of which one in the centre was high enough to overlook the ramparts, and to afford a view of the enemy's works. The other line secured his rear from surprise on the side of the country; and both effectually guarded the isthmus, and obstructed all access to the town by land.

The besieged, however, still received some supply of provisions by sea; their victuallers took the benefit of every wind that blew fresh and right into the harbour, to pass through the enemy's fleet, who durst not unmoor to pursue them: and, Scipio, to cut off this resource, projected a mole from the mainland to the point of the peninsula across the entrance of the harbour. He began to throw in his materials on a foundation of ninety feet, with an intention to contract the mound as it rose to twenty-four feet at the top. The work, when first observed from Carthage, was considered as a vain undertaking; but when it appeared to advance with a sensible progress, gave a serious alarm.

The Carthaginians, to provide against the evils which they began to foresee from this obstruction at the entrance of their harbour, undertook a work more difficult, and more vast than even that of the besiegers, to cut across the peninsula within their walls, and to open a new passage to the sea; and this they had actually accomplished by the time that the other passage was shut. Notwithstanding the late surrender of all their shipping and stores, they had at the same time, by incredible efforts, assembled or constructed a navy of sixty galleys. With this force they were ready to appear in the bay, while the Roman ships lay unmanned

and unrigged, secure against any danger from an enemy whom they supposed shut up by impenetrable bars; and in these circumstances, if they had availed themselves of the surprise with which they might have attacked their enemy, must have done great execution on the Roman fleet. But having spent no less than two days in clearing their new passage after it was known to be open, and in preparing for action, they gave the enemy likewise full time to prepare. On the third they engaged, fought for the whole day without gaining any advantage; and, in their retreat at night, suffered greatly from the enemy, who pressed on their rear.

While the besiegers endeavoured to obstruct this new communication with the sea, the besieged made a desperate attempt on their works by land. A numerous body of men, devoting their lives for the defence of their country, without any arms, and provided only with matches, crossed the harbour, and, exposing themselves to certain death, set fire to the engines and towers of the besiegers; and, while they were surrounded and put to the sword, willingly perished in the execution of their purpose.

In such operations the summer elapsed; and Scipio, with the loss of his engines, and a renewal of all the difficulties which he had formerly to encounter at sea, contenting himself with a blockade for the winter, discontinued the siege.

His command being prolonged for another year, he resumed his attack in the spring; and finding the place greatly reduced by despair and famine, he forced his way by one of the docks, where he observed that the battlements were low and unguarded. His arrival in the streets did not put him in possession of the town. The inhabitants, during six days, disputed every house and every passage, and successively set fire to the buildings whenever they were obliged to abandon them. Above fifty thousand persons of different sexes, who had taken refuge in the citadel, at last accepted of quarter, and were led captive from thence in two separate divisions, one of twenty-five thousand women, and another of thirty thousand men.

Nine hundred deserters, who had left the Roman army during the siege, having been refused the quarter which was granted to the others, took post in a temple which stood on an eminence, with a resolution to die with swords in their hands, and with the greatest effusion of blood to their enemies. To these Hasdrubal, followed by his wife and his children, joined himself; but not having the courage to persist in the same purpose with these deserters, he left the temple, and accepted of quarter. His wife, in the mean

time, with more ferocity or magnanimity than her husband, laid violent hands on her children, and, together with the dead bodies, threw herself into the flame of a burning ruin. The deserters too, impatient of the dreadful expectations which they felt, in order to hasten their own fate, set fire to the temple in which they had sought a temporary cover, and perished in the flames.

The city continued to burn during seventeen days; and all this time the soldiers were allowed to seize whatever they could save from the flames, or wrest from the hands of the dying inhabitants, who were still dangerous to those who approached them.

The tidings of the taking of Carthage were received at Rome with uncommon demonstrations of joy. The victors, recollecting all the passages of their former wars, the alarms that had been given by Hannibal, and the irreconcilable antipathy of the two nations, gave orders to raze the fortifications of Carthage, and even to destroy the materials of which they were built.

A commission was granted by the senate to ten of its members to take possession of territories which were thus deprived of their sovereign, to model the form of this new province, and to prepare it for the reception of a Roman governor. And thus Carthage, the only instance in which the human genius ever appeared greatly distinguished in Africa; the model of magnificence, the repository of wealth, and one of the principal states of the ancient world, was no more.

While the event of this mighty siege was still in dependence, the Romans had other wars to maintain on the side of Macedonia and Greece, where the natural progress of their policy, suited to the measures which they had taken with other nations, now ended in the open and avowed usurpation of a sovereignty which they had long disguised under the specious titles of alliance and protection.

Macedonia being ill fitted to retain the republican form into which it had been cast by the Romans, after some years of distraction, and an attempt at last in favour of a pretended son of the late king, to recover its independence and its monarchy, underwent a second conquest.

Andriscus, an African of uncertain extraction, being observed to resemble the royal family of Macedonia, had the courage, under the name of Philip, to personate a son of that unfortunate monarch, and to make pretensions to the crown. With this object in view he went into Syria to solicit the aid of Demetrius, but was, by this prince, taken into custody, and transported in chains to Rome. The

Romans paid little regard to so contemptible an enemy, and even allowed him to escape. After this adventure, the same impostor appeared a second time in Macedonia, and, with better fortune than he had in the first attempt, drew to his standard many natives of that country and of Thrace. In his first encounter he even defeated Juventius the Roman pretor, and was acknowledged king; but soon after fell a prey to Metellus, and furnished the Romans with an obvious pretence for reducing the kingdom of Macedonia to the ordinary form of a province.

The states of the Achean league, at the same time, being already on the decline, hastened, by the temerity and distraction of their own councils, the career of their fortunes to the same termination.

The Romans, even while they suffered this famous republic to retain the show of its independence, had treated its members in many particulars as subjects. At the close of the war with Perseus, they had cited to appear at Rome, or taken into custody as criminals of state, many citizens of Achaia, who had, in that contest, appeared to be disaffected to the Roman cause. Of these they had detained about a thousand in different prisons of Italy, until, after a period of seventeen years, about three hundred of them, who survived their confinement, were set at liberty, as having already suffered enough; or as being no longer in condition to give any umbrage to Rome. Polybius being of this number, acquired, during his stay in Italy, that knowledge of Roman affairs which appears so conspicuous in the remains of his history.

The Romans, while they detained so many Greek prisoners in Italy, in a great measure assumed the administration of affairs in Greece, disposed of every distinction, whether of fortune or power, and confined these advantages to the advocates of their own cause, and to the tools of their own ambition. It appears that the Spartans, having been forced into the Achean confederacy, continued refractory in most of its councils. By some of their complaints at Rome, they obtained a deputation, as usual, from the senate to hear parties on the spot, and to adjust their differences. The Achean council, incensed at this insult which was offered to their authority, without waiting the arrival of the Roman deputies, proceeded to enforce their own decrees against the republic of Sparta, marched an army into Laconia, and defeated with some slaughter, at the gates of Lacedemon, the inhabitants of that city who ventured to oppose them. The Roman commissioners arriving after these hostilities had commenced, summoned the parties to

assemble at Corinth, and, in name of the senate, gave sentence, that Lacedemon, Corinth, Argos, Heraclea, and Orchomenos, not having been original members of the Achean confederacy, should now be disjoined from it; and that all the cities which had been rescued from the dominion of Philip, should be left in full possession of their freedom and independency.

Multitudes from all the different states of the league being on this occasion assembled at Corinth, a great riot ensued. The Roman deputies were insulted and obliged to leave the place; and in this manner commenced a war in which the Romans, because they hoped to establish their sovereignty in Greece without any convulsion, and had full employment for their forces in Africa, Spain, and Macedonia, engaged with great reluctance. The states of the Achean league, assembled an army to assert their common rights, and to enforce their authority over the several members of their own confederacy. Unfortunately for their cause, Metellus had then prevailed in Macedonia, and was at leisure to turn his forces against them. He accordingly moved towards the Peloponnesus, still giving the Achæans on option to avert the calamities of war, by submitting to the mandates of the Roman senate. These, he said, were no more, than that they should desist from their pretensions on Sparta, and the other cantons who applied for the protection of Rome.

But the Achæans thought it safer to resist, than to be disarmed under these stale pretences; they took the field, passed through the isthmus of Corinth, and, being joined by the Thebans, marched to Thermopylæ with a view to defend this entry into Greece. In this, however, they were disappointed, being either prevented from seizing the pass, or driven from thence by Metellus. They were afterwards intercepted in their retreat through Phocis, where they lost their leader Critolaus, with a great part of his army. Diæus, who succeeded him as head of the confederacy, assembled a new force, consisting of fourteen thousand foot, and six thousand horse, took post on the isthmus of Corinth, and sent four thousand men for the defence of Megara, a place which still made a part in the expiring confederacy of independent Greeks.

Metellus, who after his victory had made himself master of Thebes, advanced to Megara, dislodged the Achæans from thence, and continued his march to the isthmus. Here he was superseded by Mummius, the consul of the present year, who, with the new levies from Rome, made up an army of twenty-three thousand foot, and three thousand

five hundred horse. The enemy, having gained an advantage over his advanced guard, were encouraged to hazard a battle under the walls of Corinth, and were defeated. The greater part fled into the town, but afterwards in the night withdrew from that place. Their general Diaeus fled from the field of battle to Megalopolis, whither he had sent his family; having killed his wife, to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy, he himself took poison, and died.

Such are the imperfect accounts which remain of the last efforts made by the Greeks to preserve a freedom, in the exercise of which they had acted so distinguished a part. As they never were surpassed by any race of men in the vigour with which they supported their republican establishments, so they appeared to retain their ingenuity and their skill in many arts, after they had lost the military and political spirit which constitutes the strength and security of nations; and in this latter period, which preceded their extinction, as the Achean league was dissolved on having incurred the resentment of the Romans, so the unhappy remnant of the Spartan republic perished in having accepted their protection. The enmity and the friendship of the Romans being equally fatal, these and every other state or republic of Greece, from this time forward, ceased to be numbered among nations, having fallen a prey to a power, whose force nothing could equal but the ability and the cunning with which it was exerted.

On the third day after the action which happened in the isthmus of Corinth, the victorious general entered the city; and as he considered that the inhabitants had a principal part in the late insult offered to the Roman commissioners, gave the town, abounding in all the accommodations and ornaments of a wealthy metropolis, to be pillaged by the soldiers. He razed the walls, and reduced the city to ashes.

Thus Corinth perished in the same year with Carthage. The fortifications of Thebes, and of some other towns disaffected to the Romans, were at the same time demolished; and the arrangements to be made in the country of Greece were committed to deputies from the Roman senate. By their order, the Achean league was dissolved, and all its conventions annulled. The states which had composed it were deprived of their sovereignty, subjected to pay a tribute, and placed under the government of a person annually sent from Rome with the title of the pretor of Achea.

The Romans now appeared openly, perhaps for the first time, in the capacity of conquerors. The acquisition of revenue in Macedonia, which, about twenty years before

this date, had first taught them to exempt themselves from taxation, excited from thenceforward an insatiable thirst of dominion : and their future progress is marked by the detail of wars which they maintained on their frontier, not in defence of the empire, but for the enlargement of possessions already too great.

In Spain, where they still met with resistance, they had acted in all the different periods of their wars, either on the offensive or defensive, according as the state was or was not, at leisure from the pressure of their enemies, or according as the generals she employed were ambitious or pacific.

On the conclusion of the peace with Philip, the Roman territory in Spain had been divided into two provinces, and furnished the stations of two separate commanders annually sent from Rome. On the renewal of the war in Macedonia, and during the continuance of it, three provinces were again united under one government. But upon the defeat of Perseus, and the reduction of Macedonia, they were separated for ever.

From that time the ambition of the Romans seems to have operated in Spain with the same effect as in other parts on the boundaries of their empire. They pressed upon the natives, not merely to secure their own territory from inroad and depredation, but to gain new accessions of dominion and wealth. They advanced to the Tagus, endeavoured to penetrate the mountains beyond the sources of that river ; and on that side involved themselves in a continual struggle of many years' duration, with the Lusitanians, Gallicians, and Celtiberi.

In these wars, the Roman officers were actuated by their avarice, as well as by their ambition, and ventured upon acts of extortion and peculation in their own governments, which gave occasion to the first complaints of this sort that were brought to Rome.

The proconsul Lucullus, having accepted of the surrender of a town, and being received into it in consequence of a capitulation, nevertheless put the inhabitants to the sword and carried off their effects. Galba, commanding in Lusitania, or the western province of Spain, soon afterwards circumvented, by a like act of perfidy and cruelty, some of the inhabitants whom he could not otherwise reduce.

At the beginning of the last war with Carthage, the Lusitanians, incensed by the act of treachery which was committed by the Roman general Galba, reassembled in numerous parties under Viriathus, who had himself escaped from the massacre on that occasion, and who entertained an implacable resentment to the authors of it. This leader,

according to the Roman historians, had been originally a herdsman, afterwards a chief of banditti, and last of all the commander of an army which had often defeated the legions of Rome, and threatened their expulsion from Spain. He seems to have known how to employ the impetuous valour of a rude people against troops not less valiant than his own countrymen, though more depending on discipline; and to have possessed what the Spaniards retained, even down to the days of Cæsar, the faculty of turning the want of order to account against an enemy so much accustomed to order, as, in a great measure, to rely upon it in most of their operations. With him an apparent rout and dispersion of his followers was the ordinary prelude to a violent attack; and he commonly endeavoured, by pretended flights and disorderly movements, to draw the enemy into rash pursuits or precipitant marches, and seized every advantage which they gave him with irresistible address and valour. He continued above ten years to baffle all the attempts which the Romans made to reduce Lusitania. He had projected a league and defensive confederacy with the other free nations of Spain, when he was assassinated, as he lay asleep on the ground, by two of his own followers, supposed to be in concert with the Roman general.

The Romans, upon this event, found the western and northern parts of Spain open to their inroads. In little more than a year afterwards a Roman army under Brutus passed the Duero, and penetrated quite to the coast of Gallicia, from which they reported, with more than the embellishments and exaggerations of travellers, that the sun was seen from this distant region, when he set in the evening, to sink and to extinguish himself with a mighty noise in the western ocean.

Such were the occupations of the Roman arms in the western division of Spain, while they were equally engaged in the eastern province, under Cato the elder, Tiberius Gracchus, and others, who endeavoured to secure what the state had already acquired, or to extend its limits.—These generals obtained their several triumphs, and joined to the Roman possessions on the coast considerable acquisitions in the inland part of the country. Their progress, however, on this side had been greatly retarded by the obstinate valour of the Numantians, and other cantons of the Celtiberi, who had maintained the contest during fifty years, and at last had formed a general confederacy of all the interior nations of Spain, to be conducted by Viriathus, when their measures were broken by the death of that formidable leader.

Numantia was the principal stronghold, or as we may conceive it, the capital of a small nation. Their lodgment, or township, was contained within a circumference of about three miles, situated among the mountains of Celtiberia, or Old Castile, and at the confluence of the Durus with another river, both of which having steep banks, rendered the place, on two of its sides, of very difficult access. It was fortified on the third side with a rampart and ditch.

The people could muster no more than eight or ten thousand men; but these were greatly distinguished by their valour, reputed superior in horsemanship to every other nation of Spain, and equal to the Romans in the use of the shield and the stabbing sword. They had already gained many victories over the Roman armies which had been employed to reduce them. They had obliged Pompey, one of the Roman generals, contrary to the practice of his country, to accept of a treaty, while the advantage of fortune was against him. They obliged the consul Mancinus to save his army by a capitulation. Neither of those treaties indeed were ratified by the Roman senate. To expiate the breach of the last, the consul Mancinus, who concluded it, together with Tiberius Gracchus, his questor, were ordered to be delivered up to the hands of the enemy, and to suffer in their own persons for the failure of engagements which they could not fulfil. Tiberius Gracchus appealed to the people, was saved by their favour, and from this time is supposed to have received that bias which he followed in the subsequent part of his political conduct. Mancinus acquiesced in the sentence of the senate, was presented naked and in fetters at the gates of Numantia, as a sacrifice to the resentment of that nation, for the breach of a treaty which the Romans determined not to observe. But the victim was nobly rejected, and the Numantians insisted on the conditions they had stipulated, saying, that a public breach of faith could not be expiated by the suffering of a private man.

These transactions passed about ten years after the destruction of Carthage, and the Romans, mortified with the length and ill success of the war with Numantia, had recourse again to the services of Scipio.

Upon the arrival of Scipio in Spain, it is said that he found the Roman army, discouraged by repeated defeats, withdrawn into fortified stations at a distance from the enemy, detesting the hardships of a military camp, indulging themselves in all the vices of a disorderly town, and subject to panics on the slightest alarm. It is said that the

cries, the aspect, the painted visage, and the long hair of the Spaniard were become objects of terror.

Among the reformatations which Scipio made to restore the vigour of the army, he cleared the camp of its unnecessary followers; he restricted the quantity of baggage, reduced the furniture of the kitchen to the spit and the pan; and the tables of officers to plain food, roasted or boiled. He prohibited the use of bedsteads in camp, and that of horses to the infantry on the march, obliging them to carry their own baggage.

Though possessed of superior numbers, he damped the ardour of a fierce people by slow operations; he laid waste the country around them, and by degrees obliged them to retire within their own ramparts, and to consume what was raised or provided within the circuit of their walls.

Scipio had been joined on his march to Numantia by Jugurtha, the grandson of Massinissa, who, on their service, made his first acquaintance with the Romans, and brought a reinforcement of twelve elephants, with a considerable body of horse, of archers and slingers. At its arrival the army amounted to sixty thousand men. But Scipio did not attempt to storm the town; he took a number of posts which he successively fortified, and, by joining them together, completed a double line of circumvallation, equal in strength to the walls which were opposed to him. He had his curtains, his towers, his places of arms corresponding to those of the place; and he established an order of service and a set of signals, in case of alarm by day or by night, which resembled more the precautions of an army on its defence, than the operations of a siege. His intention was to reduce the Numantians by famine, an operation of time, during which, from so warlike a nation, he might be exposed to surprise, or to the effects of despair.

The place besieged being at the confluence of rivers navigable with small vessels, which descended with great rapidity on the stream, or which could, with the favour of proper winds, even remount in the sight of the enemy, the people, for a while, procured some supplies by water. Numbers of them swimming with great address, and diving at proper places, to avoid being seen by the besiegers, still passed through the lines, and preserved a communication with the country, until the rivers also were barred across their channels by timbers, that were armed with sword-blades and spikes of iron.

The Numantians were still in hopes of succour from their allies. Five aged warriors undertook, each with his son for a second, to pass through the lines of the enemy, and to

sue for relief from the neighbouring nations. They succeeded by night in the first part of their attempt, cut down the Roman guard, threw the camp into some confusion, and escaped before the occasion of the alarm was known. But their cause was become desperate, and too likely to involve in certain ruin any friend who embraced it. Their suit, nevertheless, was attended to at Lutia, the head of a small canton, forty miles from Numantia.

The young men of this place took their resolution in favour of the injured Numantians; but Scipio had notice of their intention time enough to prevent its effect. He hastened to the place, and having accomplished this march of forty miles in eight hours, surprised the inhabitants, had four hundred young men delivered up to him, and ordered their right arms to be struck off. By this dreadful act of severity, he secured himself from any danger on that quarter, and impressed the other states of that neighbourhood with terror.

The Numantians, in the mean time, were pressed with famine, and having no hopes of relief, sent a deputation to try the clemency of their enemy.

Scipio replied, That he could not grant them any terms; that they must surrender at discretion.

Upon the return of this answer they resumed their former obstinacy, and held out until they had consumed every article of provision within their walls; endeavoured to turn their shields and other utensils of leather into food, devoured the dead bodies, and even preyed on each other.

The end of this piteous scene is variously reported. By some it is said, that, in the last stage of despair, the Numantians sallied forth to purchase death by the slaughter of their enemies; that, in the execution of this purpose, they for some time exposed themselves with the most frantic rage, till the greater part being slain, a few returned into the town, set fire to the houses, and, with their wives and children, perished in the flames.

By others it is said, that they agreed to surrender on a certain day, but that when this day came they begged for another; alleging, that many of their people, yet fond of liberty, had determined to die, and wished for one day more, that they might the more deliberately execute their purpose. Such was the aversion to surrender at discretion, which the fear of captivity, and that of its ordinary consequences among ancient nations, had inspired. The few of this high-minded people who survived the effects of despair, falling into the enemy's hands, were stripped of their arms. Fifty were reserved, as a specimen of the whole, to

adorn the victor's triumph. The remainder were sold for slaves, and the walls of their stronghold were levelled with the ground.

If we judge of Numantia from the resistance it made to the Roman arms, it having been one of their most difficult conquests, we must consider it as a state of considerable power. Its reduction gave immediate respite from war in Spain. Scipio and Brutus returned nearly together from their provinces in that country, and had their separate triumphs in the same year.

These operations against Numantia, Carthage, Macedonia, and Greece, were accompanied with a revolt of the slaves in Sicily, and with a number of other wars less considerable in Illyricum, Thrace, and Gaul. Of these the revolt of the slaves merits the greater attention, on account of the view it gives of the state of the countries now under the immediate jurisdiction of Rome. The island of Sicily having been the first acquisition which the Romans made beyond the limits of Italy, had been for some time in a state of domestic tranquillity, and undisturbed by any foreign enemy. Its lands were become the property of Roman citizens, who here, as on their estates in Italy, cultivated plantations to supply with corn, wine, and oil, the markets and granaries of Rome. The labour was performed by slaves. These were led in chains to the fields, or confined in vaults and fortified workhouses at the several tasks they were employed to perform. As the proprietors of land had many reasons to prefer the labour of slaves to that of freemen, who were distracted by their political engagements, and subject to be called upon or pressed into the military service, the number of slaves continually increased. They were, for the most part, prisoners of war; and some of them being of high rank, unused to submission, and animated with fierce passions of indignation and scorn, were ready, upon every favourable opportunity, to take arms against their masters, and often to shake the state itself with a storm which was not foreseen until it actually burst.

About ten years after the destruction of Carthage, and four years before that of Numantia, this injured class of men were incited to revolt in Sicily by Eunus, a Syrian slave; who, at first, under pretence of religion, and by the fame of miracles he was supposed to perform, tempted many to break from their bondage; traversed the country, broke open the vaults and prisons in which his fellow-sufferers were confined, and actually assembled an army of seventy thousand men. With this force, in four successive

campaigns, he made a prosperous war on the Roman pretors, and often stormed the intrenchments of the Roman camp.

This leader, however, being ill qualified to improve his victories, and having no concerted plan for the government or subsistence of his followers, in a country that was gradually ruined by their own devastations, was at length, by the caution and superior conduct of Perperna, or Publius Rutilius, gradually circumscribed in his depredations, defeated, and obliged to take refuge in Enna, a fortified place, where about twenty thousand of his followers were put to the sword, and the remainder, as an example, to deter slaves from the commission of a similar offence, were nailed to the cross, near the most frequented highways, and in the most conspicuous parts of the island.

While the Roman armies were thus employed in the provinces, or on the frontier of their extensive conquests, Italy itself had long enjoyed a perfect security, the lands were cultivated, and the country stocked with people, whether aliens or citizens, freemen or slaves. From about three hundred thousand, which, in this period, were the ordinary return of the census, the citizens soon after augmented to above four hundred thousand.

The offices of state, and the government of provinces, to which those who had filled them succeeded, began to be coveted from avarice, as well as from ambition. Complaints of peculation and extortion, which were received about this time from Spain and Macedonia, pointed out the necessity of restraining such oppressions, and suggested some penal laws, which were often, and in vain, amended and revived.

An action was instituted in favour of the provinces, against governors, or their attendants, who should be accused of levying money without the authority of the state, and an ordinary jurisdiction was granted to one of the pretors, to hear complaints on this subject. The penalty at first was no more than restitution, and a pecuniary fine; it was gradually extended to degradation, and exile.

These reformati^ons are dated in the time of the last war with Carthage, and are ascribed to the motion of Culpurnius Piso, then one of the tribunes. Before this time all jurisdiction in criminal matters belonged to the tribunal of the people, and was exercised by themselves in their collective capacity, or occasionally delegated to a special commission. Few crimes were yet defined by statute, and ordinary courts of justice for the trial of them were not yet established.

To supply these defects, a list of statutory crimes now began to be made, and an ordinary jurisdiction was estab-

lished. Besides extortion in the provinces, which had been defined by the law of Culpurnius, murder, breach of faith, robbery, assault, poisoning, incest, adultery, bribery, false judgment, fraud, perjury, &c., were successively joined to the list; and an ordinary jurisdiction for the trial of such crimes was vested in a jury of senators, over whom the pretor, with the title of questor, presided.

The number of pretors, corresponding to this and other growing exigencies of the state, was now augmented to six; and these officers, though destined, as well as the consuls, to the command of armies and the government of provinces, began, during the term of their magistracy, to have full occupation in the city. On this account it was not till after the expiration of the year for which they had been elected, that they drew lots for a province. A like policy was soon after adopted in the destination of consuls, and all the other officers of state, who, being supposed to have sufficient occupation in Italy and Rome during the year of their appointment, were not destined to any foreign service till that year was expired.

With these establishments, calculated to secure the functions of office, the use of the ballot was introduced, first in elections, and afterwards in collecting opinions of judges in the courts of justice.

From the facility with which criminal accusations now began to be received, a new species of crime arose. Calumny and vexatious prosecutions, commenced by disappointed competitors against persons in public trust, became so frequent as to require the interposition of laws. On this account it was enacted, upon the motion of Memmius, that all persons in office, or appointed to command in the provinces, might decline answering a criminal charge until the expiration of their term, or until their return from the service to which they were destined; and persons of any denomination might have an action of calumny against the author of a false or groundless prosecution. Whoever was convicted of this offence was to be branded in the face with the initials of his crime.

By these establishments the city of Rome, long resembling a mere military station, made some progress in completing the system and application of her laws. Literary productions, in some of their forms, particularly in the form of dramatic compositions, as hath been already observed, began to be known. The representation of fables was first introduced under pretence of religion, and practised as a sacred rite to avert the plague or some public calamity. This entertainment was fondly received by the people, and

therefore frequently presented to them by the ediles, who had the charge of such matters. Literature, however, in some of its less popular forms, was checked, as a source of corruption. In the year of Rome five hundred and ninety-two, that is, about eight years after the reduction of Macedonia, the Roman senate, upon a report from M. Pomponius, the pretor, that the city was frequented by philosophers and rhetoricians, resolved, that this officer, agreeably to his duty to the republic, should take care to remove all such persons in the manner his own judgment should direct; and, in about six years after this date, an embassy having come from Athens, composed of scholars and rhetoricians, who drew the attention of the youth by the display of their talents, an uncommon dispatch was given to their business, that they might not have any pretence for remaining too long in the city.

A proposal which was made during this period, to erect a theatre for the accommodation of the spectators at their public shows, was rejected with great indignation, as an attempt to corrupt the manners of the people.

The sumptuary laws already mentioned, respecting entertainments and household expenses, were, under the name of Didius, the person who proposed the renewal of them, revived; and, with some alterations, extended to all the Roman citizens dispersed over Italy.

Such was the antidote which the policy of that age provided, in the capital of a great empire, against luxury and the ostentation of wealth; distempers incident to prosperity itself, and not to be cured by partial remedies. They were by the Romans (who knew better how to accomplish the celebrated problem of Themistocles, 'in making a small state a great one,' than they knew how to explain the effects of its greatness) commonly imputed to some particular circumstance, or accidental event. To the spoils of Tarentum, they said, and of Asia, to the destruction of our principal rivals the Carthaginians; to the mighty show of statues, pictures, and costly furniture, which were brought by Mummius from Corinth, we owe this admiration of finery, and so prevailing a passion for private as well as for public wealth.

In this manner they explained the effects of a progress which they themselves had made in the acquisition of so many provinces; in the growing security and riches of a mighty city, from which all foreign alarms were far removed; and to which the wealth of a great empire, either in the form of private fortune or of public treasure, began to flow with a continued and increasing stream.

CHAP. II.

Extent of the Roman Empire—Political Character of its Head—Facility with which it continued to advance—Change of Character, Political as well as Moral—Character of the People or Commons—Dangerous Humours likely to break out—Appearance of Tiberius Gracchus—His project to revive the Law of Licinius—Intercession of the Tribune Octavius—The Republic divided—Disputes in the Comitia—Deposition of the Tribune Octavius—Commissioners appointed for the Division of Lands—Tiberius Gracchus sues to be re-elected Tribune—His Death—Immediate Consequences—Proceedings of Carbo—Embassy of Scipio—Foreign Affairs—Violence of the Commissioners—Domestic Affairs.

IN the manner that has been summarily stated in the preceding chapters, the Romans completed their political establishment, and made their first and their greatest advances to empire, without departing from the policy by which they had been preserved in the infancy of their power. They were become sovereigns of Macedonia, Greece, Italy, part of Africa, Lusitania, and Spain; yet, even in this pitch of greatness, made no distinction between the civil and military departments, nor gave to any citizen an exemption from the public service. They did not despise any enemy, neither in the measures they took, nor in the exertions they made to resist him: and as the fatal effects which they and all the other nations of the ancient world were long accustomed to expect from defeats, were no less than servitude or death, they did not submit to any enemy, in consequence of any event, nor under the pressure of any calamity whatever.

Other nations were accustomed to rise on victories, and to sink under defeats; to become insolent or mean with the tide of their fortunes. The Romans alone were moderate in prosperity, and arrogant when their enemies expected to force their submission.

Other nations, when in distress, could weigh their sufferings against the concessions which they were required to make; and, among the evils to which they were exposed, preferred what appeared to be the least. The Romans alone spurned the advances of a victorious enemy; were not to be moved by sufferings; and, though they cautiously avoided difficulties that were likely to surpass their strength, did not allow it to be supposed that they were governed by fear in any case whatever. They willingly treated with the vanquished, and were ready to grant the most liberal terms when the concession could not be imputed to weakness or fear. By such free and unforced concession indeed,

they established a reputation for generosity, which contributed, no less than their valour, to secure the dominion they acquired.

With the same insinuating titles of allies or protectors, by which they had, in the infant state of their policy, brought all the cantons of Latium to follow their standard; they continued to take the ascendant over nations whom they could not have otherwise subdued.

By their famous maxim in war, already mentioned, That the submissive were to be spared, and the proud to be humbled, it became necessary for them, in every quarrel, to conquer or to perish; and, when these were the alternatives proposed by them, other nations were entitled to consider them as common enemies. No state has a right to make the submission of mankind a necessary condition to its own preservation; nor are many states qualified to support such pretensions.

The measure of the Roman conquests, in the beginning of the seventh century of Rome, though great, was yet far from being full; and the people had not hitherto relaxed the industry, nor cooled in the ardour with which prosperous nations advance, but which they frequently remit in the height of their attainments and of their power.

The constitution of the commonwealth still afforded a plentiful nursery of men for both the civil and military departments; and this people accordingly continued for some time to advance with a quick pace in the career of their conquests. They subdued mighty kingdoms with as great, or greater facility, than that with which they had formerly conquered villages and single fields.

But the enlargement of their territory, and the success of their arms abroad, became the sources of a ruinous corruption at home. The wealth of provinces began to flow into the city, and filled the coffers of private citizens, as well as those of the commonwealth. The offices of state and the command of armies were become lucrative as well as honourable, and were coveted on the former account. In the state itself the governing and the governed felt separate interests, and were at variance, from motives of avarice, as well as ambition; and, instead of the parties who formerly strove for distinction, and for the palm of merit in the service of the commonwealth, factions arose, who contended for the greatest share of its spoils, and who sacrificed the public to their party-attachments and animosities.

Two hundred and thirty years had elapsed since the animosities of patrician and plebeian were extinguished by the equal participation of public honours. This distinction

Itself was in a great measure obliterated, and gave way to a new one, which, under the denomination of nobles and commons, or illustrious and obscure, without involving any legal disparity of privileges, gave rise to an aristocracy, which was partly hereditary, founded in the repeated succession to honours in the same family; and partly personal, founded in the habits of high station, and in the advantages of education, such as never fail to distinguish the conditions of men in every great and prosperous state.

These circumstances conferred a power on the nobles, which, though less invidious, was not less real than that which had been possessed by the ancient patricians. The exercise of this power was lodged with the senate, a body which was probably never surpassed in magnanimity, ability, or steadiness, by any council of state whatever.

The knights, or the equestrian order, being persons possessed of estates or effects of a certain valuation, formed between the senate and the people an intermediate rank, who, in consequence of their having a capital, and being less engaged than the senators in affairs of state, became traders, contractors, farmers of the revenue, and constituted a species of moneyed interest in the city, and in the provinces.

Such, during the latter part of the period of which the events have been already related, was the distribution of rank in this commonwealth. But circumstances which appear to be fixed in the political state of nations, are often no more than a passage in the shifting of scenes, or a transition from that which a people have been, to what they are about to become. The nobles began to avail themselves of the high authority and advantages of their station, and to accumulate property as well as honours. The country began to be occupied with their plantations and their slaves; and the number of great landed estates, and the multiplication of slaves, kept pace together.

Citizens contended for offices in the state as the road to lucrative appointments abroad; and when they had obtained this end, and had reigned for a while in some province, they brought back from their governments a profusion of wealth ill acquired, and the habit of arbitrary and uncontrolled command. When disappointed in the pursuits of fortune abroad, they became the leaders of dangerous factions at home; or when suddenly possessed of great wealth, they became the agents of corruption to disseminate idleness, and the love of ruinous amusements, in the minds of the people.

The seclusion of the equestrian order from the pursuit of

political emolument or honour, and the opportunities they had, by contracts and by farming the revenue, to improve their fortunes in a different way, confirmed them in the habits of trade, and the attention to lucrative considerations.

The city was gradually crowded with a populace, who, tempted with the cheap or gratuitous distribution of corn, by the frequency of public shows, by the consequence they enjoyed as members of the popular assemblies, or perhaps dislodged from the country by the engrossers of land, and the preference which was given to the labour of slaves over that of freemen, flocked from the colonies and municipal towns to reside at Rome. There they were corrupted by idleness and indigence, and the order itself was continually debased by the frequent accession of emancipated slaves.

The Romans, who were become so jealous of their prerogative as citizens, had no other way of disposing of a slave, who had obtained his freedom, than by placing him on the rolls of the people; and from this quarter accordingly the numbers of the people were chiefly recruited.—The emancipated slave took the name of his master, became a client, and a retainer of his family; and at funerals and other solemnities, where the pomp was distinguished by the number of attendants, made a part of the retinue. This class of men accordingly received continual additions, from the vanity or weakness of those who chose to change their slaves into dependent citizens; and numbers who had been conducted to Rome as captives, or who had been purchased in Asia or Greece, at a price proportioned to the pleasurable arts they possessed, became an accession to that turbulent populace, who, in the quality of Roman citizens, tyrannized in their turn over the masters of the world, and wreaked on the conquerors of so many nations the evils which they themselves had so freely inflicted on mankind.

Although citizens of this description were yet far from being the majority at Rome, yet it is probable that they were in numbers sufficient to contaminate the whole body of the people; and, if enrolled promiscuously in all the tribes, might have had great weight in turning the scale of political councils. This effect, however, was happily modified by the wise precaution which the censors had taken to confine all citizens of mean or slavish extraction to four of the tribes. These were called the tribes of the city, and formed but a small proportion of the whole.

While the state was advancing to the sovereignty of Italy, and while the territories successively acquired were cleared for the reception of Roman citizens, by the reduc-

tion and captivity of the natives, there was an outlet for the redundancy of this growing populace, and its overflowings were accordingly dispersed over Italy, from Rhegium to Aquileia, in about seventy colonies. But the country being now completely settled, and the property of its inhabitants established, it was no longer possible to provide for the indigent citizens in this manner; and the practice of settling new colonies, which had been so useful in planting, and securing the conquests which were made in Italy, had not yet been extended beyond this country, nor employed as the means of securing any of the provinces lately acquired. Mere colonization, indeed, would have been an improper and inadequate measure for this purpose; and in the time of the republic never was, in any considerable degree, extended beyond sea. For these reasons, although the Roman territory was greatly extended, the resources of the poorer citizens were diminished. The former discharge for many dangerous humours that were found to arise among them, was in some measure shut up, and these humours began to regorge on the state.

While the inferior people at Rome sunk in their characters, or were debased by the circumstances we have mentioned, the superior ranks, by their application to affairs of state, by their education, by the ideas of high birth and family distinction, by the superiority of fortune, began to rise in their estimation, in their pretensions, and in their power; and they entertained some degree of contempt for persons, whom the laws still required them to admit as their fellow citizens and equals.

In this disposition of parties so dangerous in a commonwealth, and amidst materials so likely to catch the flame, some sparks were thrown that soon kindled up anew all the popular animosities which seemed to have been so long extinguished. We have been carried, in the preceding narration, by the series of events, somewhat beyond the date of transactions that come now to be related. While Scipio was employed in the siege of Numantia, and while the Roman officers in Sicily were yet unable to reduce the revolted slaves, Tiberius Gracchus, born of a plebeian family, but ennobled by the honours of his father, by his descent on the side of his mother from the first Scipio Africanus, and by his alliance with the second Scipio, who had married his sister, being now tribune of the people, and possessed of all the accomplishments required in a popular leader, great ardour, resolution, and eloquence, formed a project in itself extremely alarming, and in its consequences dangerous to the peace of the republic.

Like other young men of high pretensions at Rome, Tiberius Gracchus had begun his military service at the usual age, had served with reputation under his brother-in-law, Scipio, at the siege of Carthage, afterwards as questor, under Mancinus in Spain, where the credit of his father, well known in that province, pointed him out to the natives as the only person with whom they would negotiate in the treaty that ensued. The disgrace he incurred in this transaction gave him a distaste to the military service, and to foreign affairs. When he was called to account for it, the severity he experienced from the senate, and the protection he obtained from the people, filled his breast with an animosity to the one, and a prepossession in favour of the other.

Actuated by these dispositions, or by an idea not uncommon to enthusiastic minds, that 'the unequal distribution of property, so favourable to the rich, is an injury to the poor;' he now proposed in part to remedy or to mitigate this supposed evil, by reviving the celebrated law of Licinius, by which Roman citizens had been restrained from accumulating estates in land above the value of five hundred jugera,* or from having more than one hundred of the larger cattle, and five hundred of the lesser.

In his travels through Italy, he said, he had observed that the property of land was beginning to be engrossed by a few of the nobles, and that the country was entirely occupied by slaves to the exclusion of freemen; that the race of Roman citizens would soon be extinct, if proper settlements were not provided to enable the poor to support their families, and to educate their children; and he alleged, that if estates in land were reduced to the measure prescribed by law, the surplus left would then be sufficient for this purpose.

Being determined however, as much as possible, to prevent the opposition of the nobles, and to reconcile the interest of both parties to his scheme, he proposed to make some abatements in the rigour of the Licinian law, allowing every family holding five hundred jugera in right of the father, to hold half as much in the right of every unemancipated son; and proposed, that every person who should suffer any diminution of his property in consequence of the intended reform, should have compensation made to him; and that the sum necessary for this purpose should be issued from the treasury.

In this manner he set out with an appearance of moder-

* Little more than half as many acres.

ation, acting in concert with some leading men in the state and members of the senate, such as Appius Claudius, whose daughter he had married, a senator of the family of Crassus, who was then at the head of the priesthood, and Mucius Scaevola, consul.

To complete the intended reformation, and to prevent for the future the accumulation of estates in land, the sale or commerce of land was from thenceforward to be prohibited; and three commissioners were to be annually named, to ensure the execution and regular observance of this law.

The project of Tiberius was strenuously opposed by the senate; and as warmly supported by the opposite party. At the several assemblies of the people which were called to deliberate on this subject, Tiberius exalting the characters of freemen contrasted with slaves, displayed the copious and pathetic eloquence in which he excelled. All the free inhabitants of Italy were Romans, or nearly allied to this people. He observed how much, being supplanted by the slaves of the rich, they were diminished in their numbers. He inveighed against the practice of employing slaves, a class of men that bring perpetual danger, without any addition of strength to the public, and who are ever ready to break forth in desperate insurrections, as they had then actually done in Sicily, where they still occupied the Roman arms in a tedious and ruinous war.

In declaiming on the mortifications and hardships of the indigent citizen, he said, "Every wild beast in this happy land has a cover or place of retreat. But many valiant and respectable citizens, who have exposed their lives, and who have shed their blood in the service of their country, have not a home to which they may retire. They wander with their wives and their children, stript of every possession, but that of the air and the light. To such men the common military exhortation, to 'fight for the tombs of their fathers, and for the altars of their household gods,' is a mockery and a lie. They have no altars; they have no monuments. They fight and they die to augment the estates, and to pamper the luxury of a few wealthy citizens, who have engrossed all the riches of the commonwealth. As citizens of Rome, they are entitled 'the masters of the world,' but possess not a foot of earth on which they may rest."

He asked, whether it were not reasonable to apply what was public to public uses? whether a freeman were not preferable to a slave, a brave man to a coward, and a fellow citizen to a stranger? He expatiated on the fortune, and stated the future prospects of the republic.

He exhorted the present proprietors of land, whom the law of division might affect, not to withhold, for the sake of a trifling interest to serve themselves, so great an advantage from their country. He bade them consider that riches were merely comparative; and that, in respect to this advantage, they were still to remain in the first rank of their fellow citizens.

By these and similar arguments he endeavoured to obtain the consent of one party, and to inflame the zeal of the other. But when he came to propose, that the law should be read, he found that his opponents had availed themselves of their usual defence; had procured M. Octavius, one of his own colleagues, to interpose with his negative, and to forbid any farther proceeding in the business. Here, according to the forms of the constitution, this matter should have dropped. But Tiberius, thus suddenly stopped in his career, became the more impetuous and confirmed in his purpose. Having adjourned the assembly to another day, he prepared a motion more violent than the former, in which he erased all the clauses by which he had endeavoured to soften the hardships likely to fall on the rich. He proposed, that, without expecting any compensation, they should absolutely cede the surplus of their possessions, as being obtained by fraud and injustice.

In this time of suspense, the controversy began to divide the colonies and free cities of Italy, and was warmly agitated wherever the citizens had extended their property. The rich and the poor took opposite sides. They collected their arguments, and mustered their strength.

Multitudes of people from all parts of Italy, some earnestly desirous to have the law enacted, others to have it set aside, crowded to Rome to attend the decision of the question; and Gracchus, without dropping his intention, as usual, upon the negative of his colleague, only bethought himself how he might surmount, or remove this obstruction.

Having hitherto lived in personal intimacy with Octavius, he tried to gain him in private; and having failed in this attempt, he entered into expostulations with him, in presence of the public assembly; desired to know, whether he feared to have his own estate impaired by the effects of the law; for if so, he offered to indemnify him fully in whatever he might suffer by the execution of it: and being still unable to shake his colleague, who was supported by the countenance of the senate and the higher ranks of men in the state, he determined to try the force of his tribunitian powers to compel him, laid the state itself under a general interdict, sealed up the doors of the treasury, suspended the

proceedings in the courts of the pretors, and put a stop to all the functions of office in the city.

All the nobility and superior class of the people went into mourning. Tiberius, in his turn, endeavoured to alarm the passions of his party; and believing, or pretending to believe, that he himself was in danger of being assassinated, had a number of persons with arms to defend his person.

While the city was in this state of suspense and confusion, the tribes were again assembled, and Tiberius, in defiance of the negative of his colleague, was proceeding to call the votes, when many of the people, alarmed by this intended violation of the sacred law, crowded in before the tribe that was moving to ballot, and seized the urns. A great tumult was likely to arise. The popular party, being most numerous, were crowding around their leader, when two senators, Manlius and Fulvius, both of consular dignity, fell at his feet, embraced his knees, and beseeched him not to proceed. Overcome with the respect that was due to persons of this rank, and with the sense of some impending calamity, he asked, What they would have him to do? "The case," they said, "is too arduous for us to decide; refer it to the senate, and await their decree."

Proceedings were accordingly suspended until the senate had met, and declared a resolution not to confirm the law. Gracchus resumed the subject with the people, being determined either to remove, or to slight the negative of his colleague. He proposed, that either the refractory tribune, or himself, should be immediately stripped of his dignity. He desired that Octavius should put the question first, Whether Tiberius Gracchus should be degraded? This being declined as irregular and vain, he declared his intention to move in the assembly, on the following day, That Octavius should be divested of the character of tribune.

Hitherto all parties had proceeded agreeably to the laws and constitution of the commonwealth; but this motion, to degrade a tribune, by whatever authority, was equally subversive of both.

The assembly, however, being met in consequence of this alarming adjournment, Tiberius renewed his prayer to Octavius to withdraw his negative; but not prevailing in this request, the tribes were directed to proceed. The votes of the majority were declared, and Octavius, reduced to a private station, was dragged from the tribunes' bench, and exposed for a short time to the rage of the populace.

This obstacle being removed, the act so long depending, for making a more equal division of lands, was passed; and three commissioners, Tiberius Gracchus, Appius Claudius,

his father-in-law, and his brother Caius Gracchus, then a youth serving under Publius Scipio at the siege of Numantia, were named to carry the law into execution.

This act, as it concerned the interest of almost every inhabitant of Italy, immediately raised a great ferment in every part of the country. The senate endeavoured to delay the execution of the law, withheld the usual aids and appointments given to the commissioners of the people in the ordinary administration of public trusts, and waited for a fit opportunity to suppress entirely this hazardous project. Parties looked on each other with a gloomy and suspicious silence. Gracchus, affecting to believe a design to be forming against his life, appeared, with his children and their mother, as suppliants in the streets, and implored the protection of the people. Still more to interest their passions in his safety, he published a list of the acts which he then had in view, all tending to gratify the people, or to mortify the senate.

These, with the preceding attempts to abolish or to weaken the aristocratical part of the government, were justly alarming to every person who was anxious for the preservation of the state. Tiberius heard himself arraigned in the forum, and in every public assembly, for the violation of the sacred law. "If any of your colleagues," said Titus Annius (whom he prosecuted for a speech in the senate,) "should interpose in my behalf, would you have him also degraded?"

The people in general began to be sensible of the enormity they themselves had committed, and Tiberius found himself under a necessity of pleading for the measure he had taken, after it had been carried into execution. The arguments he employed tended to introduce the plea of necessity where there was no foundation for it, and to set the sovereign power, in every species of government, loose from the rules which itself had enacted. Such arguments accordingly had no effect where the interest of the parties did not concur to enforce them. Tiberius saw his credit on the decline. He was publicly menaced with impeachment, and had given sufficient provocation to make him apprehend that, upon the expiration of his office, some violence might be offered to himself. His person was guarded only by the sacred character of the tribune. The first step he should make in the new character he was to assume, as commissioner for the division of lands, was likely to terminate his life. He resolved, if possible, to take shelter in the tribunate another year; and, to procure this favour from the people, gave farther expectations of popular acts; of one to

shorten the term of military service, and of another to grant an appeal to the people from the courts of justice lately established.

The senate, and every citizen who professed a regard to the constitution, were alarmed. This attempt, they said, to perpetuate the tribunitian power in the same person, tends directly to tyranny. The usurper, with the lawless multitude that supports him, must soon expel from the public assemblies every citizen who is inclined to moderation ; and, together with the property of our lands, to which they already aspire, make themselves master of the state. Their leader, it seems, like every other tyrant, already thinks that his safety depends upon the continuance of his power.

In this feverish state of suspense and anxiety, great efforts were made to determine the elections. The time of choosing the tribunes was now fast approaching: Roman citizens, dispersed on their lands throughout Italy, were engaged in the harvest, and could not repair to the city. On the day of election the assembly was ill attended, especially by those who were likely to favour Tiberius. He being rejected by the first tribes that moved to the ballot, his friends endeavoured to amuse the assembly with forms, and to protract the debates, till observing that the field did not fill, nor the appearance change for the better, they moved to adjourn to the following day.

When the first tribe delivered their votes, a confusion arose among the people. Numbers from the more distant parts of the assembly began to press forward to the centre. Among others, Fulvius Flaccus, a senator yet attached to Tiberius, being too far off to be heard, beckoned with his hand that he would speak with the tribunes. Having made his way through the multitude, he informed Tiberius, that a resolution was taken in the senate to resist him by force ; and that a party of senators, with their clients and slaves, was arming against his life. All who were near enough to hear this information, took the alarm, snatched the staves from the officers that attended the tribunes, and tucked up their robes as for immediate violence. The alarm spread through the assembly, and many called out to know the cause, but no distinct account could be heard. Tiberius having in vain attempted to speak, made a sign, by waving his hand round his head, that his life was in danger. This sign, together with the hostile and menacing appearances that gave rise to it, being instantly reported in the senate, and interpreted as a hint given to the people, that it was necessary he should be crowned, or that he should assume the sovereignty, the senate immediately resolved, in a form

that was usual on alarming occasions, that the consul should provide for the safety of the state. This resolution was supposed to confer a dictatorial power, and was generally given when immediate execution or summary proceedings were deemed to be necessary, without even sufficient time for the formalities observed in naming a dictator. The consul Mucius Scaevola, who had been in concert with Tiberius in drawing up the first frame of his law, but who probably had left him in the extremes to which he afterwards proceeded; on the present occasion, however, declined to employ force against a tribune of the people, or to disturb the tribes in the midst of their legal assembly. "If they shall come," he said, "to any violent or illegal determination, I will employ the whole force of my authority to prevent its effects."

"The consul," said Scipio Nasica, "deserts the republic; let those who wish to preserve it, follow me." The senators instantly arose, and moving in a body, which increased as they went, by the concourse of their clients, they seized the shafts of the fasces, or tore up the benches in their way, and, with their robes wound up, in place of shields, on their left arm, broke into the midst of the assembly of the people.

Tiberius, surrounded by a numerous multitude, found his party unable to resist the awe with which they were struck by the presence of the senate and nobles. The few who resisted were beat to the ground. He himself, while he fled, being seized by the robe, slipped it from his shoulders and continued to fly; but he stumbled in the crowd, and while he attempted to recover himself, was slain with repeated blows. His body, as being that of a tyrant, together with the killed of his party, amounting to about three hundred, as accomplices in a treasonable design against the republic, were denied the honours of burial, and thrown into the river. Some of the most active of his partisans that escaped, were afterwards cited to appear, and were outlawed or condemned.

Thus, in the heats of this unhappy dispute, both the senate and the people had been carried to acts of violence that insulted the laws and constitution of their country.

The disorders that arise in free states which are beginning to corrupt, generally furnish very difficult questions in the casuistry of politicians. Even the struggles of virtuous citizens, because they do not prevent, are sometimes supposed to hasten, the ruin of their country. The violence of the senate, on this occasion, was by many considered with aversion and horror. The subversion of government,

that was likely to have followed the policy of Gracchus, because it did not take place, was overlooked; and the restitution of order, effected by the senate, appeared to be a tyranny established in blood. The senators themselves were struck with some degree of remorse, and, what is dangerous in politics, took a middle course between the extremes. They were cautious not to inflame animosities, by any immoderate use of their victory, nor by any immediate opposition to the execution of the popular law. They wished to atone for the violences lately committed against the person of its author: they permitted Fulvius Flaccus and Papirius Carbo, two of the most daring leaders of the popular faction, to be elected commissioners for the execution of the Agrarian law, in the room of Tiberius and Appius Claudius, of whom the latter also died about this time; and, in order to stifle animosities and resentments, consented that, under pretence of an embassy to Pergamus, Scipio Nasica should be removed from Rome. In consequence of this commission, this illustrious citizen, the lineal descendant of one of the Scipios who perished in Spain in the time of the second Punic war, himself an ornament to the republic, died in a species of exile, though under an honourable title.

In the midst of such agitations, foreign affairs were likely to be much overlooked. They proceeded, however, under the conduct of the officers to whom they were intrusted, with the usual success; and the senate, having the reports made nearly about the same time, of the pacification of Lusitania, the destruction of Numantia, and the reduction and punishment of the slaves in Sicily, named commissioners to act in conjunction with the generals commanding in those several services, in order to settle their provinces.

Brutus and Scipio had their several triumphs; one with the title of Galaicus, for having reduced the Gallicians; the other, still preferring the title of Africanus to that of Numantinus, which was offered to him for the sack of Numantia.

Papirius Carbo spent the year of his tribunate in fomenting the animosity of the people against the senate, and in promoting dangerous innovations. He obtained a law, by which the votes of the people, in questions of legislation as well as election, and the opinions of the judges in determining causes, were to be taken by ballot.

He was less successful in the motion he made for a law to enable the same person to be repeatedly chosen into the office of tribune. He was supported in this motion by Caius Gracchus; opposed by Scipio, Lælius, and the whole authority of the senate, who dreaded the perpetuating in any one person a power, which the sacredness of the

character, and the attachment of the populace, rendered almost sovereign and irresistible.

While the interests of party were exerted in these several questions at home, the state was laying the foundation of new quarrels abroad, and opening a scene of depredation and conquest in what was then the wealthiest part of the known world. Soon after the death of Attalus, king of Pergamus, who had bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans, Aristonicus, his natural brother, being the illegitimate son of Eumenes, made pretensions to the throne of Pergamus, and was supported by a powerful party among the people. The Romans did not fail to maintain their right: Crassus, one of the consuls of the preceding year, had been sent with an army into Asia for that purpose, but in his first encounter with Aristonicus was defeated and taken.*

The following year, the consul Perperna being sent on this service, and having, with better fortune than Crassus, defeated and taken Aristonicus, got possession of the treasure and kingdom of Attalus, but died in his command at Pergamus. From this time the Romans took a more particular concern than formerly in the affairs of Asia. They employed Scipio Emilianus, with Sp. Mummius, and L. Metellus, on a commission of observation to that country.

In whatever degree the Roman embassy found worthy objects of attention in the state of the Asiatic powers, matters were hastening in Italy to a state of great distraction, and ferment, on account of the violence with which the Agrarian law was put in execution by Papirius Carbo, Fulvius Flaccus, and Caius Gracchus, the commissioners appointed for this purpose. As the law authorized them to call upon all persons possessed of public lands to evacuate them, and submit to a legal division; they, under this pretence, brought into question all the rights of property throughout Italy, and took from one and gave to another as suited their pleasure; some suffered the diminution of their estates with silent rage; others complained that they were violently removed from lands which they had cultivated, to barren and inhospitable situations; even they who were supposed to be favoured, complained of the lots they received. Many were aggrieved, none were satisfied.

Moved by the representations which were made of these abuses, Scipio, at his return from Asia, made a harangue in the senate, proposing to take the execution of the law for the division of lands out of the hands of so pernicious a fac-

* U. C. 629.

tion, and committed to the Consul Sempronius Tuditanus, who remained in the administration of affairs in Italy, while his colleague Aquilius had gone to Asia to finish the transaction in the conduct of which Perperna died.

It is mentioned that Scipio, in this speech to the senate, complained of insults and threats to his own person, which induced all the members, with a great body of the more respectable citizens, to attend him in procession to his own house.* Next morning he was found dead in his bed; and, notwithstanding the suspicions of violence transmitted by different authors, nothing certain appears upon record.

The occasion was not sufficient to make the senate persist in their intention to name a dictator; nor is there any thing material recorded as having happened during a few of the following years. Quintus Cæcilius Metellus Macedonicus, and Quintus Pompeius, were censors; both of plebeian extraction; of which this is recorded as the first example. Metellus, at the census, made a memorable speech, in which he recommended marriage, the establishment of families, and the rearing of children. This speech being preserved, will recur to our notice again, being read by Augustus in the senate, as a lesson equally applicable to the age in which he lived.

The people who were fit to carry arms, as appeared at their enrolment, amounted to three hundred and seventeen thousand eight hundred and twenty-three. But what is most memorable in the transactions of this muster, was the disgrace of Caius Attinius Labeo, who, being struck off the rolls of the senate by Metellus, afterwards became tribune of the people.

Metellus, in returning from the country, about noon, while the market-place was thin of people, found himself suddenly apprehended by this vindictive tribune, and ordered to be thrown immediately from the Tarpeian rock. The people assembled in crowds. Metellus struggled to obtain a delay, was overpowered and dragged through the streets, while the violence he suffered made the blood to spring from his nostrils. A tribune, the only power that could, without profanation, interrupt a tribune, was with difficulty found in time to save his life; but Attinius having, with a lighted fire and other forms of consecration, devoted his estate to sacred uses, it is alleged that he never recovered it.

Such was the weak state to which the government was reduced by the late popular encroachments, that this outrageous abuse of power was never punished; and such the

moderation of this great man's family, that none of them chose to increase the disturbances of the commonwealth, by attempting to revenge the outrage which their father had suffered.

Caius Attinius is mentioned, as being the person who obtained the admission of the tribunes, in right of their office, as members of the senate.

The Consul Sempronius, though authorized by the senate to restrain the violence of the commissioners who were employed in the Agrarian law, declined that hazardous business, and chose rather to encounter the enemy in the province of Istria, where he made some conquests and obtained a triumph.

Historians mention a dreadful eruption of mount Etua, the effect of subterraneous fires, which shaking the foundations of Sicily and the neighbouring islands, gave explosions of flame, not only from the crater of the mountain, but likewise from below the waters of the sea, and forced sudden and great inundations over the islands of Liparé and the neighbouring coasts.

CHAP. III.

State of the Italian allies, and the views which now began to be conceived by them—Appearance of Caius Gracchus—Resolution to purge the city of Aliens—Consulate and factious motions of Fulvius Flaccus—Conspiracy of Frigellæ suppressed—Caius Gracchus returns to Rome—Offers himself candidate for the tribunate—Tribunate and acts of Caius Gracchus—Re-election—Proposal to admit the inhabitants of Italy on the Rolls of Roman Citizens—Popular Acts of Gracchus and Livius—The Senate begin to prevail—Death of Caius Gracchus and Fulvius.

AT this time the state of Italy seemed to have received the seeds of much trouble, and to contain ample materials of civil combustion.* The citizens, for whom no provision had been made at their return from military service, or who thought themselves partially dealt with in the colonies, the leaders of tumult and faction in the city, were now taught to consider the land-property of Italy as their joint inheritance. They were, in imagination, distributing their lots, and selecting their shares. In the mean time, the inhabitants of the Municipia, or free towns, and their districts, who, not being citizens, served the state as allies, had reason to

* U. C. 627.

dread the rapacity of such needy and powerful masters. They themselves likewise began to repine under the inequality of their condition.—They had been made, by the professions of Tiberius Gracchus, to entertain hopes that every distinction in Italy would soon be removed, that every freeman in the country would be enrolled as a citizen of Rome, and be admitted to all the powers and pretensions implied in that designation. The consideration of this subject, therefore, could not be long delayed ; and the Roman senate, already struggling with attacks of their fellow-citizens, had an immediate storm to apprehend from the allies.

The revolutions of the state had been so frequent, and its progress from small beginnings to a great empire had been so rapid, that the changes to which men are exposed, and the exertions of which they are capable, nowhere appear so conspicuous, or are so distinctly marked.

In the first ages the political importance of a Roman citizen appears not to have been felt or understood. Conquered enemies were removed to Rome, and their captivity consisted in being forced to be Romans, to which they submitted with great reluctance.* It is not to be doubted that every foreigner was welcome to take his place as a Roman citizen in the assembly of the people, that many were admitted into the senate, and some even on the throne.* It is likely also, that the first colonies considered themselves as detached from the city of Rome, and as forming cantons apart ; for we find them, like the other states of Italy, occasionally at war with the Romans.

But when the sovereignty of Italy came to be established at Rome, and was there actually exercised by the collective body of the people, the inhabitants of the colonies, it is probable, laid claim to their votes in elections, and presented themselves to be enrolled in the tribes. They felt their consequence and their superiority over the municipia, or free towns in their neighbourhood, to whom, as a mark of distinction and an act of munificence, some remains of independence had been left. Even in this state, the rolls of the people had been very negligently compiled, or preserved. The kings, the consuls, the censors, who were the officers, in different ages of the state, intrusted with the musters, admitted on the rolls such as presented themselves, or such as they chose to receive. One consul invited all the free inhabitants of Latium to poll in the assemblies of the people ; another rejected them, and in time of elections forbid them the city.—But notwithstanding this prohibition, aliens that

* Tarquinius Priscus was of Greek extraction, and an alien from Tarquinii.

were brought to Rome on a foot of captivity, were suffered by degrees to mix with the citizens. The inhabitants of the free towns, removing to Rome upon any creditable footing, found easy admission on the rolls of some tribe. The towns complained they were depopulated. The Romans endeavoured to shut the gates of their city by repeated scrutinies, and the prohibition of surreptitious enrolments : but in vain. The practice still continued, and the growing privilege, distinction, and eminence of a Roman citizen made that title become the great object of individuals, and of entire cantons. It had already been bestowed upon districts whose inhabitants were not distinguished by any singular merit with the Roman state. In this respect all the allies were nearly equal ; they had regularly composed at least one half in every Roman army, and had borne an equal share in all the dangers and troubles of the commonwealth ; and, from having valued themselves of old on their separate titles and national distinctions, they began now to aspire to a share in the sovereignty of the empire, and wished to sink for ever their provincial designations under the general title of Romans.

Not only the great power that was enjoyed in the assembly of the people, and the serious privileges that were bestowed by the Porcian law, but even the title of citizen in Italy, of legionary soldier in the field, and the permission of wearing the Roman gown, were now ardently coveted as marks of dignity and honour. The city was frequented by persons who hoped separately to be admitted in the tribes, and by numbers who crowded from the neighbouring cantons, on every remarkable day of assembly, still flattering themselves, that the expectations which Gracchus had raised on this important subject might soon be fulfilled.

In this state of affairs, the senate authorized Junius Pennus, one of the tribunes, to move the people for an edict to prohibit, on days of election or public assembly, this concourse of aliens, and requiring all the country towns to lay claim to their denizens, who had left their own corporations to act the part of citizens at Rome.*

On this occasion, Caius Gracchus, the brother of the late unfortunate tribune, stood forth, and made one of the first appearances in which he showed the extent of his talents, as well as the party he was likely to espouse in the commonwealth. This young man, being about twenty years of age when the troubles raised by his elder brother had so much disturbed the republic, and when they had ended so

* U. C. 627.

fatally for himself, had retired upon that catastrophe from the public view. His retirement he spent in such studies as were then come into repute, on account of their importance, as a preparation for the business of courts of justice, of the senate, and of the popular assemblies; and the first appearance he made gave evidence of the talents he had acquired for these several departments. The cause of the country towns, in which he now engaged, was however fraught with so much confusion to the state, and tended so much to lessen the political consequence of those who were already citizens, that the argument in favour of the resolution to purge the city of aliens prevailed, and an act to that purpose accordingly was passed in the assembly of the people.

The fires of sedition which had some time preyed on the commonwealth were likely to break out with increasing force upon the promotion of Fulvius Flaccus to the dignity of first magistrate.* This factious citizen had blown up the flame with Tiberius Gracchus, and having succeeded him in the commission for executing the Agrarian law, began the functions of his office by proposing a law to communicate the right of citizens to the allies or free inhabitants of Italy; a measure which tended to weaken the power of the senate, and to increase the number of citizens greatly beyond what could be assembled in one collective body. Having failed in this attempt, he substituted a proposal in appearance more moderate, but equally dangerous, that whoever claimed the right of citizen, in case of being cast by the censors, who were the proper judges, might appeal to the people.

When the consul appeared to be fairly entered on his career, and, by uniting the power of the supreme magistracy with that of a commissioner for dividing the property of lands, was likely to break through all the forms which had hitherto retarded the execution of the Agrarian law, he was with difficulty persuaded to assemble the senate, and to take his place. The whole body joined in representations against these dangerous measures and in a request that he would withdraw his motions. To these applications he made no reply; but an occasion soon offered, by which the senate was enabled to divert him from his purpose. A deputation arrived from Marseilles, then in alliance with Rome, to entreat the support of the republic against the Salyii, a neighbouring nation, who had invaded their territories. The senate gladly embraced this opportunity to find a foreign employment for the consul, decreed a speedy aid to

* U. C. 628.

the city of Marseilles, and appointed M. Fulvius Flaccus to that service.

In this interval soon appeared how seriously the claims of citizenship were adopted by the country towns; for the inhabitants already bestirred themselves, and were beginning to devise how they might extort by force what they were not likely to obtain with the consent of the original denizens of Rome. A suspicion having arisen of such treasonable concerts forming at Fregellæ, the pretor Opimius had a special commission to inquire into the matter and to proceed as he should find the occasion required. Having summoned the chief magistrate of the place to appear before him, he received, upon a promise of doing no violence to his person, full information of the combinations that had been forming against the government of Rome. So instructed, he assembled such a force as was necessary to support him in asserting the authority of the state; and thinking it necessary to give a striking example in a manner of so dangerous and infectious a nature, he ordered the place to be razed to the ground.

By this act of severity, the designs of the allies were for a while suspended, and might have been entirely suppressed, if the factions at Rome had not given them fresh encouragement and hopes of success or impunity.* This transaction was scarcely past, when Caius Gracchus who had been acting as proquestor in Sardinia, appeared in the city to solicit the office of tribune; and, by his presence, revived the hopes of the allies. Having observed, that the proconsul Aurelius Cotta, under whom he served, instead of being recalled, was continued in his command, and furnished with reinforcements and supplies of every sort as for a service of long duration; and suspecting that this measure was pointed at himself, and proceeded from a design to keep him at a distance from the popular assemblies, he quitted his station in Sardinia, and returned without leave. He was called to account by the censors for deserting his duty; but defended himself with such ability and force, as greatly raised the expectations which had already been entertained by his party.

The law, he said, required him only to carry arms ten years, he had actually carried them twelve years; although he might legally have quitted his station of questor at the expiration of one year, yet he had remained in it three years. However willing the censors may have been to remove this pest from the commonwealth, they were too

* U. C. 629.

weak to attempt any censure in this state of his cause, and in the present humour of the people. They endeavoured in vain to load him with a share in the plot of Fregellæ; he still exculpated himself: and, if he had possessed every virtue of a citizen, in proportion to his resolution, application, eloquence, and even severity of manners, he might have been a powerful support to the state. In a speech to the people, on his return from Sardinia, he concluded with the following remarkable words: "The purse which I carried full to the province, I have brought empty back. Others empty the wine casks which they carry from Italy, and bring them from the provinces replenished with silver and gold."

In declaring himself a candidate for the office of tribune, Caius Gracchus professed his intention to propose many popular laws. The senate exerted all their influence to disappoint his views; but such were the expectations of the popular party throughout all Italy, that they crowded to the election in greater numbers than could find place in the public square. They handed and reached out their ballots at the windows and over the battlements; and Gracchus, though elected, was, in consequence of the opposition given to him, only fourth in the list.

Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, who, ever since the death of her son Tiberius, lived in retirement in Campania, upon hearing of the career which her son, Caius, was likely to run, alarmed at the renewal of a scene which had already occasioned her so much sorrow, expostulated with him on the course he was taking; and, in an unaffected and passionate address, spoke that ardent zeal for the republic, by which the citizens of Rome had been long distinguished.

Her expostulations do not appear to have had any effect. Caius, upon his accession to the tribunate, proceeded to fulfil the expectations of his party. The Agrarian law, though still in force, had met with continued interruption and delay in the execution. It was even falling into neglect. Caius thought proper, as the first act of his magistracy, to move a renewal and confirmation of it, with express injunctions, that there should be an annual distribution of land to the poorer citizens. To this he subjoined, in the first year of his office, a variety of regulations tending either to increase his popularity, or to distinguish his administration.

Among these was an act to regulate the conditions of the military service, by which no one was obliged to enter before seventeen years of age, and by which Roman soldiers were to receive clothing as well as pay; possibly the first introduction of a uniform into the Roman legions: a cir-

cumstance which, in modern times, is thought so essential to the character of troops, and the appearance of an army.

By the celebrated law of Porcius, which allowed of an appeal to the people, every citizen had a remedy against any oppressive sentence or proceeding of the executive magistrate; but this did not appear to Gracchus a sufficient restraint on the officers of state. He proposed to have it enacted, that no person, under pain of a capital punishment, should at all proceed against a citizen without a special commission or warrant from the people to that effect. And he proposed to give this law a retrospect, in order to comprehend Popilius Lænas who, being consul in the year after the troubles occasioned by Tiberius Gracchus, had, under the authority of the senate alone, proceeded to try and condemn such as were accessory to that sedition. Lænas perceived the storm that was gathering against him, and chose to avoid it by a voluntary exile. This act was indeed almost an entire abolition of government, and a bar to the exercise of such ordinary powers as were necessary to the peace of the commonwealth: but, as we find no change in the proceedings of the state upon this new regulation, it is probable that the absurdity of the law prevented its effect.

Under Caius Gracchus much public business, that used to pass through the senate, was engrossed by the popular assemblies. Even in the form of these assemblies, all appearance of respect to the senate was laid aside. The rostra, or platform on which the presiding magistrate stood, was placed in the middle of an area, of which one part was the market-place, surrounded with stalls and booths for merchandise, and the courts of justice; the other part called the comitium, was open to receive the people in their public assemblies; and on one side of it, fronting the rostra, or bench of the magistrates, stood the curia, or senate-house. The people, when any one was speaking, stood partly in the market-place, and partly in the comitium. The speakers directed their voice to the comitium, so as to be heard in the senate. This disposition, Gracchus reserved; and directing his voice to the forum, or market-place, seemed to displace the senate, and deprive that body of their office as watchmen and guardians of the public order in matters that came before the popular assemblies.

At the time that this active tribune engaged the minds of his contemporaries, and furnished history chiefly with these effects of his factious and turbulent spirit, it is observed, that he himself executed works of general utility; bridges, highways, and other public accommodations through Italy.

And that the state having carried its arms, for the first time, over the Alps, happily terminated the war with the Salyii, a nation of Gaul, whose territory became the first province of Rome in that country. And that Caius Sextius, consul of the preceding year, was authorized to place a colony in the neighbourhood of the hot springs, which, from his name, were called the *Aquæ Sextiæ*, and are still known by a corruption of the same appellation.

From Asia, at the same time, it was reported, that Ariarathes, the king of Cappadocia, and ally of the Romans, was murdered, at the instigation of Mithridates, king of Pontus, whose sister he had married; that he had left a son for whom Mithridates affected to secure the kingdom; but that the widowed queen having fallen into the hands of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, this prince, in her right, had taken possession of Cappadocia, while Mithridates, in name of his nephew, was hastening to remove him from thence. On this subject a resolution was declared in the assembly of the people at Rome, that both Nicomedes and Mithridates should be required immediately to evacuate Cappadocia, and to withdraw their troops.

Gracchus, on the approach of the election of consuls, employed all his credit and influence to support Caius Fannius, in opposition to Opimius, who, by his vigilance and activity in suppressing the treasonable designs of the allies at Fregeellæ, had incurred the displeasure of the popular party; and Fannius being accordingly chosen, together with Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Gracchus proceeded to offer himself as a candidate to be re-elected into the office of tribune.* In this he followed the example of his brother Tiberius in a step, which, being reckoned illegal as well as alarming, was that which hastened his ruin. However, in virtue of a clause in one of his own lately passed popular acts, he was returned in preference to one of the new candidates, and greatly strengthened the tribunitian power by the prospect of its repeated renewals, and duration for an indefinite time.

Upon his re-election, Caius, continuing his administration upon the same plan of animosity to the senate, obtained a law to deprive that body of the share which his brother had left them in the courts of justice; and ordaining, that the judges, for the future, should be draughted from the equestrian order alone, a class of men, who, being left out of the senate, and of course not comprehended in the laws that prohibited commerce, had betaken themselves, as has been observed, to lucrative professions, were the farmers of the

* U. C. 639.

revenue, the contractors for the army, and, in general, the merchants who conducted the whole trade of the republic. Though they might be considered as neutral in the disputes of the senate and people, and therefore impartial where the other orders were biassed, there was no class of men more likely to prostitute the character of judges for interest or actual hire. This revolution in the courts of justice accordingly may have contributed greatly to hasten the approaching corruption of manners, and the disorders of the government.

The next ordinance prepared by Gracchus, or ascribed to him, related to the nomination of officers to govern the provinces; and, if it had been strictly observed, might have made some compensation for the former. The power of naming such officers was committed to the senate, and the arrangements were to be annually made before the election of consuls. This continued to be law, but was often overruled by the people.

In the same year, the boldest and most dangerous project that had ever been formed by any of the popular leaders, that for admitting the Italian allies upon the rolls of the Roman people, already attempted by Fulvius Flaccus, was again renewed by Caius Gracchus; and, upon the utmost exertion of the vigilance and authority of the senate, with great difficulty prevented. During the dependence of this question, Gracchus flattered the poorer citizens with the prospect of advantageous settlements, in certain new colonies, of six thousand men each, which he proposed to plant in the districts of Campania and Tarentum, the most cultivated parts of Italy, and in colonies, which he likewise proposed to send abroad into some of the richest provinces.

The senate, attacked by such popular arts, resolved to retort on their adversaries; and for this purpose instructed Marcus Livius, another of the tribunes, to take such measures as should, if possible, supplant Gracchus in the favour of the people. Livius, professing to act in concert with the senate, proposed a number of acts: one to conciliate the minds of the allies, by giving them, while they served in the army, the same exemption from corporeal punishment, which the Roman citizens had enjoyed.

Another for the establishment of twelve different colonies, each of three thousand citizens. But what, possibly, had the greatest effect, because it appeared to exceed in munificence all the edicts of Gracchus, was an exemption of all those lands, which should be distributed in terms of the late Sempronian law, from all quit-rents and public burdens, which had hitherto, in general, been laid on all possessions

that were held from the public. It was proposed to name ten commissioners to distribute lands thus unincumbered, to the people; and three colonies are mentioned, Syllaceum, Tarentum, and Neptunia, as having been actually sent abroad this year, and probably on these terms.

About the same time it was decreed, that the city of Carthage might be rebuilt for the reception of a colony of six thousand Roman citizens. This decree bears the name, not of Sempronius or of Livius, but of Rubrius, another tribune of the same year.

The senate readily agreed to the settlement of these colonies, as likely to carry off a number of the more factious citizens, and to furnish an opportunity likewise of removing from the city, for some time, the popular leaders themselves, under pretence of employing them to conduct and to settle the families destined to form those establishments. Accordingly, Caius Gracchus, and Fulvius Flaccus, late consul, and now deeply engaged in all these factious measures, were destined to take charge of the new colonists, and to superintend their settlement.

In the mean time, the senate, in the election of Opimius to the consulship of the following year, carried an important object to the reputation and interest of their party, and conceived hopes of being able, by the authority of this magistrate, to combat the designs of Gracchus more effectually than they had hitherto done. He was accordingly retained in the administration of affairs in Italy, while his colleague, Fabius, was appointed to command in Gaul. Caius Gracchus, having the presumption to offer himself a third time candidate for the office of tribune, was rejected, and had the mortification to find, that the authority of the senate began to prevail; and, as they had credit enough to procure his exclusion from any share in the magistracy, so they might be able to frustrate or reverse many of the acts he had obtained in favour of his party.

By the repulse of Gracchus and his associates, the aristocratical party came to have a majority, even in the college of tribunes. Much violence was expected, and the different parties, recollecting what had happened in the case of Tiberius Gracchus, took measures not to be surprised by their antagonists; for the most part came to the place of assembly in bands, even under arms, and endeavoured to possess the advantage of the ground as in the presence of an enemy.

Minucius, one of the tribunes, in consequence of a resolution of the senate, pretending that he was moved by some

unfavourable presages, proposed a repeal or amendment of some of the late popular acts ; and particularly, to change the destination of the colony intended for Carthage, to some other place. This motion was strenuously opposed by Fulvius Flaccus, and by Caius Gracchus, who treated the report of presages from Africa as a mere fiction, and the whole design as proceeding from the inveterate hatred of the nobles to the people. Before the assembly met, in which this question was to be decided, these popular leaders attempted to seize the capitol, but were prevented by the consul, who had already with an armed force secured that station.

In the morning after they had received this disappointment, the people being assembled, and the consul being employed in offering up the customary sacrifices, Gracchus, with his party, came to their place in the comitium. One of the attendants of the consul, who was carrying away the entrails of the victim, reproached Gracchus, as he passed, with sedition, and bid him desist from his machinations against the government of the commonwealth. On this provocation, one of the party of Gracchus struck the consul's officer with his dagger, and killed him on the spot. The cry of murder ran through the multitude, and the assembly began to break up. Gracchus endeavoured to speak, but could not be heard for the tumult ; and all thoughts of business were laid aside. The consul immediately summoned the senate to meet ; and having reported what had happened in the comitium, and what appeared to him the first act of hostility in a war, which the popular faction had prepared against the state, he received the charge that was usual on perilous occasions, to provide, in the manner which his own prudence should direct, for the safety of the commonwealth. Thus authorized, he commanded the senators and the knights to arm, and made proper dispositions to secure the principal streets. Being master of the capitol and forum, he adjourned the assembly of the people to the usual place on the following day, and cited the persons accused of the murder to answer for the crime which was laid to their charge.

In consequence of this adjournment, and the consul's instructions, numbers in arms, repaired to the comitium at the hour of assembly, and were ready to execute such orders as they might receive for the public safety. Gracchus and Fulvius refused to answer the citation, and the capitol being secured against them, they took post, with a numerous party in arms, on the Aventine hill, which was opposite to the capitol, and from which they equally looked down on the forum and place of assembly. Being again cited to ap-

pear at the tribunal of the Roman people, they sent a young man, one of the sons of Fulvius, to capitulate with the consul. He was seized by the consul's orders. Gracchus and Fulvius, with their adherents, were declared public enemies; and a reward was offered to the person who should kill or secure them. They were instantly attacked, and, after a little resistance, forced from their ground. Gracchus fled by the wooden bridge to the opposite side of the river, and was there slain, either by his own hand, or by that of a faithful servant, who had undertaken the task of saving him in his last extremity from falling into the power of his enemies. Fulvius was dragged to execution from a bath where he attempted to conceal himself. The heads of both were carried to the consul, and exchanged for the promised reward.

In this fray the party of the senate, being regularly armed and prepared for a slaughter, cut off the adherents of Caius Gracchus and Fulvius in greater numbers than they had done those of Tiberius; they killed about three thousand two hundred and fifty in the streets, and confined great numbers, who were afterwards strangled in the prisons.

The house of Fulvius was razed to the ground, the area laid open for public uses; and, from these beginnings, it appeared that the Romans, who, in the pursuit of their foreign conquests, had so liberally shed the blood of other nations, might become equally lavish of their own.

CHAP. IV.

State of Order and Tranquillity which followed the Suppression of the late Tumults - Appearance of Caius Marius - Foreign Wars - Complaints against Jugurtha - Appearance of the Cimbri - War with Jugurtha - Campaign and Treaty of Piso - Jugurtha comes to Rome with a Safe-Conduct - Obligated to retire from thence - Campaign of Metellus - Of Marius - Jugurtha betrayed by Bocchus - His Death, after the Triumph of Marius - This General re-elected, in order to command against the Cimbri.

THE popular party had, in the late tumults, carried their violence to such extremes, as disgusted and alarmed every person who had any desire of domestic peace; and in their ill-advised recourse to arms, but too well justified the measures which had been taken against them. By this exertion of rigour, the senate, and ordinary magistrates, recovered their former authority; affairs returned to their

usual channel, and the most perfect order seemed to arise from the late confusions. Questions of legislation were allowed to take their rise in the senate, and were not carried to the people, without the sanction of the senate's authority.

The aristocratical party, notwithstanding the ascendant they had recently gained, did not attempt to rescind any of the regular institutions of Gracchus; they were contented with inflicting punishments on those who had been accessory to the late sedition, and with re-establishing such of the nobles as had suffered by the violence of the popular faction. Popilius Lænas, for instance, driven into exile by one of the edicts of Gracchus, or by the persecution to which it exposed him, was now recalled.

As the state of parties was in some measure reversed, Papirius Carbo thought proper to withdraw from the popular side; and, by the credit of those now in possession of the government, was promoted to the station of consul, and yielded the first fruits of his conversion by defending the cause of his predecessor Opimius, who, at the expiration of his consulate, was brought to trial for having put Roman citizens to death without the forms of law.* Carbo, though himself connected with those who suffered, now pleaded the justice and necessity of the late military executions; and upon this plea, obtained the acquittal of his client.

This merit on the part of Carbo, however, did not so far cancel his former offences as to prevent his being tried and condemned in the following year, as an accomplice in the sedition of Gracchus. He was supposed to have been accessory to the death of Scipio; and his cause not being warmly espoused by any party, he fell a sacrifice to the imputation of his heinous crime. It is said, that, upon hearing his sentence, he killed himself.

About this time the celebrated Caius Marius began to appear in the public assemblies of the people. He was a person of obscure birth, and rustic manners, formed amidst the occupations of a peasant, and the hardships of a legionary soldier, but of a resolute spirit, and insatiable ambition. He was a native of Arpinum, and without any other apparent title than that of being a denizen of Rome, laid claim to the honours of the state.

Marius, after being disappointed in his first canvas for the office of tribune, succeeded in the following year. The acts which were passed under his tribunate, carry no violent expressions of party-spirit, nor savour of that insatiate ambition with which he afterwards distressed his country.

* U. C. 683.

From the time that the Romans first passed into the Transalpine Gaul, as auxiliaries to the republic of Marseilles, they had kept on foot in that neighbourhood a military force; and, by planting colonies at convenient stations, showed their intention of maintaining possessions on that side of the Alps. Betultus, or Betultich, a prince of the country, who was supposed able to raise a force of two hundred thousand men, attempted to expel these intruders, but was defeated, first by the proconsul Fabius, afterwards by Domitius Ahenobarbus, and furnished these generals with the subject of their respective triumphs. This prince himself became a captive to Domitius, and was carried to Rome, where he was led in procession, distinguished by his painted arms and his chariot of silver, the equipage in which it was said he usually led his army to battle.

Quintus Marcius succeeded Domitius in the command of the forces which were employed in Gaul, and continued to gain ground on the natives, who appeared from different cantons successively to resist his arms. He planted a colony at Narbo, to strengthen the frontier of the newly-acquired province on one side; and as the Romans had hitherto always passed by sea into that country, he endeavoured to open a passage by the Alps in order to have a communication by land with Italy on the other.

But of the foreign affairs which occupied the attention of the Romans, the most memorable was the contest of pretenders to the crown of Numidia, which, by the death of Micipsa, the son and successor of Massinissa, came to be disposed of about this time. The late king had two sons, Adherbal and Hiempsal. He had likewise adopted Jugurtha the natural son of his brother Mastanabal, whom he had employed at the head of his armies, thinking it safer to gain him by good offices, than to provoke him by a total exclusion from favour. He had formed a project, frequent among barbarous and despotic sovereigns, but always ruinous, to divide his territories; and he hoped that, while he provided for his own sons, he should secure to them, from motives of gratitude, the protection and good offices of Jugurtha, whom he admitted to an equal share with them in the partition of his kingdom. The consequences of this mistaken arrangement soon appeared in the distractions that followed, and which arose from the ambition of Jugurtha, to make himself master of the whole. For this purpose he formed a secret design against the lives of both the brothers, of whom the younger, Hiempsal, fell into his snare, and was assassinated. Adherbal, being more cautious, obliged his crafty enemy to declare himself openly, took the field

against him with all the forces he could raise, but was defeated, and obliged to take refuge in the Roman province, and from thence thought proper to pass into Italy, in order to lay his complaints before the senate and people of Rome.

Massinissa, the grandfather of this injured prince, had given effectual aid to the Romans in their wars with Carthage ; and, upon the final reduction of that republic, was rewarded with a considerable part of its spoils. From this time forward the Romans expected, and the king of Numidia paid to them, a deference like that of a vassal or tributary prince to his sovereign lord. Upon the faith of this connexion, Adherbal now carried his complaints to Rome ; and Jugurtha, knowing how ready the Romans were, in the character of arbitrators, to consider themselves as the sovereigns of other nations, thought proper to send deputies on his part, furnished with ample presents, to counteract the representations of his rival.

This crafty adventurer had served under Scipio at the siege of Numantia, where he had an opportunity of observing the manners and discipline of the Romans, and accommodated himself to both. He was equally distinguished by his implicit submission to command, as by his impetuous courage, and by the ability of his conduct in every service.

Although Jugurtha had many partisans at Rome, such was the injustice of his cause, or the suspicion of corruption in those who espoused it, that they durst not openly avow their wishes. They endeavoured to suspend the resolutions which were in agitation against him, and had the matter referred to ten commissioners who should go into Africa, and in presence of the parties settle the differences which subsisted between them. There indeed he practised his art on the Roman commissioners with better success than he had experienced with the senate and people, prevailing upon them to divide the kingdom, and to favour him in the lot which should be assigned to himself.

Soon after the departure of the Roman commissioners, he marched into the territories of Adherbal, shut him up in the town of Cirta ; and, while the Romans sent him repeated messages to desist, still continued the blockade, until the mercenaries of Adherbal, tired of the hardships they were made to endure, advised, and, by their appearing ready to desert, forced him to commit himself to the mercy of Jugurtha, by whom he was immediately put to death.

By these events, in about seven years from the death of Micipsa, Jugurtha had attained to the object of his highest desires. The greater part of the Roman senate, too, whether acting on maxims of policy, or won by the presents

of Jugurtha, received the complaints which were lodged against him with indifference; but the assembly of the people, moved by the cries of perfidy and murder which were raised by the tribunes, received the representations of his conduct with indignation and rage; and a war with that prince was resolved on, although it was likely to be attended with considerable difficulties.

About the time that Adherbal laid his complaints against Jugurtha before the senate of Rome, a new enemy had appeared.* The north of Europe, or of Asia, had cast off a swarm, which, migrating to the south and to the west, was first descried by the Romans on the frontier of Illyricum, and presently drew their attention to that side. The horde was said to consist of three hundred thousand fighting men, conducting their families of women and children, and covering the plains with their cattle. The consul Papirius Carbo was ordered to take post in Illyricum, to observe the motions of this tremendous host. He was alarmed with their seeming to point towards the district of Aquileia; and putting himself, with too little precaution, in their way, could not withstand their numbers, and was overwhelmed as by a tempest.

This migrating nation the Romans have called by the name of Cimbri, without determining from whence they came. It is said that their cavalry amounted to no more than fifteen thousand; that it was their practice to despise horses, as well as the other spoils of their enemies, which they generally destroyed: and from this circumstance it may be argued, that they were not of Scythian extraction, nor sprung from those mighty plains in the northern parts of Asia, where the military force has from time immemorial consisted of cavalry, where horses were valued above every other species of acquisition or property; and that they must have been bred amongst mountains and woods, where this animal is not equally useful. On their helmets, which were crested with plumes of feathers, they carried the gaping jaws of wild beasts. On their bodies they wore breastplates of iron, had shields painted of a conspicuous colour; and carried two missile javelins or darts, and a heavy sword. They collected their fighting men, for the most part, into a solid square equally extending every way: in one of their battles it was reported that the sides of this square extended thirty stadia, or between three and four miles. The men of the foremost ranks were fastened together with chains locked to their girdles, which made them impenetrable

* U. C. 640.

to every attack, and gave them the force of a torrent, in sweeping obstructions before them. Such were the accounts with which the Romans were alarmed on the approach of this tremendous enemy.

Although, by the defeat of Carbo, Italy lay open to their devastations, yet they turned away to the north and the westward, and keeping the Alps on their left, made their appearance again on the frontier of the Roman province in Narbonne Gaul, and from thence passed into Spain, where they continued to alarm Roman settlements, and kept Rome itself in suspense, by the uncertainty of the tract they might afterwards choose to pursue.

Such was the state of affairs, when the popular cry and generous indignation of the Roman people forced the state into a war with Jugurtha.* The consul Piso was appointed to command in Numidia. The necessary levies and supplies for this service were ordered, and a Roman army prepared to embark for Africa. The war was conducted at first with great vivacity and success: but Jugurtha, by offering great public concessions or private gratifications, prevailed on the consul to negotiate. It was agreed, that, upon receiving a proper hostage on the part of the Romans, the king himself should repair to their camp, in order to conclude the treaty. In the articles that were made public, the king agreed to surrender himself at discretion, and to pay a large contribution in horses, corn, elephants, and money; but in secret articles, which were drawn up at the same time, the consul engaged that the person of the king should be safe, and that the kingdom of Numidia should be secured to him.

During these transactions the time of the expiration of Piso's command drew near, and he himself was called into Italy to preside at the approaching elections. His report of the treaty with Jugurtha was received with suspicion, and the cry of corruption resumed by the popular party. Upon this the pretor Cassius Longinus, a person of approved merit and unshaken integrity, was hastened into Africa, with positive instructions to bring the king of Numidia to Rome. By the safe conduct which Cassius brought on the part of the republic, and by his own assurances of protection, Jugurtha was prevailed on to commit himself to the faith of the Romans. He laid aside his kingly state and attendants, set out for Italy, and appeared as a suppliant at Rome.

In this posture of affairs an incident took place, which

* U. C. 642.

occasioned the sudden departure of the perfidious African from Italy. Massiva, the son of Gulussa, being the grandson and natural representative of Massinissa, and the only person besides Jugurtha who remained of the royal line of Numidia, had been persuaded by Albinus, the consul elected for the ensuing year, to state his pretensions before the Roman senate, and to lay claim to the crown. Jugurtha, though at Rome, and in the power of those who were likely to resent his crimes, had him assassinated. The crime was traced to its author, but the safe conduct he had received could not be violated; and he was only commanded, without delay, to depart from Italy.

The consul Albinus soon followed Jugurtha, to take the command of the Roman army in Africa; and being eager to perform some notable action before the expiration of his year, which was fast approaching, he urged the king of Numidia, with all the forces he could assemble in the province; but found that he had to do with an enemy who had the art to elude his impetuosity, and from whose apparent conduct no judgment could be formed of his real designs.*

By the artifices and faithlessness of Jugurtha, or by the remissness and credulity of his antagonist, the war was protracted for another year, and the consul, as the time of the election drew near, was recalled, as usual, to preside in the choice of his successor. At his arrival the city was in great agitation. The cry of corruption, which had been raised against many of the nobles, on account of their supposed correspondence with Jugurtha, gave an advantage to the popular party, and they determined to improve it. Three inquisitors were named by special commission to take cognizance of all complaints of corruption that should be brought before them; and this commission was instantly employed to harass the nobility, and to revenge the blood which had been shed in the late popular tumults. Several persons of consular dignity, fell a sacrifice on this occasion to the popular resentment. The tribune Mamilius, upon whose motion this tribunal had been erected, with his associates, finding themselves opposed by the influence of the senate, suspended, by virtue of their tribunitian power, the election of consuls, and for a whole year kept the republic in a state of absolute anarchy.

In this interval Aulus Albinus, left by his brother, the late consul, in the command of the army in Africa, determined to improve the occasion by some honourable action.

* U. C. 643.

He left his quarters in the winter, and marched far into the country, hoping that by force or surprise he might possess himself of the Numidian treasures or magazines. Jugurtha encouraged him in this design, affected fear, retired with precipitation wherever the Romans presented themselves; and, to increase the presumption of their general, sent frequent messages to implore his pity. When he had drawn the Roman army into difficult situations, and prepared his plan for execution, he suddenly advanced in the night to the Roman station; and the avenues being intrusted, as he expected, to certain Thracians and Ligurians in the Roman army whom he had corrupted, and by whom he was suffered to pass, he surprised the Romans in their camp, and drove them from thence in great confusion to a neighbouring height, where they were offered quarter, on condition that they would conclude a treaty of peace, and in ten days evacuate his kingdom.

These terms were accepted: but the capitulation, when known at Rome, gave occasion to much indignation and clamour, and was voted by the senate not to be binding.

Resentment of the disgraces incurred in Africa, and fear of invasion from the Cimbri, who, having traversed Spain and Gaul, were still on their march, appear to have calmed for a little time the animosity of domestic factions at Rome. The consular elections were suffered to proceed, and the choice of the people fell on Quintus Cæcilius Metellus and M. Junius Silanus; the first was appointed to the command of the army in Numidia, the second to observe the motions of the Cimbri on the frontiers of Gaul, and to turn them aside, if possible, from the territory of Rome.* About this time those wandering nations had sent a formal message to the Romans, desiring to have it understood on what lands they may settle, or rather, over what lands they might pass in migration with their herds. This request being refused by the senate, they opened a passage by force, overcame in battle the consul Silanus, and, probably without intending to retain any conquest, continued to move wherever the aspect of the country tempted their choice.

Metellus proceeded to Africa with a considerable reinforcement; and, had frequent messages from Jugurtha, with professions of submission and of a pacific disposition. On his joining the Roman army, too, and leading them into the territory of Numidia, he found the country prepared to receive them in a friendly manner; the people in tranquillity, the gates of every city left open, and the markets ready to supply them with necessities.

* U. C. 644.

These appearances, with the known character of Jugurtha, creating distrust, only excited the vigilance of Metellus. They even provoked him to retort on the Numidian his own insidious arts. He tampered with Bomilcar, and the other messengers of Jugurtha to betray their master, and promised them great rewards if they would deliver him into the hands of the Romans, either living or dead.

Jugurtha, trusting to the effect of his submissive messages in rendering the enemy secure, waited for them on the descents of a high mountain, over which they were to pass in their way to the Muthul, a river which helped to form a situation of which he designed to avail himself. He accordingly lay concealed by its banks, until the enemy actually fell into the snare he had laid for them. With the advantage of the ground and of numbers, he maintained, during the greater part of the day, a contest with troops who possessed, against his irregulars, a great superiority of order, discipline, and courage; but not having found the Romans, as he expected, in any degree off their guard, he was, in the event of that day's action, obliged to fly with a few horse to a remote part of his kingdom.

Metellus, after the late engagement, finding no enemy in the field, was for some time uncertain to what part of the kingdom Jugurtha had directed his flight. But having intelligence that he was in a new situation assembling an army, and likely to form one still more numerous than any he had yet brought into the field, tired of pursuing an enemy on whom defeats had so little effect, he turned away to the richer and more cultivated parts of the kingdom. Here the plunder of the country might better repay his labour, and the enemy, if he ventured to defend his territory, might more sensibly feel his defeats. Jugurtha perceiving his intention, drew his forces towards the same quarter, and soon appeared in his rear.

While Metellus was endeavouring to force the city of Zama, Jugurtha pierced into his camp, and, though repulsed from thence, took a post, by which he made the situation of the Romans, between the town and his own army, so uneasy, as to oblige them to raise the siege. Upon this the Numidian prince made an offer to surrender at discretion, and actually delivered up great part of his arms and military stores; but this purpose, if ever sincere, he retracted, and again had recourse to arms.

The victory which had been obtained in Africa, flattered the vanity of the Roman people, and procured to Metellus,

in the quality of proconsul, a continuation of his former command.*

But the success of Metellus did not hasten the ruin of Jugurtha so fast as his own misconduct, in the jealous and sanguinary measures which he took to suppress plots and conspiracies, either real or supposed to be formed against his life, by persons the most in his confidence.

Bomilcar, still carrying in his mind the offers which had been made by Metellus, and willing to have some merit with the Romans, into whose hands he and all the subjects of Jugurtha were likely soon to fall, formed a design against his master, and drew Nabdalsa, a principal officer in the Numidian armies, to take part in the plot. They were discovered in time to prevent the execution of their design, but they made Jugurtha from thenceforward consider the camp of his own army as a place of danger to himself, rendered him distrustful, timorous, and unquiet; frequently changing his company and his quarters, his guards and his bed. Weary of his anxious state, he ventured once more to face Metellus in the field, and being again defeated, fled to Bocchus king of Mauritania, whose daughter he had married; and having persuaded this prince to consider his quarrel with the Romans as the common cause of all monarchies, who were likely in succession to become the prey of this arrogant and insatiable power, he prevailed on the Mauritanian to assemble his army, and to attempt the relief of Numidia.

Jugurtha, in conjunction with his new ally, directed his march to Cirta, and Metellus perceiving his intention, took post to cover that place. But while he was endeavouring, by threats or persuasions, to detach the king of Mauritania from Jugurtha, he received information from Rome that he was superseded in the command of the army; and from thenceforward protracted the war, under pretence of messages and negotiations, and possibly inclined to leave it with all its difficulties entire to his successor.

Marius, having served under Metellus, had with great difficulty, and not without some expressions of scorn on the part of his general, obtained leave to depart for Rome, where he meant to stand for the consulship. He accordingly appeared in the capacity of candidate for this honour, and by arraigning the dilatory conduct of Metellus, and by promising a speedy issue to the war, if it should be intrusted to himself; he so far won upon the people, that he was chosen consul, in opposition to the interest of the nobles, and to the influence of all the leading men of the senate.

* U. C. 645.

Upon the nomination of Marius, the party who had opposed his preferment did not attempt to withhold the reinforcements which he asked for the service in which he was to command.* This crafty and daring politician, by slighting the laws which excluded the necessitous citizens from serving in the legions, found in this class of the people a numerous and willing supply. They crowded to his standard, and filled up his army without delay, and even without offence to those of a better condition, who were pleased with relief from this part of their public burdens.

This was a remarkable and dangerous innovation in the Roman state, and may be mentioned among the steps which hastened the ruin of the commonwealth. From this time forward the sword began to pass from the hands of those who were interested in the preservation of the republic, into the hands of others who were willing to make it a prey.

The new consul embarked for Africa with a great reinforcement, and in a few days arrived at Utica. Upon his arrival, the operations of the war were resumed, and carried into the wealthiest provinces of Numidia, where he encouraged his army with the hopes of spoil. Bocchus and Jugurtha, upon the approach of this enemy, thought proper to separate, and took different routs into places of safety in the more difficult and inaccessible parts of the country.

This separation was made at the suggestion of Jugurtha, who alleged that, upon their appearing to despair, and to discontinue all offensive operations, the Roman general would become more secure and more open to surprise. But Marius, without abating his vigilance, pressed where the enemy gave way, over-ran the country, and took possession of the towns they had left. To rival the glory which Metellus had gained in the reduction of Thala, he ventured on a like enterprise, in the face of similar difficulties, by attacking Thapsa, a place surrounded with deserts, and in the midst of a land destitute of water, and of every resource for an army. Having succeeded in this design, he ventured, in his return, to attack another fortress, in which, it being supposed impregnable, the royal treasures were lodged. This stronghold, after many fruitless assaults, was carried by the Romans, and the event added much to the discouragement of their enemy.

While Marius was engaged in the siege of this place he was joined by the questor Sylla, who had been left in Italy to bring up the cavalry, which were not ready to embark

* U. C. 626.

at the departure of the consul. This young man was of a patrician and noble family, but which had not, for some generations, borne any of the higher offices of state. He himself partook in the learning which then spread into Italy, from a communication with the Greeks, and had passed the early part of his life in town-dissipation or in literary studies, of which the last were considered at this time at Rome as a species of corruption almost equal to the first. He was yet a novice in war, but having an enterprising genius, soon became an object of respect to the soldiers, and of jealousy to his general, with whom he now laid the foundation of a quarrel more fatal to the commonwealth than that which had subsisted between the present and preceding commander in this service.

The king of Numidia, stung by the sense of what he had already lost, and expecting no advantage from any further delays, determined, in conjunction with Bocchus, to make a vigorous effort, and to oblige Marius, who was then moving to his winter quarters, yet to hazard a battle for the preservation of what he had acquired in the preceding campaign. The king of Mauritania had been inclined to remain neutral, or to enter on a separate treaty with the Romans; but being promised a third part of the kingdom of Numidia, in case the Romans were expelled from thence, and the war should be brought to a happy conclusion, he once more brought forward his army, and joined Jugurtha, who suddenly resolved to hazard a battle.

In pursuance of this resolution, Jugurtha waylaid the Romans in their march, and harassed them grievously by an incessant running fight. With his usual intrepidity and conduct, he profited by every circumstance which presented itself in his favour; but Marius succeeded in maintaining the form of his march; and, before night, got possession of some heights on which he could secure his army. He himself, with the infantry, chose that which had the steepest ascent, and ordered Sylla, with the cavalry, to take his post on a smaller eminence below. That his position might not be known to the enemy, he prohibited the lighting of fires, and the usual sounding of trumpets at the different watches of the night. The Numidians had halted on the plain where night overtook them, and were observed, at the break of day, reposing in great security, and without any seeming apprehension of danger from an enemy, who was supposed to be flying, and who, on the preceding day, had, with some difficulty, escaped from their hands. Marius resolved to attack them in this situation, and gave orders, which were communicated through the

army, that, at a general sound of the trumpets, every man should stand to his arms, and with a great shout, and beating on his shield, make an impetuous attack on the enemy. The design, accordingly, succeeded. The Numidians, who had often affected to fly, were driven into an actual rout. Great numbers fell in the flight, and many ensigns and trophies were taken.

After this victory, Marius directed his march to the towns on the coast, where he intended to fix his quarters for the winter. Jugurtha, well apprized of his route, proposed again to surprise him in the neighbourhood of Cirta. In the execution of this design, he, with the greatest ability, conducted his troops to the place of action, and there too made every effort of conduct and resolution. But the match being unequal, he was obliged to give up the contest; and, with his sword and his armour all bathed in blood, and almost alone, is said to have left the field, in which, for the first time, he had taken no precautions for re-assembling his army, and on which his Numidians were accordingly routed, to rally no more!

Marius, being continued in his command, resumed the operations of the war, and was about to attack the only place which yet remained in the hands of the enemy. When the king of Mauritania, alarmed by this circumstance, sued for peace, he was informed, that he must give proofs of his friendly disposition to the Romans, before they could believe his professions, or listen to any terms of peace. When this answer was reported to Bocchus, he was not at a loss to understand that the Romans wished him to deliver up the king of Numidia into their hands; and seems to have conceived the design of purchasing peace, even on these terms. Sylla being already personally known to him, he made choice of this officer, as the person with whom he would treat; and the Roman questor was accordingly sent to his quarters.

Jugurtha sent persons of confidence immediately to counteract the negotiations of Sylla at the court of Bocchus; and each of these parties solicited the king of Mauritania to betray the other. The Numidians endeavoured to persuade him, that, with such a hostage as Sylla, in his hands, he might still expect some honourable terms from the Romans; and Sylla, on the other part, represented, that, as the king of Mauritania had offended the Romans, by abetting the crimes of Jugurtha, he must now expiate his guilt by delivering him over to justice. It was the inclination of this prince to favour Jugurtha; but it was his interest, as well as his intention, to gain the Romans.

While he was still in suspense, he gave equal encouragement to both parties; and, without being finally determined what he should do, appointed the Roman questor and the king of Numidia to meet him without any escort, or number of men in arms, reserving to the last moment the power of determining against the one or the other. He had placed a body of his own troops in ambush, and, soon after the parties were met, gave a signal, which his men understood to be for seizing Jugurtha. The Numidians, who attended their king, were slain; he himself was put in chains, and delivered up to the Roman questor.

The war being thus at an end, Marius appointed a thanksgiving; and, while he was offering the customary sacrifices, the news arrived from Rome that the people had dispensed with the law in his favour, and again had made choice of him for consul of the following year. This choice was determined by the great alarm which the Romans had taken on the approach of the barbarous nations, who, like a meteor, had, for some years, traversed the regions of Europe, and, with uncertain direction, were said to destroy wherever they moved. The Romans had repeatedly stood in their way, and had provoked a resentment, which these barbarians were supposed, in haste, to wreak upon Italy. They were at first heard of under the name only of Cimbri; but were now known to consist of many nations, under the appellations of Ambrones, Teutones, Tectosagi, and others; and had gained accessions of force by the junction of the Tigurini, and other Gaulish nations.

At the time that Marius had finished the war with Jugurtha, Quintus Servius Cæpio, having the former year commanded in Gaul, where he destroyed or pillaged the city of Tolosa, and made a great booty, was now, in his turn, to meet with this enemy; the consul Mallius or Manilius had orders to join him; and all the troops they could assemble were thought necessary to withstand the barbarians.* These generals united their forces on the Rhone, but without a proper disposition to act in concert; they were accordingly defeated in battle; eighty thousand Romans, amongst whom were the two sons of the consul Manilius, were killed in the action; forty thousand attendants of the army were massacred in cold blood, and both camps taken.

The accounts of the character of an enemy, and of the fate of Roman armies which ventured to encounter them, were received at Rome with amazement and terror. The citizens changed their dress and assumed the military habit.

* U. C. 648.

Rutillius, the consul, who had remained in the administration of affairs in Italy, had instructions from the senate to array every person that was fit to bear arms. No one who had attained the military age was exempted. There was little time to train such levies; and the usual way was thought insufficient. The fencing masters, employed to train gladiators for the public shows, were brought forth, and distributed to instruct the citizens in the use of their weapons. But the expedient, on which the people chiefly relied for deliverance from the dangers which threatened them, was the nomination of Marius to command against this terrible enemy.

This officer, upon hearing of his re-election, set out for Italy, and, with his legions and their captives, entered Rome in triumph; a spectacle, of which Jugurtha, in chains, with his unfortunate children, were the principal figures. When the procession was over, the captive king was led to a dungeon, under orders for his immediate execution. As he was about to be stripped of his ornaments and robes, the executioner, in haste to pluck the pendants from his ears, tore away the flesh, and thrust him naked into a dungeon below ground. He descended into this place with a smile, saying, "What a cold bath is here?" He pined about six days, and expired.

Marius, in this triumph, is said to have brought into the treasury three thousand and seven pounds, or thirty thousand and seventy ounces of gold, and fifty-seven thousand seven hundred and fifty ounces of silver; and in money, two hundred and eighty-seven thousand denarii.* The kingdom of Numidia was dismembered; part was put into the possession of Bocchus as a reward for his late services; and part reserved for the surviving heirs of Massinissa.

As the law respecting the consulate now stood, no one could be elected in absence, nor re-elected into this office, till after an interval of ten years. Both of the clauses, however, were dispensed with in favour of Marius.† Being considered as head of the popular party, his elevation was an object of zeal to the tribunes, and was intended to mortify those who affected the distinctions of ancient family. Contrary to the usual form, and without casting lots, he was preferred to his colleague in the appointment to command in Gaul. Having his choice of all the armies at that time in Italy, he took the new levies, lately assembled and disciplined by Rutillius, in preference to the veterans, who had served in Africa under Metellus and himself.

o * About 10,000*l*.

† U. C. 64*6*.

It is probable that he was determined in this choice, more by his desire to gratify the veterans who wished to be discharged, than by the consideration of any supposed superiority in the discipline to which the new levies had been trained.

Upon the arrival of Marius in his province it appeared, that the alarm taken for the safety of Italy was somewhat premature. The barbarians in their battles only meant to maintain the reputation of their valour, or to keep open the tract of their migrations. They had found the lands, from about the higher parts of the Danube and the Rhine, through Gaul and across the Pyrenees into Spain, and to the ocean, convenient for their purpose, and sufficiently extensive. They had yet meditated no war with the Romans, or any other nation ; but did not decline the encounter where they met with resistance. At present they continued their migrations to the westward, without any intention to cross the Alps, or to visit the nations who inhabited within those mountains.

Under the apprehension, however, of their return towards Gaul and Italy, Marius continued to be elected consul, and was repeatedly named to the command of the army that was destined to oppose them. His party at Rome had, at this time, besides the exigency which justified their choice, many other advantages against their antagonists, and maintained the envious quarrel of the lower people against the nobility with great animosity and zeal.

CHAP. V.

Review of the Circumstances which revived the popular Party—Farther Account of Laws and Regulations under their Administration—State of the Empire—Fourth Consulship of Marius—Continued Migrations of the Barbarous Nations—Defeated by Marius at Aqua Sextia—By Marius and Catulus in Italy.

THE senate had, for some time after the suppression of the troubles which were raised by Fulvius and the younger Gracchus, retained its authority, and restrained the tribunes of the people within ordinary bounds ; but by the suspicions which arose against them, on the subject of their transactions with Jugurtha, and by the miscarriages of the war in Numidia, they again lost their advantage. It is difficult to ascertain the real grounds of these suspicions. Sallust seems to admit them in their utmost extent, and represents the whole order of nobility as mercenary traders,

disposed to sell what the republic intrusted to their honour. That the presents of Jugurtha were sometimes accepted, and produced some effect, is not to be doubted; but that the aristocracy of Rome, during its short reign, was so much corrupted, is scarcely to be credited. Such a measure of corruption must have rendered the state a prey to every foreign power that was in a condition to mislead its councils, and is not consistent with that superiority which the Romans then generally possessed in their negotiations, as well as in their wars. The charge itself savours too much of that envy with which the lower class of the people at all times interpret the conduct of their superiors, and which was greatly countenanced by the partisans of Cæsar, at the time when Sallust wrote, in order to vilify and reduce the senate. We cannot, however, oppose mere conjecture to the positive testimony of Sallust, corroborated by some suspicious circumstances in the transactions of the times.

Whatever may have been the real occasion of the cry then subsisting against the nobles, we have seen that the popular party, availing themselves of it, and giving it all manner of countenance, found means to recover great part of their lost power. The tribunes, having obtained the establishment of a special commission for the trial of all those who had received bribes from Jugurtha, made the people consider their own act in constituting a court of inquiry, as sufficient to evince the reality of the crime. The prosecutions which continued to be carried on for two years, upon this supposition, served more than the subject of any former dispute to alienate the minds of men from each other, and from the public. Questions were more of a private than of a public nature, and occupied the worst of the human passions, envy, malice, and revenge.

The people, in their zeal to attack the nobility under any pretence, made no distinction between errors and crimes; and, contrary to the noble spirit of their ancestors, treated misfortune, incapacity, or treachery, with equal rigour. One tribune had extended the use of the secret ballot to the trial of lesser crimes; another, upon this occasion, took away all distinctions, and introduced it in the trial of capital crimes also: so that the judge, without being accountable, indulged his secret malice or partial favour.

It was proposed by the consul Servilius Cæpio, that the senate, whose members were personally so much exposed to prosecutions, should have their share likewise in composing the juries, a privilege of which, by the edict of Gracchus, they had been deprived.* In whatever degree this

* U. C. 647.

proposal was adopted, it was again expressly repealed upon the motion of Servilius Glaucia. And Cæpio soon after experienced, in his own person, the animosity of the popular faction, being tried for miscarriage in his battle with the Cimbri. He was condemned by the judges, and afterwards, declared, in consequence of that sentence, disqualified to hold a place in the senate.

Among the crimes which the populace were now so eager to punish, fortunately that of peculation or extortion in the provinces was one. To facilitate complaints on this subject, not only persons having an immediate interest in the case, but all to whom any money or effects, injuriously taken, might have otherwise come by inheritance, were entitled to prosecute for this offence ; and any alien, who convicted a Roman citizen of this crime, so as to have him struck off the rolls of the people, was himself to be enrolled instead of the citizen displaced.

Domitius, one of the tribunes, attacked the aristocratical constitution even of the priesthood, and endeavoured to transfer the right of election from the order itself to the people ; but superstition, which continues to influence the bulk of mankind after reason has failed, here stood in his way. The people, it was confessed, could not interfere in such matters without profanation ; but a certain part of the people might judge of the candidates, and instruct the college of priests whom they were to choose.

During this period, a just alarm was taken on the subject of private as well as public corruption. The aids which were given to the people to enable them to subsist in profusion and idleness ; the wealth that was passing to Rome in the hands of traders, contractors and farmers of the revenue, as well as provincial officers, by whom the profits of a first appointment were lavished in public shows, fights of gladiators, and baiting of wild beasts, to gain the people in their canvass for farther preferments ; these several circumstances tended, in the highest degree, to corrupt the people, and to render them unworthy of that sovereignty which they actually possessed in the prevalence of the popular faction.

The term luxury is somewhat ambiguous ; it is put for sensuality or excess in what relates to the preservation of animal life ; and for the effect of vanity, in what relates to the decorations of rank and fortune. The luxury of the Romans, in the present age, was probably of the former kind, and sumptuary laws were provided, not to restrain vanity, but to govern the appetites for mere debauch. About the time that Jugurtha was at Rome, the sumptuary

law of Fannius received an addition, by which the Roman citizens were not only restricted in their ordinary expense, but the legal quantities and species of food were prescribed to them. The whole expense of the table was restricted to thirty asses a day, and the meat to be served up, to three or four pounds, dried or salted. There was no restriction in the use of herbs or vegetables of any sort. According to A. Gellius, the law permitted, on certain days, an expense of a hundred asses; on wedding days, two hundred. The epicures of this time were obliged to make up, in the cookery of their vegetable diet, what was defective in that species of food.

About the time of the commencement of the Numidian war, the people, according to the census, amounted to four hundred and three thousand four hundred and thirty-six citizens, fit to carry arms.

While the Romans were intent on the war which subsisted in Africa, they were assailed by enemies in some of the other provinces. In Spain, hostilities, at intervals, were still renewed. In endeavouring to quell one of the revolts of the natives, the forces employed against them were cut off; and a fresh army was transported from Italy to secure the Roman possessions.

Hostilities were likewise continued on the frontier of Macedonia, by the Scordisci, Triballi, and other Thracian nations; and the proconsul Rufus, by his victories in this quarter, obtained a triumph.

During this period, in the consulship of Attilius Serranus, and Q. Servilius Cæpio, the year after the first consulship of Marius, were born two illustrious citizens, M. Tullius Cicero, and Cneius Pompeius Strabo, afterwards distinguished by the appellation of Pompey the Great.—And we are now to open the scene in which the persons on whom the fate of the Roman empire was to depend, made their several entries into life, or into public business, and began to pass through an infancy or a youth of danger, to an old age of extreme trouble, which closed with the subversion of that constitution to which they were born.

Marius was re-elected into office, and destined for his former station in Gaul.* This year likewise the barbarians turned aside from his province, and left the republic at leisure to contend with enemies of less consideration, who appeared in a different quarter. Athenio, a slave in Sicily, roused the slaves of that island to rebellion, acquired strength sufficient to cope with Servilius Casca, the Roman

* U. C. 680.

pretor, and actually forced him in his camp. He likewise defeated the succeeding pretor, Licinius Luculus; and was, in the third year of the insurrection, with great difficulty, reduced by the consul Aquilius.

About the same time the Romans had been obliged to equip a naval armament under Marcus Antonius, known by the appellation of the orator, against the Cilician pirates, who had lately infested the seas.

From Macedonia, Calpurnius Piso reported, that the victory he had gained over the Thracians had enabled him to penetrate to the mountains of Rhodope and Caucasus.

Such was the state of the empire when Caius Marius returned from his province in Gaul, to preside at the election of consuls. He was again, by the voice of the people, called upon to resume his former trust; but he affected, from modesty, to decline the honour. His partizans charged him with treachery to his country in proposing to desert the republic in times of so much danger; and with reproaches prevailed so far as to render him passive to the will of his fellow citizens, who wished to replace him again in his former station.

In this fourth consulate, the courage and military skill of Marius came to be actually exerted in this province.* The barbarous nations, after their return from Spain, began to appear in separate bodies, each forming a numerous and formidable army. In one division the Cimbri and Tectosages had passed through the whole length of Gaul to the Rhine, and from thence proceeded by the Danube to Noricum or Austria, and were pointing towards Italy by the valley of Trent. The consul Lutatius Catulus was stationed near the descent of the Alps to observe the motions of this body.

In another division, the Ambrones and the Teutones hung on the frontier of the Roman province in Gaul, between the Garonne and the Rhone, and gave out, that they meant, by the most ordinary route of the mountains, to join their allies in Italy.

Upon the approach of this formidable enemy, Marius took post on the Rhone at the confluence of that river with the Isere, and fortified his camp in the most effectual manner. The barbarians, reproaching him with cowardice for having taken these precautions, ventured to leave him behind, and proceeded in separate divisions towards Italy. Marius followed; and, with rapid marches, overtook them as they passed over the country without any precaution;

* U. C. 651.

some of them near to the Roman colony of Sextius, and far removed from each other. Having found them under such disadvantage, and in such confusion as exposed them to slaughter, with scarcely any power of resistance, he put the greater part to the sword. Ninety thousand prisoners, with Teutobochus, one of their kings, were taken, and two hundred thousand were said to be slain in the field.

The news of this victory arriving at Rome, while it was known that another division of the same enemy, not less formidable was still in the field, it was not to be doubted that the command and office of consul would be continued to Marius.

The popular faction chose him for a fifth time consul, in conjunction with M. Aquilius.* Catulus, the late colleague of Marius, commanding the troops that were stationed on the Athesis, to cover the access to Italy from the valley of Trent, was destined to act in subordination to the consul, who had given orders to hasten the march of his victorious army from the Rhone.

Catulus had taken post above Verona, thrown a bridge over the Athesis, and, in order to command the passage of that river, had fortified stations on both its banks. While he was in this posture, and before the junction of Marius, the enemy arrived in his neighbourhood. The amazing works which they performed fully served to confirm the report of their numbers. They obstructed with mounds of timber and earth the channel of the river, so as to force it to change its course; and thus, instead of passing the river, they threw it behind them in their march. They continued to float such quantities of wood on the stream above the bridge which Catulus had built, that the passage of the water being stopped, the bridge, with all the timber which was accumulated before it, was entirely carried off. The Roman army, on seeing such evidence of the numbers and strength of their enemy, were seized with a panic. Many deserted their colours, some fled even to Rome without halting. The proconsul thought proper to order a retreat; and thus, by seeming to authorize what he could not prevent, he endeavoured to save in part the credit of his army.

Marius, who continued at Rome while the legions advanced on their march from Gaul, went to receive his army at the foot of the Alps, and to hasten its junction with Catulus. Upon the junction of the two armies, those who had lately fled recovered their courage, and the generals determined, without loss of time, to hazard a battle. Ca-

* U. C. 653.

tulus received them in front. Marius made a movement to assail them in flank ; but as they were hid by the clouds of dust which everywhere rose from the plain, he missed his way, or could not engage till after the enemy had been repulsed by Catulus, and were already put to flight. The rout was extremely bloody ; a hundred and fifty thousand were said to be slain ; sixty thousand submitted to be taken prisoners. The remainder of this mighty host, even the women and children, perished by their own hands ; and the race of barbarous nations who had migrated through Europe, perhaps for ages before they encountered with the Romans, now appear to have been entirely extirpated.

On receiving the news of this victory at Rome, the city resounded with joy, and the people, in every sacrifice they offered up, addressed themselves to Marius as a god. In the victory Marius was no more than partner with Catulus ; and upon the arrival of the armies at Rome, he did justice to Catulus in this particular, and admitted him to partake in his triumph.

CHAP. VI.

Character and immoderate Ambition of Marius - Death of Nonius - Re-election of the Tribune Saturninus - His Sedition and seizing the Capitol - Death of the conspirators - Reverse in the State of Parties - Recall of Metellus - Birth of Caius Julius Caesar - Lex Cecilia Didia - Sylla offers himself Candidate for the office of Pretor - Renewal of the war in Spain and of that in Thrace - Edict of the Censors against the Latin Rhetoricians - Acts of Livius Drusus - Revolt of the Italian Allies - Policy of the Romans in yielding to the Necessity of their Affairs.

MARIUS, being now returned to the city, might have quitted the paths of ambition with uncommon distinction and honour. An ordinary consulate, after his having been so often called upon in times of danger, as the person most likely to save his country, could make no addition to his glory. His being set aside in times of security and leisure, would even have been the most honourable and flattering comment that could have been made on his former elections.

But immoderate thirst of power, and extreme animosity to his rivals, not elevation of mind, were the characteristics of Marius. His ambition had hitherto passed for an aversion to aristocratical usurpations. But his contempt of family distinctions, the offspring of a vanity which made him feel

the want of such honours, by clashing with the established subordination of ranks in his country, became a source of disaffection to the state itself. He formed views upon the consulate yet a sixth time; and instead of the moderation or the satiety of honours with which he pretended to be actuated when he hoped to be pressed into office, he employed all his influence, even his money, to procure a re-election; and accordingly prevailed, together with Valerius Flaccus. He had warmly espoused the interest of this candidate against Metellus, more from animosity to the competitor, than from any regard or predilection for Flaccus.* Being chosen, in order the more to strengthen himself in the exercise of his power, he entered into concert with the tribune Apuleius Saturninus, and, it is probable, agreed to support this factious demagogue in his pretensions to remain in office for another year.

The faction that was formed by Marius and the tribune Saturninus, with their adherents, was farther strengthened by the accession of the pretor Glaucia.

Upon the approach of the tribunitian elections, the senate and nobles exerted themselves to prevent the re-election of Saturninus; and nine of the new candidates were, without any question, declared to be duly elected in preference to him. The tenth place too was actually filled by the election of Nonius Sufenas, whom the aristocracy had supported with all its influence. But the party of Apuleius, enraged at their disappointment, had recourse to violence, and Nonius was slain, though already vested with the sacred character of tribune.

Marius had reason to apprehend some violent resolution from the senate, and was in no haste to assemble that body. Meantime Glaucia, in the night, with a party armed with daggers, took possession of the capitol and place of assembly, and, at an early hour in the morning, having gone through the forms of election, announced Apuleius again tribune, in the place that was vacated by the murder of Nonius.

Apuleius was no sooner reinstated in the sacred character, than he hastened to gratify his party by proposing popular laws. The most memorable of these laws was to the effect, that the price, hitherto paid for corn by the people at the public granaries, should be remitted, and that corn should be distributed gratis. Upon the intention to obtain it being known, Q. Servilius Cæpio, one of the questors, represented, that if such a law should pass, there would be an end of industry, good order, and government; and that the

* U. C. 652.

treasury of Rome would not be sufficient to defray the expense. He exhorted the senate to employ every measure to defeat the motion. And this body accordingly made a resolution, that whoever attempted to obtain the law in question should be deemed an enemy to his country.

Apuleius, to extend the power of the popular assemblies, and to remove every impediment from his own designs, brought forward a number of new regulations. While his motion for these was in debate, some one of the party who opposed them, in order to stop the career of this factious tribune, observed, that it thundered ; a circumstance which, upon the ordinary maxims of the Roman augurs, was sufficient to suspend any business in which the people were engaged, and to break up their assembly. " If you be not silent," said Apuleius to the person who observed that it thundered, " you will also find that it hails." The assembly accordingly, without being deterred by this interposition of the auspices, passed acts by which the power of the senate was entirely suppressed, their part of the legislature was reduced to a mere form, and even this they were not at liberty to withhold. Marius called them together, and proposed that they should consider what resolution they were to take with respect to a change of so much importance, and particularly with respect to an oath which was to be exacted from the members to bind themselves to abide by the regulations.

While the senators concurred with Marius in refusing the oath, the time appointed for administering it nearly approached ; and this consul after the third day was far spent, assembled the senate, set forth the dangerous state of the commonwealth ; at the same time expressed his own fears of the disturbances that might arise if the senate refused to gratify the people in this matter ; and while multitudes were assembled in the streets to know the issue of their councils, he required that the oath should be administered. He himself took it to the astonishment of the senate, and the joy of the populace assembled by Apuleius, who sounded applause through every part of the streets. The senate immediately complied, and took the oath, with the single exception of Metellus, who was banished for his contumacy.

In these transactions elapsed the second year, in which Apuleius filled the office of tribune ; and, being favoured by a supineness of the opposite party, contracted in a seeming despair of the republic, he prevailed yet a third time in being vested with this formidable power. To court the favour of the people, he affected to credit what was alleged concerning the birth of Equitius ; and, under the name of Caius

Gracchus, son of Tiberius, had this impostor associated with himself in the office of tribune.

At the election which followed, the interest of the nobles was exerted for Marcus Antonius and C. Memmius. The first was declared consul, and the second was likely to prevail over Glaucia the popular candidate; when, in the midst of the crowds assembled to vote, a tumult arose; Memmius was beset and murdered, and the people, alarmed at so strange an outrage, were seized with a panic, and fled.

In the night, Glaucia, Saturninus, and the questor Sufeius, being known to be met in secret conference, all the citizens who yet retained any regard for the commonwealth, proposed, without delay, to seize their persons, either living or dead; but being put on their guard, they seized the capitol, there to secure themselves, and to overawe the assembly of the people. It was no longer to be doubted that the republic was in a state of war.—Marius, who had fomented these troubles from aversion to the nobles, now remained undetermined what part he should act. But the senate being assembled, gave the usual charge to himself and his colleague to avert the danger with which the republic was threatened; and both these officers, however much they were disposed to favour the sedition, being in this manner armed with the sword of the commonwealth, were obliged to employ it in support of the public peace. The capital was invested in form, and appears to have held out some days; at the end of which, in order to oblige the rebels to surrender, the pipes that supplied them with water were cut off. This had the intended effect. They submitted to such terms as were proposed to them; and Marius, still inclined to treat them with favour, had them confined to the hall of the senate till farther orders. In the mean time a great party of citizens, who were in arms for the defence of the republic, impatient of delay, and thinking it dangerous to spare such daring offenders, beset them instantly in their place of confinement, and put the whole to the sword.

This was the fourth tribunitian sedition raised to a dangerous height, and quelled by the vigour and resolution of the nobles. Upon the suppression of this dangerous sedition, the commonwealth was restored to a state which, compared to the late mixture of civil contention and military execution, may have deserved the name of public order.* One office of consul was still vacant; and the election proceeding without disturbance, Postumius Albi-

* U. C. 654.

nus was joined to Antonius. Most of the other elections had also been favourable to the nobles ; and the majority even of the tribunes of the people were inclined to respect the senate and the aristocracy, as principal supports of the government.

The first effect of this happy recovery was a motion to recall Metellus from banishment. In this motion two of the tribunes, Q. Pompeius Rufus and L. Porcius Cato concurred. But Marius having opposed it with all his influence, and Publius Furius, another of the tribunes, having interposed his negative, it could not at that time be carried into execution. Soon after, however, the same motion being renewed, the people were moved with tenderness at the intercession of the son of the exile, and proceeded, without regard to the negative which Furius again interposed, under emotions of sympathy for the son, to recall the exiled father.

The senate now become the supreme power at Rome, by the distaste which all reasonable men had taken to the violence of the opposite party, were gratified, not merely with the test of superiority they had gained in the recall of Metellus, but likewise in the downfall of some of the tribunes who had been active in the late disorders. So strong was the tide of popularity now opposite to its late direction, and so fatal even to their own cause frequently are the precedents or the rules by which violent men think to obtain discretionary power to themselves.

Amidst these triumphs of the aristocratical party, Sextus Titius, one of the tribunes, still had the courage to move a revival of the Agrarian law of Gracchus. The proposal was acceptable in the assembly of the people. And the edict was accordingly passed ; but it was observed, that while the people were met on this business, two ravens fought in the air above the place of assembly, and the college of Augurs, on pretence of this unfavourable omen, annulled the decree. Titius, the author of it, was soon after condemned for having in his house the statue of Saturninus.

Among the events which distinguished the consulate of M. Antonius and A. Postumius Albinus, may be reckoned the birth of Caius Julius Cesar, for whose ambition the seeds of tribunitian disorder now sown were preparing a plentiful harvest. This birth, it is said, was ushered in with many presages and tokens of future greatness. If indeed we were to believe, that nature in this manner gives intimation of impending events, we should not be surprised that her most ominous signs were employed to mark the

birth of a personage who was destined to change the whole face of the political world, and to lay Rome herself, with all the nations she had conquered, under a perpetuated military government.

Antonius and Albinus were succeeded in office by Q. Cæcilius Metellus and Titus Didius.* The war still continued in Spain, and fell to the lot of Didius. Upon his arrival in the province, Dolabella, the proprætor, set out on his return to Rome, and, for his victories in Spain, obtained a triumph. Metellus remained in the administration of affairs in Italy.

The administration of the present year is distinguished by an act in which both consuls concurred, that every proposed law should be made public three market days before it could receive the assent of the people : that all its different clauses should be separately voted : and that it should be lawful for the people to pass or reject the whole or any part of it.

This law had a salutary tendency ; and, though far from sufficient to prevent a return of the late evils, it served for a time to stop the current of tribunitian violence.

It is somewhat singular, that about this time, in the midst of so much animosity of the people to the senate and nobles, this superior class of the citizens were the patrons of austerity, and contended for sumptuary laws, while the popular tribunes contended for license.

Cn. Cornelius Lentulus and Publius Licinius Crassus being raised to the office of consul, the latter was appointed to relieve Didius in Spain, and the other to succeed Metellus in Italy.

In the following consulate the kingdom of Cyrene was bequeathed to the Romans by Ptolemy Appion, the late king. But, as this people professed themselves to be the general patrons of liberty, where this blessing was not forfeited by some act of ingratitude or perfidy in their allies, they did not avail themselves of this legacy, leaving the subjects of Cyrene to retain for some time the independence of their nation with a species of popular government.

L. Licinius Crassus, Q. Mucius Scevola, who succeeded to the office of consul, gave its name and its date to an act of the people nearly of the same tenor with some of those formerly passed for the exclusion of aliens.† By this act a scrutiny was set on foot, and all who, without a just title, ventured to exercise any privilege of Roman citizens, were remitted to their several boroughs.

* U. C. 655.

† U. C. 659.

In this consulate is likewise dated the trial of Servilius Cæpio, for his supposed misconduct about ten years before in his command of the army against the Cimbri. He had exasperated the popular faction, by opposing the act of Saturninus for the gratuitous distribution of corn, and his enemies were now encouraged to raise this prosecution against him. The people gave sentence of condemnation, and violently drove from the place of assembly two of the tribunes who ventured to interpose their negative in his favour. Authors, according to Valerius Maximus, have differed in their accounts of the sequel; some affirming that Cæpio, being put to death in prison, his body was dragged through the streets as that of a traitor, and cast into the river; others, that he was, by the favour of Antistius, one of the tribunes, rescued, or enabled to make his escape.

The war in Spain still continued; and the Romans, having gained considerable victories, sent ten commissioners, to endeavour, in concert with Crassus and Didius, to make such arrangements as might tend to the future peace of those provinces: but in vain; hostilities were again renewed in the following year.

L. Cornelius Sylla, who had been questor in the year of Rome six hundred and forty-six, now, after an interval of about fourteen years, and without having been edile, stood candidate for the office of pretor.* But to remove the objection to his preferment, he gave out, that as pretor he was to exhibit the same shows which were expected from him as edile: and having, in the following year, persisted in his suit, he was accordingly elected, and fulfilled the expectations of the people; insomuch, that he is said to have let loose in the circus a hundred maned or male lions, and to have exhibited the method of baiting or fighting them by Mauritanian huntsmen. Such was the price which candidates for preferment at Rome were obliged to pay for public favour.

In this variable scene, where so many particular men excelled in genius and magnanimity, while the state itself was subject to the government of a capricious and disorderly multitude, P. Rutilius, late questor in Asia, exhibited a spectacle sufficient to counterbalance the lions of Sylla. Having, however, reformed many abuses of the equestrian tax-gatherers in the province which he governed, he was himself brought before the tribunal of an equestrian jury, to be tried for the crime he had restrained in others. In this situation he declined making any defence; and, being

* U. C. 660.

condemned, retired to Smyrna, where he ever after lived in great tranquillity.

The war in Spain which broke out afresh in one of the provinces was committed to Valerius Flaccus, and the care of the other to Perperna, one of the consuls. Flaccus, near the town of Belgida, obtained a great victory, in which were slain about twenty thousand of the enemy; but he could not prevail on the canton to submit.

The war having been likewise renewed with the Thracians on the frontiers of Macedonia, Geminius, who commanded there in the quality of propretor, was defeated, and the province overrun by the enemy.*

The pretor Sylla, at the expiration of his office, was sent into Asia with a commission to restore Ariarathes to the kingdom of Cappadocia, which had been seized by Mithridates, and to restore Pylamenes to that of Paphlagonia, from which he had been expelled by Nicomedes king of Bithynia. The pretor having successfully executed both these commissions, continued his journey to the Euphrates, where he had a conference, and concluded a treaty with an ambassador from Ariarathes king of the Parthians.

From an edict of the censors, Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and C. Licinius Crassus, condemning the schools of Latin rhetoric, it appears that the Romans, during this period, still received with reluctance the refinements which were gradually taking place in the literary as well as in the other arts.

The expectations of all parties at Rome, and throughout Italy, were now raised by the projects of Livius Drusus, an active tribune, who, in order to distinguish himself, brought forward many subjects of the greatest concern to the public. He acted at first in concert with the leading men of the senate, and was supported by them in order to obtain some amendment in the law as it then stood with respect to the courts of justice. The equestrian order had acquired exclusive possession of the judicature. The senators wished to recover at least a share in that prerogative; and Drusus, in order to gratify them, moved for an act of which the tendency was, to restore the judicative power of the senate.

This tribune likewise proposed an act to debase the silver coin, by mixing an eighth of alloy. But the part of his project which gave the greatest alarm, was that which related to the indigent citizens of Rome, and to the inhabitants of Italy in general.

* U. C. 661.

With a view to gratify the poorer citizens he proposed, that all the new settlements, projected by the law of Caius Gracchus, should now be carried into execution. The consul, Marcus Perperna, having ventured to oppose this proposal, he was, by order of the tribune, taken into custody.

For the allies of Italy, Livius Drusus proposed to obtain the favourite object on which they had been so long intent, the privileges and powers of Roman citizens. In all his other proposals, he had the concurrence of some party in the commonwealth, and by persuasion, or force, had obtained his purpose; but in this he struck at the personal consideration of every citizen, and was opposed by the unanimous voice of the whole people. Soon after this motion had been rejected, Drusus was suddenly taken ill in the public assembly, and Papirius Carbo, another of the tribunes, made a short speech on the occasion, which, among a people prone to superstition, and ready to execute whatever they conceived to be awarded by the gods, probably hastened the fate of his falling colleague: "O Marcus Drusus!" he said, "the father I call, not this degenerate son; thou who usedst to say, The commonwealth is sacred, whoever violates it is sure to be punished. The temerity of the son has evinced the wisdom of the father." A great shout arose in the assembly, and Drusus, being attended to his own house by a numerous multitude, received in the crowd a secret wound of which he died. All his laws were soon after repealed, as having passed under unfavourable auspices. But the inhabitants of Italy were not to be appeased under their late disappointment, and discontents were breaking out in every part of the country, which greatly alarmed the republic.

In this state of public uneasiness, Q. Varius Hybrida, a tribune, obtained a decree of the people, directing, that inquiry should be made by whose fault the allies had been made to expect the freedom of the city. In consequence of an inquest set on foot for this purpose, L. Calphurnius Bestia, late consul, and M. Aurelius Orator, and other eminent men, were condemned. Mummius Achaicus was banished to Delos. Emilius Scaurus, who had long maintained his dignity as princeps, or first on the roll of the senate, was cited on this occasion before the people as a person involved in the same guilt.

The year following, Varius himself was tried, and condemned agreeably to his own act; and while the prosecutions suspended all other civil affairs, and even the measures required for the safety of the public, the inhabitants of Italy were forming dangerous combinations, and were

ready to break out into actual rebellion. They were exasperated with having their suit not only refused, but in having the abettors of it at Rome considered as criminals. They sent deputies to meet at Corfinium, and to deliberate on a plan of operations. Their deputies were to form a senate, and to choose two executive officers, under the denomination of consuls.

Upon a signal agreed, the Marsi, Peligni, Vestini, Maricini, Picentes, Ferentanæ, Hirpini, Pompeiani, Venusini, Apuli, Lucani, and Samnites, took arms, and sent a joint deputation to Rome to demand a participation in the privileges of Roman citizens; of which they had, by their services, contributed so largely to increase the value.

In answer to this demand they were told by the senate, that they must discontinue their assemblies, and renounce their pretensions; otherwise, that they must not presume to send any other message to Rome.

War being thus declared, both parties prepared for the contest.* The allies mustered a hundred thousand men, in different bodies, and under different leaders. The Romans found themselves in an instant brought back to the condition in which they had been about three hundred years before; reduced to a few miles of territory round their walls, and beset with enemies more united, and more numerous than ever had assailed them at once on the same ground. But their city was likewise enlarged, their numbers increased, and every individual excellently formed to serve the state, as a warrior and a citizen. All of them assumed, upon this occasion, the sagum, or military dress; and being joined by such of the Latins as remained in their allegiance, and by such of their colonies, from different parts of Italy as continued to be faithful, together with some mercenaries from Gaul and Numidia, they assembled a force equal to that of the allies.

The consuls were placed at the head of the two principal armies; Lucius Julius Cæsar, in the country of the Samnites,† and Rutilius, in that of the Marsi.‡ They had under their command the most celebrated and experienced officers of the republic; but little more is preserved to furnish out the history of this war than the names of the Roman commanders, and those of the persons opposed to them.

One of the consuls, Lucius Cæsar, in the first encounter of the war, was defeated by Vetius Cato near Esernia, and had two thousand men killed in the field. The town of Esernia was immediately invested, and some Roman offi-

* U. C. 663.

† Now part of the kingdom of Naples

‡ Contiguous part of the ecclesiastical state.

cers of distinction were obliged to make their escape in the disguise of slaves. Two Roman cohorts were cut off at Venafrum, and that colony fell into the hands of the enemy. The other consul, Rutilius, was likewise defeated by the Marsi, and fell in the field, with eight thousand men of his army, and for the remainder of the campaign, the army acted under the direction of the late consuls, Marius and Cæpio.

In the mean time, Lucius Cæsar obtained a victory in the country of the Samnites; and the senate, in order to restore the confidence of the people, as if this victory had suppressed the revolt, resolved, that the sagum, or military dress, should be laid aside.

The usual time of the consular elections being come, Cn. Pompeius Strabo and Porcius Cato were named.

Pompey gained a complete victory over the Marsi; and notwithstanding an obstinate defence, reduced the city of Asculum, where hostilities at first had commenced, and where the Romans had suffered the greatest outrage.* The principal inhabitants of the place were put to death, the remainder were sold for slaves. The other consul, Cato, was killed in the attack upon the intrenchments of the Marsi; and although Marius and Sylla, in different quarters, had turned the fortune of the war against the allies, yet the event still continued to be extremely doubtful.

The Umbrians, Etruscans, and inhabitants of other districts of Italy, who had hitherto hesitated in the choice of their party, took courage from the perseverance and success of their neighbours, and openly joined the revolt.

Mithridates, the king of Pontus, did not neglect the occasion that was offered to him; he expelled Nicomedes from Bithynia, and Ariobarzanes from Cappadocia, and made himself master of the greater part of the Lesser Asia.

In this extremity it appeared necessary to comply with the demands of the allies, and the Latins, who had continued in their allegiance, were, in consideration of their fidelity, admitted to all the privileges of Roman citizens. The Umbri and Tuscans, who either had not yet declared, or who had been least forward in the war, were next comprehended; and the other inhabitants of Italy, observing, that they were likely to obtain by favour what they endeavoured to extort by force, grew remiss in the war, or withdrew from the league, that they might appear to be forward in the general return to peace.

The Marsi, Samnites, and Lucanians, who had been the

* U. C. 664.

principal authors of the revolt, or who had acted with most animosity in the conduct of it, continued for some time to be excluded from the privilege of Romans. But the civil war, which soon after broke out among the citizens themselves, terminated either in the extirpation of those aliens, and in the settlement of Roman colonies in their stead, or gave them an opportunity, under favour of the party they espoused, of gaining admittance to the privilege to which they aspired : so that, in a few years, all the inhabitants of Italy, from the Rubicon to the straits of Messina, were become citizens of Rome ; and a constitution of state, which had been already overcharged by the numbers that partook of its sovereignty, was now altogether overwhelmed.

Licinius Crassus and L. Julius Cæsar were chosen censors, in order to make up the new rolls of the people. This, it is likely, was found to be a difficult and tedious work. It became necessary to scrutinize the rolls of every separate borough, in order to know who were entitled to be added to the list of Roman citizens.

The number of the aliens admitted on the rolls, at this muster, is not recorded ; but it was probably equal to that of the ancient citizens, and might have instantly formed a very powerful and dangerous faction in the state, if effectual measures had not been taken to guard against the effect of their influence. For this purpose, they were not mixed promiscuously with the mass of the people, but confined to eight particular tribes ; by which means they could only influence eight votes in thirty-five ; and the ancient citizens were still possessed of a great majority.

CHAP. VII.

Triumph of Pompeius Strabo—Progress of Sylla—War with the King of Pontus—Rise of that Kingdom—Appointment of Sylla to Command—Policy of the Tribune Sulpicius—Sylla's Commission recalled in Favour of Marius—His March from Campania to Rome—Expels Marius and his Faction from the City—His Operations in Greece—Siege of Athens—Battle of Cheronea—Of Orchomenos—Transactions at Rome—Policy of Cinna—Marius Recalled—Cinna flies, and is deprived—Recovers the possession of Rome—Treaty of Sylla with Mithridates—He passes into Italy—Is opposed by numerous Armies—Various Events of the War in Italy—Sylla prevails—His Proscription or Massacre—Named Dictator—His Policy—Resignation and Death.

THE social war, though far from being successful, concluded with a triumphal procession ; and the senate, though actu-

ally obliged to yield the point for which they contended, thought proper, under pretence of advantages gained on some particular occasions, to erect a trophy. They singled out Pompeius Strabo for the pageant in this ceremony; either because he had reduced Asculum, where the rebellion first broke out, or because a victory obtained by him had most immediately preceded the peace.

Sylla, by his conduct and his successes wherever he had borne a separate command in this war, gave proof of that superior genius by which he now began to be distinguished. By his magnanimity on all occasions, by his great courage in danger, by his imperious exactions from the enemy, and by his lavish profusion to his own troops, he obtained, in a very high degree, the confidence and attachment of his soldiers; and yet in this, it is probable, he acted from temper, and not from design, or with any view to what followed.

With the merits he had recently displayed in this war, he repaired to the city, laid claim to the consulate, and was accordingly chosen in conjunction with Quintus Pompeius Rufus.*

It was thought necessary still to keep a proper force under arms in Italy, until the public tranquillity should be fully established; but the war with Mithridates, king of Pontus, was the principal object of attention; and this province, together with the army then lying in Campania, fell to the lot of Sylla.

The monarchy of Pontus had risen upon the ruins of the Macedonian establishments in Asia; and upon their entire suppression, was become one of the most considerable kingdoms of the east. Mithridates had inherited from his ancestors a great extent of territory, reaching in length, according to the representation of his own ambassador in Appian, twenty thousand stadia, above two thousand miles. He himself had joined to it the kingdom of Colchis, and other provinces on the coasts of the Euxine sea. His national troops amounted to three hundred thousand foot, and forty thousand horse, besides auxiliaries from Thrace, and from that part of Scythia which lies on the Meotis and the Tanais, countries over which he had acquired an ascendant approaching to a sovereignty.

About the time that the social war broke out, Nicomedes, who had been recently restored to the crown of Bithynia, made hostile incursions under the encouragement of the Romans, even into the kingdom of Pontus. Mithridates, having made fruitless complaints to them on this subject;

* U. C. 665.

and thinking that the distracted state of Italy furnished him with a favourable opportunity to slight their resentment, he sent his son Ariarathes into Cappadocia with a force to expel Ariobarzanes, though an ally of the Romans, and to possess that kingdom. He took the field himself, and sent powerful armies, under his generals, against Nicomedes, and against the Romans, who had assembled all the force of their province and of their allies, to the amount of a hundred and twenty thousand men, in different bodies, to defend their own frontier, or to annoy their enemy.

Mithridates fell separately upon the several divisions of his enemies' forces ; and having defeated them, obliged the Romans, with their ally, to retire. His fleet, likewise, consisting of three hundred galleys, opened the passage of the Hellespont, took all the ships which the Romans had stationed in those straits ; and he himself soon after in person traversed Phrygia and the Lesser Asia, to the sea of Cilicia and Greece.

Manius Aquilius and C. Oppius, two of the Roman commanders, fell into the hands of the enemy, and were treated with scorn ; the former with a barbarity which nothing but the most criminal abuse of the power he lately possessed could have deserved or provoked. Being carried round the cities of Asia on an ass, he was obliged at every place to declare, that his own avarice was the cause of the war ; and he was at last put to death by the pouring of melted gold into his throat.

While Mithridates thus overwhelmed his enemies, and was endeavouring to complete his conquest of Asia by the reduction of Rhodes, he ordered his general Archelaus to penetrate by the way of Thrace and Macedonia into Greece.

Such was the alarming state of the war when the Romans, having scarcely appeased the troubles in Italy, appointed L. Cornelius Sylla with six legions that lay in Campania, to embark for Greece, in order, if possible, to stem a torrent which no ordinary bars were likely to withstand.

But before Sylla or his colleague could depart for their provinces, disorders arose in the city, which, without waiting the approach of foreign enemies, brought armies to battle in the streets, and covered the pavements of Rome with the slain.

Publius Sulpicius, tribune of the people, with a singular boldness and profligacy, ventured to tamper with the dangerous humours which were but ill suppressed in the event of the late troubles ; and kindled the former animosity of

the popular and senatorian parties. This tribune, according to Plutarch, had three thousand gladiators in his pay, and in despite of the law, had ever at his back a numerous company of retainers, armed with daggers and other offensive weapons. He moved the people to recall from exile all those who had fled from the city on occasion of the former disorders, and to admit the new citizens and enfranchised slaves to be enrolled promiscuously in all the tribes without regard to the late wise limitation of the senate's decree, by which they were restricted to four.

The more respectable citizens, and the magistrates, in vain withstood these abuses. They were overpowered by force, and frequently driven from the place of assembly. In this extremity they had recourse to superstition, and by multiplying holidays, endeavoured to stop or to disconcert their antagonists. But Sulpicius, with his party, laid violent hands on the consuls, in order to force them to recall these appointments. Young Pompey, the son of the present consul, and son-in-law to Sylla, who had withdrawn from the tumult, feeling that he was in the power of his enemies, and being impatient to get into a situation in which he could more effectually resist them, chose for the present to comply with their demands.

In the midst of these violences, the city being under an actual usurpation or tyranny, Sylla repaired to the army in Campania, with a resolution to pursue the object of his command in Asia, and to leave the tribunitian storms at Rome to spend their force. But soon after his departure, it appeared, that Marius was no stranger to the councils of Sulpicius; for by means of this tribune, he got the people to revoke the appointment of the senate, and to supersede his rival Sylla in the command of the army against Mithridates. The proper officers were sent to intimate his appointment to Sylla, and to receive from him, in behalf of his successor, the charge of the army, and the delivery of the stores; but Sylla had the address to defeat the whole project, by making the troops apprehend that this change was equally prejudicial to them as to himself. A tumult arose among the soldiers; and citizens vested with a public character, formally commissioned to intimate an order of the Roman people, and delivering their commands to this purpose, were slain in the camp. In return to this outrage some relations and friends of Sylla were murdered in the city. Stung with rage, and probably thinking that force would be justified in snatching the republic out of such violent hands, Sylla proposed to the army that they should march to Rome. The proposal was received with joy; and

the army, without any of the scruples, or any degree of that hesitation which is ascribed to their commander in adopting this measure, followed where he thought proper to lead them.

On this new and dangerous appearance of things, not only Marius and Sulpicius, with the persons most obnoxious on account of the insults offered to Sylla and other respectable citizens, were seized with consternation; but even the senate and the nobles were justly alarmed.

The senate sent a deputation to Sylla, with entreaties, and with commands, that he would not advance to the city; but the deputation was received by him only within a few miles of the gates. He gave orders, in the hearing of the deputies, that the armies should halt, but as soon as he thought this intelligence had reached the city, and had lulled his antagonists into a state of security, he moved forward with a detachment and seized the nearest gate. The people, in tumult, endeavoured to recover it; Marius secured the capitol, and summoned every man, whether freemen or slaves, to repair to his standard. His party, as they assembled, were drawn up in the streets. Sylla, in the mean time, at the head of his army, rushed through the gate, which his vanguard still maintained against the multitudes by whom they were pressed. He was greatly annoyed from the battlements and windows as he passed, and might have been repulsed by the forces, which Marius had assembled, if he had not commanded the city to be set on fire, in order to profit by the confusion into which the people were likely to be thrown in avoiding or extinguishing the flames. By this expedient he drove Marius from all the stations he had occupied, forced him to abandon the city, and obliged his adherents to separate.

While the army was distributed in different quarters of a city, deformed with recent marks of bloodshed and fire, their general assembled the senate, and desired them to deliberate on the present state of affairs. Among the measures he suggested on this occasion, was a law by which Marius, with his son, and twelve of his faction, who had secreted themselves, were declared enemies of their country. This sentence was accompanied with a public injunction to seize or kill them wherever they could be found. The tribune Sulpicius, having fled to the marshes on the coast near Laurentum, was dragged from thence and slain. His head, severed from the body, was exposed on one of the rostra; an example afterwards frequently imitated.

Marius fled to Ostia, and there embarked on board a vessel which was provided for him by Numerius, who had been

one of his partisans in the late troubles. Having put to sea, he was forced by stress of weather to Circeii, there landed in want of every necessary, and made himself known to some herdsmen, of whom he implored relief. Being informed of the parties that were abroad in pursuit of him, he took refuge in a cottage, afterwards under a hollow bank of the river, and, last of all, on hearing the tread of the horsemen, who still pursued him, he plunged himself to the chin in the marsh; but, though concealed by the reeds and the depth of the water, he was discovered and dragged from thence all covered with mud. He was carried to Minturnæ, and doomed by the magistrates of the place to suffer the execution of the sentence which had been denounced against himself and his partisans at Rome. He was, however, by some connivance, allowed to escape from hence, again put to sea, and, at the island Ænaria, joined some associates of his flight. Being afterwards obliged to land in Sicily for a supply of water, and being known, he narrowly escaped with the loss of some of the crew that navigated his vessel. From thence he arrived on the coast of Africa; but, being forbid the province by the Pretor Sextilius, continued to shift his abode among the islands or places of retirement on the coast.

The senate, thus restored to its authority, and, by the suppression of the late sedition, masters of the city, took the proper measures to prevent, for the future, such violations of order introduced for popular government. They resolved that no question of legislation should be agitated in the assembly of the tribes; and Sylla, before he left the city, thought proper to despatch the election of consuls for the following year. Together with Octavius, who had the authority of the senate at heart, he suffered Cinna, though of the opposite faction, to be chosen, and only exacted a promise from him not to disturb the public peace, nor, in his absence, to attempt any thing derogatory of his own honour.

Having in this manner restored the commonwealth, Sylla set out with his army for their destination in Greece. The king of Pontus, notwithstanding he had been disappointed in his attempt upon Rhodes, was become master of the Lesser Asia, had fixed his residence at Pergamus, and employed his officers, with numerous fleets and armies, to carry on the war in different quarters, making rapid acquisitions at once on the side of the Scythian and Thracian Bosphorus, in Macedonia, and in Greece. His general, Archelaus, had reduced most of the Greek islands, and was hastening to make himself master of the Grecian continent.

To these powerful encroachments on the Roman territory, and to the personal injuries done to such of their generals as had fallen into his hands, Mithridates had joined a barbarous outrage, that roused, in the highest degree, the resentment of the Roman people. He had sent orders to all his commanders in every town and station in Asia, on a day fixed, to begin a massacre of the Roman citizens that were anywhere settled in that country, and to publish a reward for the slaves of any Roman who should succeed in destroying their master. This order was executed with marks of insult, in which the instruments of cruelty are often apt to exceed their instructions. It is particularly mentioned, that at Ephesus, Pergamus, and other cities of Asia, entire families, taking refuge in the temples, and embracing the altars, infants with their parents, and without distinction of sex or age, were dragged from thence and murdered. The number of persons that perished in this massacre is nowhere mentioned.

Having transported to Dyrrachium an army of six legions Sylla took the route of Thessaly and Ætolia; and having raised in these countries contributions for the pay and subsistence of his army, he received the submission of the Beotians, who had lately been obliged to declare for Mithridates, and advanced against Athens, where Aristion in the city, and Archelaus in the Pyræus, were prepared to make a vigorous resistance. Mithridates, who was master of the sea, collected together all the troops which he had distributed in the islands, and ordered a great reinforcement from Asia to form an army on the side of Beotia for the relief of Athens.

Sylla, to prevent the enemy, hastened the siege of this place. He first made an attempt to force his way into the Pyræus by scaling the walls; but being repulsed, had recourse to the ordinary means of attack. But the defence of the place was vigorous and obstinate, and so well conducted, that he was obliged, after many fruitless efforts, to turn the siege into a blockade, and to await the effects of famine, by which the city began already to be pressed.

It was in a little time brought to the last extremity, and Sylla, knowing the weak state to which the besieged were reduced, made a vigorous effort, stormed and forced the walls with great slaughter. Archelaus, greatly distressed in the Pyræus, found means to escape by water, and hastened to join the army that was forming on the side of Thessaly, leaving the post he abandoned to fall into the hands of Sylla, who razed its fortifications to the ground.

The army of Mithridates amounting to about a hundred

and twenty thousand men, advanced into Beotia. Sylla was to oppose them with thirty thousand men. Archelaus, who commanded the army of Pontus, endeavoured to bring on a general action, which Sylla cautiously avoided; waiting for an opportunity that might deprive the enemy of the advantage they had in the superiority of their numbers. The armies being both in Beotia, Archelaus took post near Cheronea, on the ascent of a steep hill that was formed in terraces by ledges of rocks, and which terminated at last in a peak or narrow summit. On the face of this hill he had crowded his infantry, his cavalry, and his chariots, and trusted that, although the ground was unfavourable to such an army, it was still inaccessible, and could not be reached by an enemy.

While Archelaus believed himself secure in this position, Sylla made a disposition to engage, and sent a powerful detachment, to seize on the heights above their encampment, whose impetuous descent from the hill drove in confusion all who came in their way from thence to the camp. The rear fell down on the front. A great uproar and tumult arose in every part. And in this critical moment Sylla began his attack, and broke into the midst of enemies who were altogether unprepared to receive him. They were crowded in a narrow space, and mixed without any distinction of separate bodies, of officers, or men; and, under the disadvantage of their ground, could neither resist nor retire. In the centre, numbers being trod underfoot by those who crowded around them, perished by violence or suffocation; or, while they endeavoured to open a way to escape, were slain by each other's swords. Of a hundred and twenty thousand men, scarcely ten thousand could be assembled at Chalcis in Eubea, the place to which Archelaus directed his flight.

Mithridates, even after this rout of his army, being still master at sea, made great efforts to replace his army in Beotia; and in a little time had transported thither eighty thousand fresh troops under Dorilaus, to whom Archelaus joined himself with those he had saved from the late disaster. The new army of Mithridates, consisting chiefly of cavalry, was greatly favoured by the nature of the ground in Beotia, which was flat and abounding in forage. Sylla, though inclined to keep the heights, on which he was least exposed to the enemy's cavalry, was obliged, in order to cover the country from which he drew his subsistence and forage, to descend to the plains in the neighbourhood of Orchomenos. There he took post among the marshes, and endeavoured to fortify himself with deep ditches against

the enemy's horse. While his works were yet unfinished, being attacked by the Asiatic cavalry, not only the labourers, but the troops that were placed under arms to cover the workmen, were seized with a panic, and fled. Sylla, however, rallied them, stopped the career of the enemy, and put them to flight. The Roman army at length recovered itself in every part of the field ; and Sylla, remounting his horse, took the full advantage of the change of his fortune, pursued the enemy to their camp, and forced them to abandon it with great slaughter.

After the loss of this second army, Mithridates appearing to have despaired of his affairs in Greece, authorized Archelaus to treat of peace. Both parties were equally inclined to a treaty ; the king of Pontus urged by his losses, and the Roman proconsul by the state of affairs in Italy. Sylla, though commanding in Greece by authority from the Roman senate, had been degraded, and declared a public enemy by a resolution of the people at Rome. An officer had been sent from Italy to supersede him ; and a Roman army, independent of his orders, was actually employed in the province. Mithridates too, while he had sustained such losses in Greece, was pressed by the other Roman army in Asia, under the command of Fimbria, who, with intentions equally hostile to Sylla as to Mithridates, advanced with a rapid pace, reduced several towns on the coast, and had lately made himself master of Pergamus, where the king himself had narrowly escaped falling into his hands. In these circumstances a treaty was equally seasonable for both.

Sylla had been absent from Rome about two years, during which time, Cinna, notwithstanding his engagements to Sylla, revived the project of keeping the more respectable citizens in subjection, under pretence of a government placed in the hands of the people.

The designation of the popular party was the same with that which had distinguished the followers of Tiberius and Caius Gracchus ; but the object was changed, and the nominal popular faction itself was differently composed. At present the parties consisted of the inhabitants of the country towns lately admitted, or still claiming to be admitted, on the rolls of the people on one side, and of the senate and ancient citizens on the other. The object to which the former aspired, was a full and equal participation in all the powers that belonged to the Roman people. They were far from being satisfied with the manner of their enrolment into a few particular tribes, and laid claim to be admitted without distinction among the ancient citizens, and to ha-

consideration and power proportioned to their numbers. In this they were supported by Cinna, who made a motion in their favour in the assembly of the people, and at the same time proposed to recall Marius and the other exiles of that party from their banishment. The consul Octavius, with the majority of the senate and ancient citizens, opposed these propositions; and being told that the tribunes who had forbidden the question were violently attacked, and likely to be forced from the assembly, they came forth into the streets, and drove their antagonists, with some bloodshed, through the gates of the city. Cinna endeavoured to make head against his colleague, and invited the slaves, under a promise of liberty, to his standard. But finding it impossible within the city, now occupied by his opponents, to withstand their force, he withdrew to the country towns, and solicited supplies from thence. He passed through Tibur and Præneste to Nola, and openly implored the inhabitants to aid him against their common enemies. His solicitations at any other time might perhaps have been fruitless; but now, to the misfortune of the republic, a number of armies were still kept on foot in Italy, to finish the remains of the social war. Cn. Strabo commanded one army in Umbria, Metellus another on the confines of Lucania and Samnium, and Appius Claudius a third in Campania. As these armies consisted chiefly of indigent citizens become soldiers of fortune, besides suffering a diminution of their numbers from desertions to the factious consul, they lost the troops under the command of Claudius who went over to him in a body.

Meantime the senate, without entering into any particular discussion of the guilt which Cinna had incurred in the late tumult at Rome, found that, by having deserted his station, he had actually divested himself of his office as consul, and they obtained the election of L. Cornelius Merula in his place.

Marius, being informed that one of the armies in Italy, with a Roman consul at its head, was prepared to support him, made haste from his exile in Africa: he landed in Tuscany, and implored the protection of the country towns, in whose cause he too pretended to have suffered, and whose interests were now embarked on the same bottom with his own. He had many partisans among those who had composed the legions which formerly served under his orders. He had reputation and authority, and soon assembled a considerable force, with which, in concert with Cinna, Sertorius, and Carbo, he advanced towards Rome.

They invested the city in three separate divisions. Cinna and Carbo lay before it, Sertorius took post on the river above, and Marius below it. The last, to prevent supplies from the sea, made himself master of the port of Ostia; the first had sent a detachment to Ariminum, to prevent any relief from the side of Gaul.

In this extremity the senate applied to Metellus, requesting that he would make any accommodation with the Italian allies, and hasten to the relief of the city. The delays which he made in the execution of these orders enabled Cinna and Marius to prevent him in gaining the allies. The inhabitants of Italy at this time had it in their option to accept the privileges they claimed from either party; and, having chosen to join themselves with the popular faction, they threw their weight into that scale.

Metellus, however, advanced into Latium; and, being joined by the consul Octavius, took post on the Alban hill. Here they found that their troops, being inclined to favour their enemies, deserted apace. Metellus, on being reduced to a few attendants, despaired of the cause, and withdrew into Africa. Octavius returned to his station in the city.

The army lately commanded by Pompeius Strabo, was now deprived of its general; he having been killed by lightning in his camp; and the senate was not inclined to repose any confidence in his men. He himself had some time hesitated between the parties; and the troops, at his death, were prepared to choose the side which was most likely to favour their interest. With so uncertain a prospect of support, the senate thought it safer to enter into a treaty with Cinna and Marius, than to remain exposed to the necessity of being obliged to admit them by force. They offered to reinstate Cinna in the office of consul, and to restore Marius, with the other exiles, to their condition of Roman citizens; only stipulating that they would spare the blood of their opponents, or proceed against them according to the laws of the commonwealth. While this treaty was in dependence, Marius, affecting the modesty of a person whom the law, according to his late sentence of banishment, had disqualified to take any part among citizens, observed a sullen and obstinate silence. Even when the treaty was concluded, and the gates were laid open to himself and his followers, he refused to enter until the attainer under which he lay should be taken off, and until he was replaced in his condition as a Roman. The people were accordingly assembled to repeal their former decree. But Marius, proposing to take his enemies by surprise, did not wait for the completion of the ceremony. While the

ballots were collecting, he entered the city with a band of armed men, whom he employed in taking vengeance on all those who had concurred in the late measures against him. The gates, by his orders, were secured, but most of the senators escaped. Sylla's house was demolished, many who were reputed his friends were slain, others assisted his wife and his children in making their escape. Among the signals by which Marius directed the execution of particular persons, it was understood that if he did not return a salute which was offered him, this was to be considered as a warrant for immediate death. In compliance with these instructions, some citizens of note were laid dead at his feet. And as the meanest retainers of his party had their resentments as well as himself, and took this opportunity to indulge their passions, the city resembled a place that was taken by storm, and every quarter resounded with the cries of robbery, murders, and rapes. This horrid scene continued without intermission five days and five nights.

Cinna himself became weary of the murders which were committed to gratify the avarice of mean and needy adventurers, or the rancour even of fugitive slaves against the masters they had deserted; he wished to terminate so horrid a scene, but it seems could not stop it otherwise than by the death of those who were employed in it. He caused great numbers of them accordingly to be surrounded and put to the sword. He proposed, in concert with Marius, to give some form or title to their government, by assuming the consulate: and although there is no doubt that they could have easily obtained the sanction of an ordinary election, yet they chose to usurp the ensigns and powers of consul without any such pretence. Marius indulged in the excessive use of wine, contracted a pleurisy, and died on the seventh day of his illness, in the seventeenth day of his last or seventh consulate, and in the seventieth year of his age; leaving the tools he had employed in subverting the government of his country, to pay the forfeit of his crimes.

Upon the death of Marius, the government still continued to be usurped by Cinna. Many of the senators, and other citizens, obnoxious to the prevailing party, took refuge with Sylla. This general himself was declared a public enemy; his effects were seized; his children, with their mother, having narrowly escaped the pursuit of his enemies, fled to the father in Greece.

Upon this occasion Sylla did not change his conduct in the war, nor make any concessions to the enemies of the state. He talked familiarly every day of his intention to

punish his enemies at Rome, and to avenge the blood of his friends, but not till he had forced Mithridates to make reparation for the wrongs he had done to the Romans and to their allies in Asia.

Alarmed by these threats, Cinna took measures to strengthen his party; assumed, upon the death of Marius, Valerius Flaccus as his colleague in the office of consul; and, having assigned him the command in Asia, with two additional legions, trusted that with this force he might obtain possession of the province.

But Flaccus, upon his arrival in Thessaly, was deserted by part of the army, which went over to Sylla; and passing through Macedonia in his route to Asia with the remainder, a dispute arose between himself and his lieutenant Fimbria, which ended in the murder of the consul Flaccus, and in the succession of Fimbria to the command. So little deference or respect did citizens pay, in the disorder of those unhappy times, even to the government they professed to serve.

Fimbria, with the troops he had seduced to his standard, after he had assassinated their general, made a rapid progress in Asia, and hastened, as has been observed, the resolution to which Mithridates was come, of applying for peace. To this crafty prince, urged by the necessity of his own affairs, the conjuncture appeared to be favourable, when so much distraction took place in the councils of Rome. He had experienced the abilities of Sylla; he knew his eager desire to be gone for Italy, and to be revenged of his enemies; and he expected to gain him by proffering assistance in the war he was about to wage with the opposite party at Rome.

Upon a message from Archelaus, Sylla readily agreed to an interview in the island of Delos, where a treaty of peace was framed, by which the fleet of Mithridates with a sum of two thousand talents,* was to be given to the Romans, and the frontiers of Pontus to constitute the boundaries of that kingdom.

Sylla meantime continued his operations, and sent Lucullus round the maritime powers of the east to assemble a fleet; while after having made some incursions into Thrace, to gratify his army with the spoil of nations who had often plundered the Roman province, he continued his route to the Hellespont.

Being arrived at the Hellespont, he was joined by Lucullus with a fleet which enabled him to pass that strait. Here

* About 396,000*L*.

he was met by a message from Mithridates, desiring a personal interview; which was accordingly held in the presence of both armies, and at which the king of Pontus, after some expostulations, agreed to all the conditions already mentioned.

Sylla, having brought the Mithridatic war to an issue so honourable for himself, prepared to take vengeance on his enemies, and those of the republic, in Italy. He proceeded, however, with great deliberation and caution; and, as if the state at Rome were in perfect tranquillity, staid to reduce the army of Fimbria, to resettle the Roman province, and to effect the restoration of the allies, Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes, to their several kingdoms of Cappadocia and Bithynia.

Fimbria being required by Sylla to resign a command which he had illegally usurped, retorted the charge of usurpation, and treated Sylla himself as an outlaw: but upon the approach of this general, being deserted by his army, he fled to Pergamus, and there put an end to his life by the hands of a slave, of whom he exacted this service. To punish the province of Asia for its defection to Mithridates, Sylla obliged the inhabitants to pay down a sum equal to five years' ordinary tax. He sent Curio to replace on their thrones the kings of Cappadocia and Bithynia, who had persevered in their alliance with Rome, and sent an account of these particulars to the senate, without taking any notice of the edict by which he himself had been stripped of his command, and declared an enemy. Before he set sail, however, for Italy, he thought proper to transmit to Rome a memorial, setting forth his services and his wrongs, as well as the injury done to many senators who had taken refuge in his camp, and concluding with menaces of justice against his own enemies and those of the republic, but assuring the citizens in general of protection and security. This paper being read in the senate, struck many of the members with dreadful apprehensions; expedients were proposed to reconcile the parties, and to avert the evils which the republic must suffer from their repeated contentions. A message was sent to pacify Sylla, and earnest entreaties were made to Cinna, that he would suspend his levies until an answer could be obtained from the other.* But Cinna, in contempt of these pacific intentions, took measures to prosecute the war; divided the fasces with Cn. Papirius Carbo, whom, without any form of election, he assumed for his colleague in the consulate; and in the

* U. C. 609.

partition of provinces, retained for himself the administration in Italy, while he assigned to Carbo the command in the neighbouring Gaul.

Cinna, having mustered a considerable force, intended to make head against Sylla in Thessaly, through which he was expected to pass in his way to Italy, and determined to transport his army thither. But the troops being averse to embark, he himself, endeavouring to force them, was killed in a mutiny. A general disorder and anarchy infected the whole party. The election of a successor to Cinna was twice interrupted by supposed unfavourable presages, and Carbo remained sole consul.

At this time an answer arrived from Sylla to the proposals made by the senate towards a reconciliation of parties; in which he declared, "That he never could return into friendship with persons guilty of so many and such enormous crimes. If the Roman people, however, were pleased to grant an indemnity, he should not interpose, but would venture to affirm, that such of the citizens as chose, in the present disorders, to take refuge in his camp, would find themselves safer than in that of his enemies." He had embarked his army at Ephesus, and reached the Pyreus, the port of Athens, where he was taken ill of the gout, and detained. His fleet, in the mean time, consisting of twelve hundred ships, coasted round the Peloponnesus, and took on board the army which had marched by Thessaly to Dyrrachium,

He had, according to Appian, five Roman legions, with six thousand Italian horse, and considerable levies from Macedonia and Greece, amounting in all to about sixty thousand men. With this force he landed in Italy, in the face of many different armies, each of them equal or superior in number to his own. The opposite party were supposed to have on foot, at different stations, above two hundred thousand men.

L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Junius Norbanus, who were its leaders, being in possession of the capital and of the place of election, were named for consuls.* Norbanus, in name of the republic, commanded a great army in Apulia; Scipio, another on the confines of Campania. Sertorius, young Marius, with Carbo, in the quality of proconsul, and others (as Plutarch quotes from the memoirs of Sylla) to the number of fifteen commanders, had each their armies, amounting in all to four hundred and fifty cohorts; of these different bodies none attempted to dispute the land-

ing of Sylla, nor, for some days, to interrupt his march. He accordingly continued to advance as in a friendly country, and in the midst of profound peace. The inhabitants of Italy, considering the Roman nobility, in whose cause Sylla appeared, as averse to the claim they had made of being promiscuously enrolled in the tribes of Rome, were likely to oppose him, and to favour the faction which had for some time prevailed in the state. To allay their animosity, or to prevent their taking an active part against him, Sylla summoned the leading men of the country towns as he passed, and gave them assurances that he would confirm the grants which had been made to them, if they did not forfeit these and every other title to favour, by abetting the faction which had subverted the government.

On his march he was joined by Metellus Pius, who, as has been observed, after a fruitless attempt, in conjunction with the consul Octavius, to cover Rome from the attack of Marius and Cinna, had withdrawn to Africa.

Sylla was likewise, about the same time, joined by Cneius Pompeius, son to the late consul Pompeius Strabo, who, though too young for any public character, had assembled a considerable body of men, to make himself of consequence in the present contest. Being now only about nineteen years of age, he was remarked for engaging manners, and a manly aspect, which procured him a general favour and an uncommon degree of respect.

Numbers of the senate and nobles, who had hitherto remained exposed at Rome to the insults of their enemies, now repaired to the camp of Sylla. The consul Norbanus, being joined by young Marius, lay at Canusium. Sylla, while he was preparing to attack them, sent an officer with overtures of peace; these they rejected with marks of contempt. This circumstance had an effect which Sylla perhaps foresaw and intended. It roused the indignation of his army, and, in the action which followed, had some effect in obtaining a victory in which six thousand of the enemy were killed, with the loss of only seventy men to himself.

Norbanus, after this defeat, retreated to Capua; and, being covered by the walls of that place, waited the arrival of Scipio, who intended to join him with the army under his command. Sylla marched to Tium to prevent their junction; and on the approach of Scipio, proposed to negotiate. The leaders, with a few attendants, met between the two armies, and were nearly agreed upon terms of peace; but Scipio delayed his final consent until he should consult with Norbanus at Capua. Meantime the soldiers

of Sylla's army, boasting of the wealth which they had acquired under their general, infected his enemies, and seduced them to desert their leader. Scipio was left almost alone in his camp; and Sylla, receiving the troops who deserted to him, with the accession of strength he had acquired by the junction of this army, continued his march towards Rome. Norbanus at the same time evacuated Capua, and, by forced marches in a different route, endeavoured to prevent him.

About this time, Sertorius, who, before the war broke out, had, in the distribution of provinces, been appointed propretor of Spain, despairing of affairs in Italy, in which probably he was not sufficiently consulted, repaired to his province, and determined to try what the genius of a Roman leader could effect at the head of the warlike natives of that country.

The chiefs of the Marian party, who remained in Italy, made efforts to collect all the forces they could at Rome. Norbanus, soon after his arrival in the city, procured an edict of the people, by which Metellus, and the others who had joined Sylla, were declared enemies to their country. About the same time a fire broke out in the capitol, and the buildings were burned to the ground.

The remainder of the season was spent by both parties in collecting their forces from every quarter of Italy; and the term of the consuls in office being nearly expired, Carbo procured his own nomination to succeed them, and inscribed the name of Marius, scarcely twenty years of age, as his colleague. This young man is by some said to have been the nephew, by others the adopted son, of the late celebrated C. Marius, whose name had so long been terrible to the enemies, and at length not less so to the friends, of Rome.*

At this time the senate consented to have the plate and ornaments of the temples coined for the pay of the supposed consular armies. They were, however, notwithstanding this act of obsequiousness, believed to incline to the opposite party.

The military operations of the following spring began with an obstinate fight between two considerable armies commanded by Metellus and Carinas. The latter being defeated with great loss, Carbo hastened to the scene of action, in order to cover the remains of the vanquished army.

In the mean time Sylla, being encamped at Setia, and having intelligence, that the young Marius was advancing against him, put his army in motion to meet him, forced

him back to Sacriportum, near Præneste, where an action soon after ensued, in which Marius was defeated. The routed army fled in disorder to Præneste: the first who arrived were received into the place; but as it was apprehended the enemy might likewise enter in the tumult, the gates were shut, and many, being excluded, were slaughtered under the ramparts.

In consequence of this victory Sylla invested Præneste; and as great numbers were thus suddenly cooped up in a town, which was not prepared to subsist them, he had an immediate prospect of seeing them reduced to the necessity of surrendering at discretion. Committing the charge of the blockade to Lucretius Offella, he himself, with part of the army, proceeded to Rome. Metellus, in a second action, had defeated the army of Carbo, and Pompey that of Marius near Sena; and the party of Sylla being victorious in every part of Italy, the city was prepared to receive him as soon as he appeared at the gates. The partisans of the opposite faction deemed it prudent to withdraw, and left the capital to the enemy. Sylla immediately entered the city, and gratified his army with the spoils of the opposite party, declaring the effects of all those to be forfeited who had been accessory to the crimes lately committed against the state. After this first specimen of his policy in the city, leaving a sufficient force to execute his orders, he hastened to Clusium, where Carbo, being joined by a considerable reinforcement from Spain, was preparing to recover the metropolis, or to relieve his colleague Marius, who was reduced to great distress in Præneste.

The events which followed the arrival and operations of Sylla in Tuscany were various, but for the most part unfavourable to Carbo, whose force, by desertions and the sword was declining apace. The issue of the war seemed to depend on the fate of Præneste, and the whole force of the party was therefore directed to the relief of that place. The Lucanians and Samnites, who had espoused the cause of Marius, and who, by his favour, had obtained the freedom of Rome, apprehending immediate ruin to themselves, in the suppression of a party by whom they had been protected, determined to make one great effort for the relief of Marius.

They were joined in Latium by a large detachment sent by Carbo, under Carinas and Marcus, and made an attempt to force the lines of the besiegers at Præneste, and to open the blockade of that place. But having failed in this design, they turned, with desperation, on the city of Rome, which was but slightly guarded by a small detachment which had

been left for that purpose. Sylla being informed of their intention, with hasty marches advanced to the city, and found the enemy already in possession of the suburbs, and preparing to force the gates. It was about four in the afternoon when he arrived, after a long march. Proposing, by his unexpected presence, and by coming to action at an unusual hour, to surprise the enemy, he gave orders for an immediate attack. The event for some time was doubtful; the wing that was led by himself gave way, or was forced from its ground; but the other wing under Crassus had a better fortune, put the enemy to flight, and drove them to *Antemnæ*.

The action, though thus various in the different parts of it, became, in the event, completely decisive. Eighty thousand of the Marian party were killed in their flight, and eight thousand taken. *Carbo*, in despair of the cause, fled into *Sicily*. The troops that were blocked up in *Præneste*, having no longer any hopes of relief, surrendered themselves, and the whole party was dispersed or cut off. *Marius* attempted to escape by the galleries of a mine, and being prevented, killed himself. His head was carried to Sylla, and by his order exposed in the market-place.

Sylla being now master of the republic, all men were in anxious expectation of the sequel; nor was it long before they had a specimen of the measures he was likely to pursue. About six or eight thousand of those who were supposed to be the vilest instruments of the late usurpations and murders, being taken prisoners in the war, or surprised in the city, were, by his direction, shut up in the circus, and instantly put to death.

While this horrid scene was acting, he had assembled the senate, at a little distance, in the temple of *Bellona*; and as most of the members then present had either favoured, or at least tamely submitted to the late usurpation, he made them a speech on the state of the republic, in which he reproached many of them as accessory to the late disorders, and admonished them, for the future, to respect the legal government and constitution of their country. In the midst of these admonitions, the cries of those who were slaughtered in the circus, reaching their ears, the assembly was greatly alarmed, and many of the members started from their seats. Sylla, with a countenance stern, but undisturbed, checked them as for an instance of levity. From this interruption he resumed his subject, and continued speaking till the massacre of these unhappy victims was completed.

In an harangue which he afterwards delivered to the

people, he spoke of his own services to the republic, and of the misdemeanour of others, in terms that struck all who heard him with terror. "The republic," he said, "if his opinion were followed, should be purged; but whether it were so or no, the injuries done to himself and his friends should be punished." He accordingly ordered military execution against every person who had been accessory to the late massacres and usurpations; and while the sword was yet reeking in his hands, passed great part of his time, as usual, in mirth and dissipation with men of humorous and singular characters.

While these dreadful murders, mixed with many examples of a just execution, were perpetrated, a young man, C. Metellus, had the courage to address himself to Sylla in the senate, and desired he would make known the extent of his design, and how far these executions were to be carried? Sylla, without being offended at this freedom, published a list of those he had doomed to destruction, offering a reward of two talents for the head of each, and denouncing severe penalties against every person who should harbour or conceal them. Hence arose the practice of publishing lists of the persons to be massacred, which, under the odious name of proscription, was afterwards imitated with such fatal effects in the subsequent convulsions of the state.

The present proscription, although it promised some security to all who were not comprehended in the fatal list, opened a scene, in some respects, more dreadful than that which had been formerly acted in this massacre. The hands of servants were nired against their masters, and even those of children against their parents. The mercenary of every denomination was encouraged, by a great premium, to commit what before only the ministers of public justice thought themselves entitled to perform; and there followed a scene, in which human nature had full scope to exert all the evil of which it is susceptible, treachery, ingratitude, distrust, malice, and revenge.

In consequence of these measures, about five thousand persons of consideration were put to death, among whom were reckoned forty senators, and sixteen hundred of the equestrian order.

In comparing the present with the late usurpations, men recollected, that Marius, from his infancy, had been of a severe and inexorable temper; that his resentments were sanguinary, and even his frowns were deadly; but that his cruelties were the effect of real passions, and had the apology of not being perpetrated in cold blood; that every

person on whom he looked with indifference was safe; and that even when he usurped the government of the state, as soon as his personal resentments were gratified, the sword in his hand became an innocent pageant, and the mere ensign or badge of his power. But that Sylla directed a massacre in the midst of composure and ease: that as a private man he had been affable and pleasant, even noted for humanity and candour; that the change of his temper having commenced with his exaltation, there were no hopes that the shedding of blood could be stopped while he was suffered to retain his power. His daring spirit, his address, his cunning, and his ascendant over the minds of men, rendered the prospect of a deliverance, if not desperate, extremely remote.

Such was the aspect of affairs, and the grounds of terror conceived even by those who were innocent of the late disorders; but to those who had reason to fear the resentment of the victor, the prospect was altogether desperate. Norbanus, having fled to Rhodes, received at that place an account of the proscriptions, and, to avoid being delivered up, killed himself. Carbo, being in Sicily, endeavoured to make his escape from thence, but was apprehended by Pompey, and killed. All the ordinary offices of state were vacated by the desertion or death of those who had filled or usurped them.

Sylla had hitherto acted as master, without any other title than that of the sword; and it was now thought necessary to supply the defect. He retired from the city, that the senate might assemble with the more appearance of freedom. To name an interrex was the usual expedient for restoring the constitution; and proceeding to elections in a legal form after the usual time had elapsed, or when by any accident the ordinary succession to office had failed. Valerius Flaccus was named. To him Sylla gave intimation, that, to resettle the commonwealth, a dictator, for an indefinite term, should be appointed, and made offer of his own services for this purpose. These intimations were received as commands. Flaccus, having assembled the people, moved for an act to vest Sylla with the title of dictator, which gave him a discretionary power over the persons, fortunes, and lives of all the citizens.

No example of this kind had taken place for a hundred and twenty years preceding this date. It was now revived in the person of Sylla with unusual solemnity, and ratified by an act of the people, in which they yielded up at once all their own claims to the sovereignty, and submitted to monarchy for an indefinite time. Sylla having named

Valerius Flaccus for his lieutenant or commander of the horse, returned to the city, presenting a sight that was then unusual, a single person, preceded by four-and-twenty lictors, armed with the axe and the rods.

Lucretius Offella, the officer who had commanded in the reduction of Præneste, presuming on his favour with the dictator, and on his consequence with the army, offered himself for the consulate. Being commanded by Sylla to desist, he still continued his canvass, and was, by order of the dictator, put to death, while he solicited votes in the streets. A tumult immediately arose; the centurion, who executed this order against Offella, was seized, and, attended by a great concourse of people, was carried before the dictator. Sylla heard the complaint with great composure, told the multitude who crowded around him, that Offella had been slain by his orders, and that the centurion must therefore be released.

Sylla, soon after his elevation to the station of dictator, proceeded to make his arrangements and to new-model the commonwealth. The army appeared to have the first or preferable claim to his attention.* He accordingly proposed to reward them by a gift of all the lands which had been forfeited by the adherents of the opposite party. Spoletum, Interamna, Præneste, Fluentia, Nola, Sulmo, Volaterra, together with the countries of Samnium and Lucania, were depopulated to make way for the legions who had served under himself in the reduction of his enemies. In these new inhabitants of Italy, whose prosperity depended on his safety, he had a guard to his person, and a sure support to his power. By changing their condition from that of soldiers to landholders and peasants, he dispelled, at the same time, that dangerous cloud of military power, which he himself or his antagonists had raised over the commonwealth, and provided for the permanency of any reformation he was to introduce into the civil establishment. The troops, from soldiers of fortune, became proprietors of land, and interested in the preservation of peace.

The next act of the dictator appears more entirely calculated for the security of his own person. A body of ten thousand men, lately the property of persons involved in the ruin of the vanquished party, having their freedom and the right of citizens conferred on them, were enrolled promiscuously in all the tribes.

So far Sylla seemed to intend the security of his own person, and the stability of his government; but in all his

* U. C. 672.

subsequent institutions, he had a view to restore the aristocracy in its legislative and judicative capacity, to provide a proper supply of officers for conducting the accumulated affairs of the commonwealth, to furnish hands for every department, and to guard against the growing depravity of the times, by extending and securing the execution of the laws. He began with filling up the rolls of the senate which had been greatly reduced by the war, and by the sanguinary policy of the parties who had prevailed in their turns. He augmented the number of this body to five hundred; taking the new members from the equestrian order, but leaving the choice of them to the people.

The legislative power of the senate, and the judicative power of its members were restored. The law that was provided for the last of these purposes enacted, that none but senators, or those who were entitled to give their opinion in the senate, should be put upon any jury or list of the judges. Sylla restored the ancient form of assembling the people by centuries, and reduced the tribunes to their defensive privilege of interposing by a negative against any act of oppression; and he deprived them of their pretended right to propose laws, or to harangue the people. He moreover added, that none but senators could be elected into the office of tribune; and, to the end that no person of a factious ambition might choose this station, he procured it to be enacted, that no one who had borne the office of tribune could afterwards be promoted into any other rank of the magistracy.

With respect to the offices of state, this new founder of the commonwealth revived the obsolete law which prohibited the re-election of any person into the consulate, till after an interval of ten years; and enacted, that none could be elected consul till after he had been questor, edile, and pretor. He augmented the number of pretors from six to eight; that of questors to twenty; and, to guard against the disorders which had recently afflicted the republic, declared it to be treason for any Roman officer, without the authority of the senate and people, to go beyond the limits of his province, whether with or without an army, to make war, or to invade any foreign nation whatever.

He repealed the law of Domitius relating to the election of priests, and restored to the college the entire choice of their own members.

He made several additions to the criminal law, by statutes against subornation, forgery, wilful fire, poisoning, rape, assault, extortion, and forcibly entering the house of a citi-

zen; and a statute making it penal to be found with deadly weapons of any sort.

These laws were promulgated at certain intervals, and intermixed with the measures which were taken to restore the peace of the empire. In order to finish the remains of the civil war, Pompey had been sent into Sicily and Africa, and C. Annius Luscus into Spain. In this province, Sertorius had taken arms for the Marian faction; but being attacked by the forces of Sylla, and ill supported at first by the Spaniards, he fled into Africa.

Soon after the departure of Sylla from Asia, Murena, whom he had left to command in that province, found a pretence to renew the war with Mithridates; and, having ventured to pass the Halys, was defeated by that prince, and afterwards arraigned as having infringed the late treaty of peace. Sylla listened to this accusation, disapproved the conduct of Murena, and caused him to be superseded in the province.

Meantime Sylla himself exhibited a splendid triumph on account of his victories in Asia and Greece. The procession lasted two days. On the first, he deposited in the treasury fifteen thousand pondo of gold,* and a hundred and fifteen thousand pondo of silver;† on the second day thirteen thousand pondo of gold,‡ and seven thousand pondo of silver.¶

Upon the return of the elections, Sylla was again chosen consul, together with Q. Cæcilius Metellus.§ The latter was destined, at the expiration of his office, to command against Sertorius in Spain. Sylla himself still retained the dictatorial power, and was employed in promulgating some of the acts of which the chief have been mentioned.

Pompey having, in the preceding year, by the death of Carbo, and the dispersion of his party, finished the remains of the civil war in Sicily, was now ordered by the senate to transport his army into Africa. There Domitius, a leader of the opposite faction, had erected his standard, assembled some remains of the vanquished party, and received all the fugitives who crowded for refuge to his camp. Pompey accordingly departed from Sicily, leaving the command of that island to Memmius, and embarked his army, consisting of six legions, in two divisions; one landed at Utica, the other in the bay of Carthage. Having come to an engagement with Domitius, who had been joined by Jarbas, an African prince, he obtained a complete victory over their

* Reckoning the pondo at ten ounces, and 4l. an ounce, this will make about 600,000l. † About 237,500l. ‡ About 520,000l.

¶ About 140,000l.

§ U. C. 673.

united forces, and afterwards penetrated, without any resistance, into the kingdom of Numidia, which though dependant on the Romans, had not yet been reduced to the form of a province.

The war being ended in this quarter, Sylla thought proper to supersede Pompey in the province, and ordered him to disband his army, reserving only one legion, with which he was to wait for his successor. The troops were greatly incensed at this order; and, thinking themselves equally entitled to settlements with the legions who were lately provided for in Italy, refused to lay down their arms. They earnestly entreated their general to embark for Rome, where they promised to make him master of the government. This young man, with a moderation which he continued to support in the height of his ambition, withstood the temptation, and declared to the army, that, if they persisted in their purpose, he must certainly die by his own hands; that he would not do violence to the government of his country, nor be the object or pretence of a civil war.

Sylla, won by the behaviour of Pompey on this occasion, was inclined to dispense with his former commands, and obtained a law to authorize Pompey to enter with his army into Italy; and when he drew near the city, went forth with a numerous body of the senate to receive him. On this occasion, it is said, that, by calling him the Great Pompey, Sylla fixed a designation upon him, which, in the Roman way of distinguishing persons by nicknames, whether of contempt or respect, continued to furnish him with a title for life. The times were wretched, when armies stated themselves in the commonwealth as the partisans of their leader, and when the leader, by not betraying his country, was supposed to perform a great action.

Pompey, upon this occasion, laid claim to a triumph. Sylla at first opposed it as being contrary to the rule and order of the commonwealth, which reserved this honour for persons who had attained to the rank of consul or pretor; but he afterwards complied, being struck, it is said, with a mutinous saying of this aspiring young man, bidding him recollect, that there were more persons disposed to worship the rising than the setting sun.

Upon the return of the elections, Sylla was again destined for one of the consuls; but he declined this piece of flattery, and directed the choice to fall on P. Servilius and Appius Claudius.* Soon after these magistrates entered

* U. C. 674.

on the discharge of their trust; the dictator appeared, as usual, in the forum, attended by twenty-four lictors: but, instead of proceeding to any exercise of his power, made a formal resignation of it, dismissed his retinue, and, having declared to the people, that, if any one had any matter of charge against him, he was ready to answer it, continued to walk in the streets in the character of a private man, and afterwards retired to his villa near Cumæ, where he exercised himself in hunting,* and other country amusements.

This resignation throws a new light on the character of Sylla, and leads to a favourable construction of some of the most exceptionable parts of his conduct. When, with the help of the comment it affords, we look back to the establishments he made while in power, they appear not to be the acts of a determined usurper, but to be fitted for a republican government, and for the restoration of that order which the violence and corruption of the times had suspended.

That he was actuated by a violent resentment of personal wrongs, cannot be questioned; but it is likewise evident, that he felt on proper occasions for the honour and preservation of his country, in the noblest sense of these words. In his first attack of the city with a military force, his actions showed, that he meant to rescue the republic from the usurpations of Marius, not to usurp the government himself. When he returned into Italy from the Mithridatic war, the state of parties already engaged in hostilities, and the violence done to the republic by those who pretended to govern it, will abundantly justify his having had recourse to arms. For the massacre which followed, it may be shocking to suppose that the evils of human life can require such a remedy: but the case was singular, exposed to disorders which required violent remedies, beyond what is known in the history of mankind, a populous city, the capital of a large country, whose inhabitants still pretended to act in a collective body, of whom every member would be a master, none would be a subject, become the joint sovereigns of many provinces, ready to spurn at all the institutions which were provided for the purposes of government over themselves, and at all the principles of justice and order which were required to regulate their government of others. Where the gangrene spread in such a body, it was likely to require the amputation-knife. He was superior to the reputation even of his own splendid actions; and, from simplicity or disdain, mixed perhaps with superstition, not from affected modesty, attributed his success to the effects of his

* Appian. Bell. Civil. lib. i.

good fortune and to the favour of the gods. While he bestowed on Pompey the title of Great, he himself was content with that of Fortunate. He was a man of letters, and passed the early part of his life in a mixture of dissipation and study. He wrote his own memoirs, or a journal of his life, often quoted by Plutarch, and continued it to within a few days of his death. A work possibly of little elegance, and even tainted, as we are told, with superstition; but more curious surely than many volumes corrected by the labours of retired study.

When he was no longer an object of flattery, his corpse was carried in procession through Italy at the public expense. The fasces, and every other ensign of honour, were restored to the dead. Above two thousand golden crowns were fabricated in haste, by order of the towns and provinces he had protected, or of the private persons he had preserved, to testify their veneration for his memory. Roman matrons, whom it might be expected his cruelties would have affected with horror, lost every other sentiment in that of admiration, crowded to his funeral, and heaped the pile with perfumes. His obsequies were performed in the Campus Martius. The tomb was marked by his own directions with the following characteristic inscription: "Here lies Sylla, who never was outdone in good offices by his friend, nor in acts of hostility by his enemy." His merit or demerit in the principal transactions of his life may be variously estimated. His having slain so many citizens in cold blood, and without any form of law, if we imagine them to have been innocent, or if we conceive the republic to have been in a state to allow them a trial, must be considered as monstrous or criminal in the highest degree: but if none of these suppositions were just, if they were guilty of the greatest crimes, and were themselves the authors of that lawless state to which their country was reduced, his having saved the republic from the hands of such ruffians, and purged it of the vilest dreg that ever threatened to poison a free state, may be considered as meritorious. To satisfy himself, who was neither solicitous of praise nor dreaded censure, the strong impulse of his own mind guided by indignation and the sense of necessity, was probably sufficient.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PROGRESS AND TERMINATION
OF THE
ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

State of the Commonwealth—Characters of Persons who began to appear in the Times of Sylla—Faction of Lepidus—Sertorius harbours the Marian Party in Spain—Is attacked by Metellus and Pompey—His Death, and final Suppression of the Party—First appearance of C. Julius Cæsar—Tribunes begin to trespass on the Laws of Sylla—Progress of the Empire—Preparations of Mithridates—War with the Romans—Irruption into Bithynia—Siege of Cysicus—Raised—Flight of Mithridates—Lucullus carries the War into Pontus—Rout and Dispersion of the Army of Mithridates—His Flight into Armenia—Conduct of Lucullus in the Province of Asia.

THE public was so much occupied with the contest of Sylla and his antagonists, that little else is recorded of the period in which it took place. Writers have not given us any distinct account of the condition of the city, or of the number of citizens. As the state was divided into two principal factions, the office of censor was become too important for either party to intrust it with their opponents, or even in neutral hands. The leaders of every faction, in their turn, made up the rolls of the people, and disposed, at their pleasure, of the equestrian and senatorian dignities.

In this period were born, and began to enter on the scene of public affairs, those persons whose conduct was now to determine the fate of the republic. Pompey had already distinguished himself, and was a person of real consequence. He had been educated in the camp of his father, and, by accident, at a very early age; and, before he had attained

to any of the ordinary civil or political preferments, commanded an army. Cicero, being of the same age, began to be distinguished at the bar. He pleaded, in the second consulate of Sylla, the cause of Roscius Amerinus, in which he was led to censure the actions of Chrysogonus and other favourites of the dictator, and, by his freedom in that instance, gained much honour to himself.

Cesar, now connected with the family of Cinna, whose daughter he had married, and being nearly related to the elder Marius, who had married his aunt, narrowly escaped the sword of the prevailing party. He was saved, by the intercession of some common friends, whose request in his favour Sylla granted, with that memorable saying, "Beware of him: there is many a Marius in the person of that young man."

Marcus Porcius, afterwards named Cato of Utica, was about three years younger than Cesar, and being early an orphan, was educated in the house of an uncle, Livius Drusus. While yet a child, listening to the conversation of the times, he learned that the claim of the Italian allies, then in agitation, was dangerous to the commonwealth.

With the unprecedented degradation of the tribune Octavius, and the subsequent murder of Tiberius Gracchus, began, among the parties at Rome, a scene of injuries and retaliations, with intervals of anarchy and violent usurpation, which must have speedily ended in the ruin of the commonwealth, if the sword had not passed at last into hands that employed it for the restoration of public order, as well as for the avenging of private wrongs.

It is indeed probable, that none of the parties in these horrid scenes had a deliberate intention to subvert the government, but all of them treated the forms of the commonwealth with too little respect; and to obtain some revenge of the wrongs which they themselves apprehended or endured, did not scruple in their turn to violate the laws of their country. But to those who wished to preserve the commonwealth, the experience of fifty years was now sufficient to show, that attempts to restore the laws by illegal methods, and to terminate animosities by retorted injuries and provocations, were extremely vain. The excess of the evil had a tendency to exhaust its source, and parties began to nauseate the draught of which they had been made so plentifully to drink. There were, nevertheless, some dregs in the bottom of the cup, and the supplies of faction which were brought by the rising generation, were of a mixture more dangerous than those of the former age. The example of Sylla, who made himself lord of the common-

wealth by means of a military force, and the security with which he held his usurpation during pleasure, had a more powerful effect in exciting the thirst of dominion, than the political uses which he made of his power or his magnanimity in resigning it, had to restrain or to correct the effects of that dangerous precedent. Adventurers accordingly arose, who, without provocation, and equally indifferent to the interests of party as they were to those of the republic, proceeded, with a cool and deliberate purpose, to gratify their own ambition and avarice, in the subversion of the government of their country.

While Sylla was yet alive, Æmilius Lepidus, a man of profligate ambition, but of mean capacity, supported by the remains of the popular faction, stood for the consulate, and was chosen, together with Q. Lutatius Catulus, the son of him who, with Marius, triumphed for their joint victory over the Cimbri, and who afterwards perished by the orders of that usurper.*

In the allotment of provinces the Transalpine Gaul had fallen to Lepidus; and, although it had been for some time the practice for consuls to remain at Rome during their continuance in office, he prepared to leave the city, in order to take possession of his province. This resolution, as it implied great impatience to be at the head of an army, gave some jealousy to the senate, who exacted from him an oath, that he should not disturb the public peace. This oath, to avoid the appearance of any particular distrust in him, they likewise exacted from his colleague.

Lepidus, notwithstanding his oath, being arrived in his province, made preparations for war; and, thinking that his oath was binding only while he remained in office, determined to remain in Gaul at the head of his forces until the term was expired. The senate, in order to remove him from the army, appointed him to preside at the election of his successor. But he neglected the summons which was sent to him for this purpose, and the year of the present consuls was by this means suffered to elapse, before any election was made.

The ordinary succession being thus interrupted, the senate named Appius Claudius, as interrex, to hold the elections, and at the same time deprived Lepidus of his command in Gaul. Upon this information he hastened to Italy with the troops he had already assembled, and greatly alarmed the republic. The senate gave to Appius Claudius, and to Catulus, in the quality of proconsul, the usual

* U. C. 675.

charge to watch over the safety of the state. These officers accordingly, without delay, collected a military force, while Lepidus advanced through Etruria, and published a manifesto, in which he invited all the friends of liberty to join him, and made a formal demand of being re-invested with the consular power. Lepidus arrived at the gates of Rome, seized the Janiculum and one of the bridges that led to the city. He was met by Catulus in the Campus Martius, repulsed and routed. All his party dispersed; he himself fled to Sardinia, and soon after died.

Marcus Brutus, the father of him who, in the continuation of these troubles, afterwards fell at Philippi, having joined with Lepidus in this rash and profligate attempt against the republic, was obliged at Mantua to surrender himself to Pompey, and, by his orders, was put to death. But the most considerable part of the army of Lepidus penetrated, under the conduct of Perperna, into Spain, and joined Sertorius, who was now become the refuge of one party in its distress, as Sylla had formerly been of the other.

Before the arrival of Lepidus with his army in Italy, Mithridates had sent to obtain from the senate a ratification of the treaty he had concluded with Sylla: but on receiving intelligence of that event, he was encouraged to think of renewing the war. Sensible that he could not rely on a permanent peace with the Roman republic, he had already provided an army, not so considerable in respect to numbers as that which he formerly had, but more formidable by the order and discipline he had endeavoured to introduce on the model of the legion. He flattered himself that the distraction under which the Romans now laboured at home, would render them unable to resist his forces in Asia, and give him an opportunity to remove the only obstruction that remained to his own conquests. He avoided, in the time of a negotiation, and without the pretext of a new provocation, to break out into open hostilities; but he encouraged his son-in-law Tigranes, king of Armenia, to make war on the Roman allies in his neighbourhood, and thereby laid the foundation of a quarrel which he might either adopt or decline at pleasure.

Sertorius, who had erected the standard of the republic in Spain, gave refuge to the Roman exiles from every quarter, and was now at the head of a formidable power, composed of Italians as well as natives of that country. By his birth and abilities he had pretensions to the highest preferments of the state, and had been early distinguished as a soldier, qualified either to plan or to execute. He was attached to Marius in the time of the Cimbric war, and

became a party with this leader in his quarrel with Sylla. His animosity to the latter was increased by the mutual opposition of their interests in the pursuit of civil preferments. At the beginning of the civil war, Sertorius took an active part, but showed more respect to the constitution of his country, and more mercy to those who were opposed to him, than either of his associates Marius or Cinna. When his party were in possession of the government, he was appointed to command in Spain, and after the ruin of their affairs in Italy, withdrew into that province. He was received as a Roman governor; but, soon after the other party prevailed in Italy, was attacked on their part by Caius Annius, who came with a proper force to dislodge him. Not in condition to maintain himself any longer in Spain, he embarked with what forces he had at Carthagera, and continued for some years, with a small squadron of Cilician galleys, to subsist by the spoils of Africa and the contiguous coasts. In this state of his fortunes he formed a project to visit the Fortunate Islands, and if a settlement could be effected there, to bid farewell for ever to the Roman world; to its factions, its divisions, and its troubles. But while he was about to set sail in search of this famous retreat in the ocean, he received an invitation from the unsubdued natives of Lusitania to become their leader. At their head his abilities soon made him conspicuous. He affected to consider the Lusitanians as the senate and people of Rome, treating the establishment of Sylla in Italy as a mere usurpation.

The report of the formidable power of Sertorius, the late accession he had gained by the junction of some of the Marian forces under the command of Perperna, and his supposed preparations to make a descent upon Italy, gave an alarm at Rome. Metellus had been some time employed against him in Spain; but being scarcely able to keep the field, his opposition tended only to augment the reputation of his antagonist.* The consuls lately elected were judged unequal to this war, and the thoughts of all men were turned on Pompey, who though yet in no public character, nor arrived at the legal age of state preferments, had the address on this, as on many other occasions, to make himself be pointed at as the only person who could effectually serve the republic. He was accordingly, with the title of proconsul, joined to Metellus in the conduct of the war in Spain.

Pompey, having made the levies destined for this ser-

* U. C. 676.

vice, passed the Alps by a new route, and was the first Roman general who made his way into Spain through Gaul and the Pyrenees. He found himself unable to withstand the progress which Sertorius was making in subduing the Roman cities; and after concluding an unsuccessful campaign, he retired into Gaul for the winter.

The following year, Cn. Octavius and C. Scribonius Curio being consuls, Pompey still remained in his command; and, having repassed the Pyrenees, directed his march to join Metellus.* Sertorius lay on the Sucro† and wished to engage him before the junction; and Pompey, on his part, being desirous to reap the glory of a separate victory, an action ensued, in which the wing on which Pompey fought was defeated by Sertorius; but the other wing had the victory over Perperna. As Sertorius was about to renew the action on the following day, he was prevented by the arrival of Metellus.

This war continued about two years longer with various success, but without any memorable event, until it ended by the death of Sertorius, who, at the instigation of Perperna, was betrayed and assassinated by a few of his own attendants. Perperna, having removed Sertorius by this base action, put himself at the head of the army, and endeavoured to keep them united, at least until he should be able to purchase his peace at Rome. He was, however, deserted by numbers of his own people, and at last surprised by Pompey, and slain. He had made offers to disclose the secrets of the party, and to produce the correspondence which many of the principal citizens at Rome held with Sertorius, inviting him to return into Italy, and promising to join him with a formidable power. The letters were secured by Pompey, and, without being opened were burned. So masterly an act of prudence, in a person who was yet considered as a young man, has been deservedly admired.

While Pompey was thus gathering laurels in the field, C. Julius Cæsar, being about seven years younger, that is, twenty-three years of age, was returned from Asia; and to make some trial of his parts, laid an accusation against Dolabella, late proconsul of Macedonia, for oppression and extortion in his province. Cotta and Hortensius, appearing for the defendant, procured his acquittal. Cicero says, that he himself was then returned from a journey he had made into Asia, and was present at this trial. The following year Cæsar left Rome, with intention to pass some

* U. C. 677.

† The Xucar, which falls into the Bay of Valencia.

time under a celebrated master of rhetoric at Rhodes. In his way he was taken by pirates, and detained about forty days, until he found means to procure from Metellus a sum of fifty talents,* which was paid for his ransom. He had frequently told the pirates, while yet in their hands, that he would punish their insolence; and he now told them to expect the performance of his promise. Upon being set on shore, he assembled and armed some vessels on the coast, pursued and took his captors. Leaving his prisoners where he landed, he hastened to Junius Silanus, the proconsul of Bithynia, and applied for an order to have them executed; but being refused by this officer, he made his way back with still greater despatch, and, before any instructions could arrive to the contrary, had the pirates nailed to the cross.

Under the reformatations of Sylla, which, by disarming the tribunitian power, in a great measure shut up the source of former disorders, the republic was now restored to some degree of tranquillity, and resumed its attention to the ordinary objects of peace. The bridge on the Tiber, which had been erected of wood, was taken down and rebuilt with stone; bearing the name of *Æmilius*, one of the questors under whose inspection the fabric had been reared; and as a public work of still greater consequence, it is mentioned, that a treatise on agriculture, the production of Mago a Carthaginian, and in the language of Carthage, was, by the express orders of the senate, now translated into Latin. At the reduction of Carthage, the Romans were yet governed by husbandmen, and, amidst the literary spoils of that city, this book alone, consisting of twenty-eight rolls or volumes, was supposed to merit public attention, and was secured for the state. A number of persons, skilled in the Punic language, together with Silanus, who had the principal charge of the work, were employed in translating it.

The calm, however, which the republic enjoyed under the ascendant of the aristocracy, was not altogether undisturbed. In the consulate of Cn. Octavius and C. Scribonius Curio, the tribune Licinius made an attempt to recover the former powers of the office. He ventured, in presence of both the consuls, to harangue the people, and exhorted them to reassume their ancient rights. The sequel is imperfectly known; but the dispute appears to have been carried to a great height, and to have ended in a tumult, in which the tribune was killed.

* Near to 10,000*l*.

Upon a review of Sylla's acts intended to restore the authority of the senate, it may be questioned, whether that clause in the law relating to the tribunes, by which all persons having accepted of this office were excluded from any further preferment in the state, may not have had an ill effect, and required correction. It rendered the tribunate an object only to the meanest of the senators, who, upon their acceptance of it, ceasing to have any pretensions to the higher offices of state, were, by this means, deprived of any interest in the government, and exasperated against the higher dignities of the commonwealth.* Aurelius Cotta, one of the consuls that succeeded Cn. Octavius and Curio, moved perhaps by this consideration, proposed to have that clause repealed, and was warmly supported by the tribune Opimius, who, contrary to the prohibition lately enacted, ventured to harangue the people; and for this offence, at the expiration of his office, was tried and condemned.

By the defects which the people began to apprehend in their present institutions, or by the part which their demagogues began to take against the aristocracy, the Roman state, after a very short respite, began to relapse into its former troubles, and was again to exhibit the curious spectacle of a nation divided against itself, broken and distracted in its councils, which nevertheless prevailed in all its operations abroad, and gained continual accessions of empire, under the effect of convulsions which shook the commonwealth itself to its base; and, what is still less to be paralleled in the history of mankind, was to exhibit the spectacle of a nation, which proceeded in its affairs abroad with a success that may be imputed in a great measure to its divisions at home.

The reputation, as well as the arms of the Romans, procured them accessions of territory without labour and without expense. Kingdoms were bequeathed to them by will; as that of Pergamus, formerly by the will of Attalus; that of Cyrene by the will of Ptolemy Appion; and that of Bithynia, about this time, by the will of Nicomedes. To the same effect, princes and states, where they did not make any formal cession of their sovereignty, did somewhat equivalent, by submitting their rights to discussion at Rome, and by soliciting grants from the Romans, of which the world now seemed to acknowledge the validity, by having recourse to them as the basis of tenures by which they held their possessions.

* U. C. 678.

In Asia, by these means, the Roman empire advanced on the ruin of those who had formerly opposed its progress. The Macedonian line, in the monarchy of Syria, was now broken off, or extinct. The kingdom itself, consisting of many provinces, began to be dismembered, on the defeat of Antiochus at Sipylus, by the defection of provincial governors and tributary princes, who, no longer awed by the power of their former master, entered into a correspondence with the Romans, and were by them acknowledged as sovereigns.

In these circumstances, the Romans were left undisturbed to re-establish their province in the Lesser Asia : and under the auspices of Servilius, who, from his principal acquisition in those parts, had the name *Isauricus*, were extending their limits on the side of Cilicia, and were hastening to the sovereignty of that coast, when their progress was suddenly checked by the re-appearance of an enemy, who had already given them much trouble in that quarter.

Mithridates, king of Pontus, who appears to have revived in his own breast the animosities of Pyrrhus and of Hannibal against the Romans, had never ceased, since the date of his last mortifying treaty with Sylla, to devise the means of renewing the war. Having attempted in vain to engage Sylla in a league with himself against the Romans, he made a similar attempt on Sertorius in Spain, and with a result nearly similar.

The king of Pontus, now bent on correcting the error which is common in extensive and barbarous monarchies, of relying entirely on numbers, instead of discipline and military skill, proposed to form a more regular army than that which he had assembled in the former war ; and, however little successful in his endeavours, meant to rival his enemy in every particular of their discipline, in the use of their weapons, and in the form of their legion. With troops beginning to make these reformatations, and amounting to one hundred and twenty thousand foot, and sixteen thousand horse, he declared war on the Romans, and, without resistance, took possession of Cappadocia and Phrygia, beyond the bounds they had set to his kingdom. He endeavoured to animate and to unite in a common zeal for his cause the different nations that were collected from remote parts of the empire, to form his army. For this purpose he enumerated the successes by which he had raised his kingdom to its present pitch of greatness, and represented the numerous vices of the enemy with whom he was now to engage, their divisions at home and their

oppression abroad, their avarice, and insatiable lust of dominion.

The Romans were some time undetermined whom they should employ against this formidable enemy. When the provinces came to be distributed, the difficulties which presented themselves in Asia were thought to require the presence of both the consuls. Accordingly Cotta was appointed to seize on the kingdom of Bithynia, lately bequeathed to the Romans, and Lucullus to lead the army against Mithridates wherever else he should carry the war. Cotta set out immediately for his province. Lucullus, being detained in making the necessary levies, followed some time afterwards; but before his arrival in Asia, the king of Pontus had already invaded Bithynia, defeated the forces of Cotta, and obliged him to take refuge in Chalcedonia. The king of Pontus, being superior both by sea and by land, overran the country in the neighbourhood of this place; and, having broke the chain which shut up the mouth of the harbour, he entered and burned some Roman galleys, which were stationed there. Not thinking it advisable to attack the town of Chalcedonia, he turned his forces against Cyzicus, a port on the Propontis, blocked up the place both by sea and by land; and, being well provided with battering engines, and the other necessities of a siege, he had hopes of being soon able to reduce it by storm.

Such was the state of affairs when Lucullus arrived in Asia; and having joined his new levies to the legions which had served under Fimbria, and to the other troops already in the province, he assembled an army of about thirty thousand men, with which he advanced to re-establish Cotta in his province, and to relieve the town of Cyzicus. The king of Pontus, being elated by his successes, and by the superiority of his numbers, gave no attention to the motions of Lucullus, suffered him to get possession of the heights in his rear, and to cut off his principal supplies of provisions and forage. Trusting that his magazines would not be exhausted before he should have forced the town of Cyzicus to surrender, he continued the siege. But his engines not being well served, and the defence being obstinate, his army began to be distressed for want of provisions, and it became necessary to lessen his consumption. For this purpose he secretly moved away part of his cavalry. These were intercepted by the Romans on their march, and cut off or dispersed; and the king being reduced with the remainder of his army to the greatest distress, embarked on board one of his galleys, ordered the army to force their way to Lampsacus, while he himself endeavoured to escape

with his fleet. The army being attacked by Lucullus, the greater part of them perished in passing the Asopus and the Granicus. The king himself, having been taken by a storm, lost the greatest part of his fleet, and he himself narrowly escaped in a barge.

The whole force with which the king of Pontus had invaded Bithynia, being thus dispelled like a cloud, Lucullus took his route by Bithynia and Galatia towards Pontus. At his entrance into this kingdom was situated the town of Amysus, a considerable fortress on the coast of the Euxine, into which the king had thrown a sufficient force to retard his progress. Mithridates, under favour of the time he gained by the defence of this place, assembled a new army at Cabira, near the frontier of Armenia. Here he mustered about forty thousand foot, and a considerable body of horse, and was soliciting the Scythians, Armenians, and all the nations of that continent to his aid. Lucullus, in order to prevent, if possible, any further reinforcements to the enemy, committed the siege of Amysus to Murena, and advanced with his army into the plains of Cabira. On this ground the troops of Mithridates, having been routed in a partial encounter, the king took a resolution to decamp in the night, and remove to a greater distance from the Romans. As soon as it was dark, the equipage and the attendants of the leading men in the camp, to whom he had communicated this resolution, began to withdraw; and the army, greatly alarmed with that appearance, was seized with a panic, and could not be restrained from flight. Horse and foot, and bodies of every description crowded in disorder into the avenues of the camp, and were trod under foot, or in great numbers perished by each other's hands. Mithridates himself, endeavouring to stop and to undeceive them, was carried off by the multitude.

The noise of this tumult being heard to a great distance, and the occasion being known in the Roman camp, Lucullus advanced with his army to take advantage of the confusion in which the enemy were fallen, and by a vigorous attack put many to the sword, and hastened their dispersion.

The king was, by one of his servants, with difficulty mounted on horseback, and must have been taken, if the pursuing party had not been amused in seizing some plunder, which he had ordered on purpose to be left in their way. In his flight he appeared to be most affected with the fate of his women. The greatest number of them were left at the palace of Pharnacea, a place that must soon fall into hands of the enemy. He therefore despatched a faith-

ful eunuch with orders to put them to death, leaving the choice of the manner to themselves. By their deaths, the barbarous jealousy of the king was gratified, and the future triumph of the Roman general deprived of its principal ornaments.

Lucullus, after his late victory, having no enemy in the field to oppose him, passed through the country, and entered without molestation into many of the towns in the kingdom of Pontus. He found many palaces enriched with treasure, and adorned with barbarous magnificence; and, as might be expected under such a violent and distrustful government, everywhere places of confinement crowded with prisoners of state, whom the jealousy of the king had secured, and whom his supercilious neglect had suffered to remain in custody even after his jealousy was allayed.

Mithridates, from his late defeat, fled into Armenia, and claimed the protection of Tigranes, who, being married to his daughter, had already favoured him in his designs against the Romans.

Lucullus continued his pursuit of this flying enemy only to the frontier of Armenia, and from thence, sending Publius Clodius, who was his brother-in-law, to the court of Tigranes, with instructions to require that Mithridates should be delivered up as a lawful prey, he himself fell back into the kingdom of Pontus, and soon after reduced Amysus, together with Sinope, and other places of strength, which were held by the troops of the king.

CHAP. II.

Escape and Revolt of the Gladiators at Capua—Spartacus—His defeat of Lentulus and of Cassius—Appointment of M. Crassus for this service—Destruction of the Gladiators—Triumph of Metellus and Pompey—Consulship of Pompey and Crassus—Tribunes restored to their former Powers—Domestic policy of the Consuls—Consulate of Metellus and Hortensius—War in Crete—Renewal of the war in Pontus and Armenia—Defeat of Tigranes—Negotiation with the King of Parthia—Mutiny of the Roman Army—Complaints of Piracies committed in the Roman Seas—Commission proposed to Pompey—His conduct against the Pirates—His Commission extended to Pontus—Operations against Mithridates—Defeat and Flight of that Prince—Operations of Pompey in Syria—Siege and Reduction of Jerusalem—Death of Mithridates.

Soon after the war, of which we have thus stated the event, had commenced in Asia, Italy was thrown into great con-

fusion by the accidental escape of a few gladiators from the place of their confinement at Capua.* These were slaves trained up to furnish their masters with a spectacle, which, though cruel and barbarous, drew numerous crowds of beholders. It was at first introduced as a species of human sacrifice at funerals, and the victims were now kept by the wealthy in great numbers for the entertainment of the people, and even for private amusement. The handsomest, the most active, and the boldest of the slaves and captives were selected for this purpose. They were sworn to decline no combat, and to shun no hardship, to which they were exposed by their masters; they were of different denominations, and accustomed to fight in different ways; but those from whom the whole received their designation, employed the sword and buckler, or target; and they commonly fought naked, that the place and nature of the wounds they received might the more plainly appear.

Persons of every age, condition, and sex, attended at these exhibitions; and when the pair who were engaged began to strain and to bleed, the spectators, being divided in their inclinations, endeavoured to excite, by their cries and acclamations, the party they favoured: and when the contest was ended, called to the victor to strike, or to spare, according as the vanquished was supposed to have forfeited or to have deserved his life. With these exhibitions, which must create so much disgust and horror in the recital, the Romans were more intoxicated than any populace in modern Europe now are with the baiting of bulls, or the running of horses, probably because they were more deeply affected, and more violently moved.

Spartacus, a Thracian captive, who, on account of his strength and activity, had been destined for this barbarous profession, with about seventy or eighty of his companions, escaped from their place of confinement, and arming themselves with such weapons as accident presented to them, retired to some fastness on the ascent of Mount Vesuvius, and from thence harassed the country with robberies and murders. "If we are to fight," said the leader of this desperate band, "let us fight against our oppressors, and in behalf of our own liberties, not to make sport for this petulant and cruel race of men." Multitudes of slaves from every quarter flocked to his standard. The prefect of Capua armed the inhabitants of his district against them, but was defeated.

This feeble and unsuccessful attempt to quell the insur-

* U. C. 680.

rection, furnished the rebels with arms, and raised their reputation and their courage. Their leader, by his generosity in rejecting his own share of any booty he made, by his conduct and his valour, acquired the authority of a legal commander; and, having named Crixus and Enomaus, two other gladiators, for his subordinate officers, he formed the multitudes that resorted to him into regular bodies, employed a certain number to fabricate arms, and to procure the necessary accommodations of a camp, till at length he collected an army of seventy thousand men, with which he commanded the country to a great extent. He had already successively defeated the pretors Clodius, Varinus, and Cossinius, who had been sent against him with considerable forces, so that it became necessary to order proper levies, and to give to the consuls the charge of repressing this formidable enemy.

Spartacus had too much prudence to think himself fit to contend with the force of the Roman state, which he perceived must soon be assembled against him. He contented himself, therefore, with a more rational scheme of conducting his army by the ridge of the Apennines, till he should gain the Alps, from whence his followers, whether Gauls, Germans, or Thracians, might separate, each into the country of which he was a native, or from which he had been originally brought.

While he began his progress by the mountains, in order to execute this project, the consuls, Gellius and Lentulus, had already taken the field against him.* Lentulus brought on an action, in which the consular army was defeated with considerable loss. Cassius too, the pretor of Cisalpine Gaul, having advanced with an army of ten thousand men, was repulsed with great slaughter.

In consequence of these advantages, Spartacus might no doubt have effected his retreat to the Alps; but his army being elated with victory, formed a new project of marching to Rome. In this he was disappointed by the consuls, with whom he was obliged to fight in the Picenum; and, though victorious in the action, he lost hopes of surprising the city. But still thinking himself in condition to keep his ground in Italy, he only altered his route, and directed his march towards Lucania.

The Romans, greatly embarrassed, and thrown into some degree of consternation, by the unexpected continuance of this insurrection, imposed the command of the army on Marcus Crassus, then in the rank of pretor, and supposed

* U. C. 681.

to be a person of consequence, more on account of his wealth than of his abilities. They at the same time sent orders to Pompey, who had finished the war in Spain, to hasten into Italy with his army ; and to the proconsul of Macedonia, to embark with what forces could be spared from his province.

Crassus assembled no less than six legions, with which he joined the army which had been already so unsuccessful against the revolt. Of the troops who had misbehaved he is said to have executed, perhaps only decimated, four thousand, as an example to the new levies, and as a warning of the severities they were to expect for any failure in the remaining part of the service.

Upon his arrival in Lucania he cut off ten thousand of the rebels who were stationed at a distance from the main body of their army, and he endeavoured to shut up Spartacus in the peninsula of Brutium, or head of land which extends to the Straits of Messina. Crassus at the same time undertook to intrench the land from sea to sea with a ditch fifteen feet wide, and as many deep, extending, according to Plutarch, three hundred stadia, or above thirty miles ; and was busy completing his line, when Spartacus, prepared to force it. Having provided faggots and other materials for this purpose, he filled up the ditch at a convenient place, and passed it in the night with the whole body of his followers. He directed his march to Apulia, but was pursued, and greatly harassed in his flight.

Accounts being received at once in the camp of Crassus and in that of Spartacus, that fresh troops were landed at Brundisium from Macedonia, and that Pompey was arrived in Italy, and on his march to join Crassus, both armies were equally disposed to hazard a battle. Both leaders drew them forth ; and when ready to engage, Spartacus directing the division in which he himself commanded to make their attack where he understood the Roman general was posted, intended to decide the action by forcing the Romans in that quarter. After much bloodshed, however, being mangled with wounds, and still almost alone in the midst of his enemies, he continued to fight till he was killed ; and the victory of course declared for his enemy. About a thousand of the Romans were slain ; of the vanquished the greatest slaughter, as usual in ancient battles, took place after the flight began. The dead were not numbered ; about six thousand were taken, and, in the manner of executing the sentence of death on slaves, they were nailed to the cross in rows, that lined the way from Capua to Rome. Such as escaped from the field of battle, being about five

thousand, fell into the hands of Pompey, and furnished a pretence to his flatterers for ascribing to him the honour of terminating the war.

Pompey too arrived at the same time with new and uncommon pretensions, requiring a dispensation from the law and established forms of the commonwealth. The war he had conducted in Spain being of the nature of a civil war against Roman citizens or subjects, with a Roman general at their head, did not give a regular claim to a triumph : Pompey himself was yet under the legal age, and had not passed through any of the previous steps of questor, edile, and pretor ; yet on the present occasion he not only insisted on a triumph, but put in his claim likewise to an immediate nomination to the office of consul.

Upon his approach at the head of an army from Spain, the senate was greatly alarmed ; but he gave the most unfeigned assurances of his intention to disband his army as soon as they should have attended his triumph.* The senate accordingly gave way to this irregular pretension, and afterwards to the pretension, still more dangerous, which, without any of the previous conditions which the law required, he made to the consulate. Crassus, who had been pretor in the preceding year, now stood for the same office, entered into a concert with Pompey, and, notwithstanding their mutual jealousy of each other, they joined their interests, and were elected together.

Under the administration of these officers some important laws are said to have passed, although most of the particulars have escaped the notice of historians. It appears that Pompey now began to pay his court to the people ; and, though he professed to support the authority of the senate, wished to have it in his power, on occasion, to take the sense of what was called the assembly of the people against them, or, in other words, to counteract them by means of the popular tumults which bore this name.

The tribunes Quinctius and Palicanus, had for two years successively laboured to remove the bars which had, by the constitution of Sylla, been opposed to the tribunitian power. They had been strenuously resisted by Lucullus and others, who held the office of consul, during the dependence of the questions which had arisen on that subject. By the favour of Pompey and Crassus, however, the tribunes obtained a restitution of the privileges which their predecessors, in former times of the republic, had so often abused ; and together with the security of their sacred and inviolable

* U. C. 683.

character, and their negative in all the proceedings of the state, they were again permitted to propose laws, and to harangue the people.

Under this consulate, and probably with the encouragement of Pompey, the law of Sylla, respecting the judicatures, was, upon the motion of the pretor, Aurelius Cotta, likewise repealed; and it was permitted to the pretors to draught the judges in equal numbers from the senate, the knights, and a certain class of the people, whose description is not clearly ascertained. This was, perhaps, a just correction of Sylla's partiality to the nobles; and if it had not been accompanied by the former act, which restored the tribunitian power, might have merited applause.

In the mean time, corruption advanced among all orders of men with a hasty pace; in the lower ranks, contempt of government; among the higher, covetousness and prodigality, with an ardour for lucrative provinces, and the opportunities of extortion and flagrant abuse. As the offices of state at Rome began to be coveted with a view to the appointments abroad, with which they were followed, Pompey, in order to display his own disinterestedness, with an oblique reproof to the nobility who aspired to magistracy with such mercenary views, took a formal oath in entering on his consulate, that he would not, at the expiration of his office, accept of any government in the provinces; and by this example of generosity in himself, and by the censure it implied of others, obtained great credit with the people, and furnished his emissaries, who were ever busy in sounding his praise, with a pretence for enhancing his merit.

Pompey, in the administration of his consulate, had procured the revival of the censors' functions. These had been intermitted about sixteen years, and the attempts which were now made to revive them, though in appearance successful, could not give them a permanent footing in the commonwealth. The public was arrived at a state in which men complain of evils, but cannot endure their remedies.

L. Gellius Poplicola and Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, being intrusted, in the capacity of censors, to make up the rolls of the people, mustered four hundred and fifty thousand citizens. They purged the senate with great severity, having expunged sixty-four members from the rolls.

Crassus and Pompey, although they entered on office in concert, differed in the course of their administration, on subjects which are not particularly mentioned. As Crassus was in possession of great wealth, he endeavoured, by his liberalities, to vie with the imposing state and popular arts of his

colleague. He gave an entertainment to the whole people at ten thousand tables, and distributed three months' provision of corn. To account for his being able to court the people in this manner, it is said that he inherited from his father a fortune of three hundred talents, or near sixty thousand pounds; that he increased it, by purchasing at a low price the estates of those who were proscribed in the late troubles, and by letting for hire the labour of a numerous family of slaves, instructed in various arts and callings; and was become so rich by these means, that when, some time after this date, he was about to depart for Asia, and consecrated the tenth part of his estate to Hercules, he was found to possess seven thousand one hundred talents, or about one million three hundred and seventy thousand and three hundred pounds sterling.

Pompey at the expiration of his year in the consulship, in observance of the oath he had taken, remained at Rome in a private station; but, agreeably to the character he formerly bore, maintained the reserve and stateliness of a person raised above the condition of a citizen, or even above that of the first senators of consular rank. Other candidates for consideration and public honours endeavoured, by their talents and eloquence, to make themselves necessary to those who had affairs to solicit with the public, or even to make themselves feared. They laboured to distinguish themselves as able advocates or formidable accusers at the bar, and to strengthen their interest by procuring the support of those to whom their talents either were or might become of importance. Pompey, on the contrary, stating himself as an exception to common rules, avoided the courts of justice and other places of ordinary resort, did not commit his talents to the public judgment, nor present his person to the public view; took the respect that was paid to him as a right; seldom went abroad, and never without a numerous train of attendants.

The consulate of Crassus and Pompey was succeeded by that of Q. Hortensius and Q. Cæcilius Metellus.* In the distribution of provinces, Crete, with the command of an armament to be sent into that island, fell to the lot of Hortensius; but he declined to accept of this government; leaving it, together with the command of the army that was to be employed in the reduction of the island, to his colleague Metellus, who afterwards received the appellation of Creticus, from the distinction he acquired in this service.

The Cretans, and most of the other seafaring people on

* U. C. 684.

the confines of Asia and Europe, had in the late war taken an active part against the Romans. They had, by the influence of Mithridates, and by their own disposition to rapine and piracy, been led to prey upon the traders, and upon the carriers of the revenue that were frequently passing from the provinces to Rome. The desire of sharing in the profits that were made by this species of war, had filled the sea with pirates and freebooters, against whom the Romans sent forth a succession of officers, with extensive commands, on the coasts both of Asia and Europe. Among others, M. Antonius had been employed in this service, and was accused of abusing his power, by oppressing the Sicilians and the people of other maritime provinces, who were innocent of the crimes he was employed to repress. In a descent on the island of Crete he was defeated and killed, and left the Romans engaged with the people of that island in a war which was thought to require the presence of one of the consuls. The lot, as has been observed, fell on Hortensius, but was transferred to his colleague Metellus.

Such was the state of affairs, and such the destination of the Roman officers, when Lucullus received from Tigranes a return to the demand which he made of having Mithridates delivered up as his prisoner.* This prince, to verify the state and title which he assumed of King of Kings, affected, when he mounted on horseback, to have four captive sovereigns to walk by his stirrup, and obliged them, on other occasions, to perform every office of menial duty and servile attendance on his person. Lucullus, instead of the style which was affected by this prince, had accosted him in his letter only with the simple title of king, and threatened, that, on his demand being refused, he would not fail, with a mighty army for that purpose, to pursue his fugitive wherever he was received and protected. Tigranes, unused even to a plain address, much less to insult and threats, heard this demand with real indignation; and gave for answer that he would not deliver up the unfortunate king, and that, if the Romans invaded his territories, he knew how to defend them.

Upon receiving this answer from Tigranes, Lucullus resolved without delay to advance into Armenia. With hasty marches he arrived on the Euphrates, and passed that river before the enemy were aware of his approach. Tigranes treated the first reports of his coming with contempt, and ordered the person who presumed to bring such accounts to be punished. But being assured, beyond a

* U. C. 685.

possibility of doubt, that an enemy was actually on his territories, he sent Metrodorus, one of his generals, at the head of a considerable force, with orders to take alive the person of Lucullus whom he was desirous to see, but not to spare a man of the whole army besides.

With these orders, the Armenian general set out on the road by which the Romans were supposed to advance, and hastened to meet them. Both armies, on the march, had intelligence of each other. Lucullus halted, began to intrench, and detached three thousand men, to observe the Armenians, and amuse them till his works were completed. But such was the incapacity and presumption of the enemy, that an entire victory was gained with but a part of the Roman army; Metrodorus himself being killed, his army was put to the rout with great slaughter.

After this victory, Lucullus, in order the more effectually to alarm and to distract the Armenians, separated his army into three divisions. With one he intercepted and dispersed a body of Arabs, who were marching to join the king; with another he surprised Tigranes himself, in a disadvantageous situation, and obliged him to fly with the loss of his attendants, equipage, and the baggage of his army. At the head of the third division he himself advanced to Tigranocerta, and invested that place.

After these disasters Tigranes mustered an army of one hundred and fifty thousand heavy armed foot, fifty-five thousand horse, and twenty thousand archers and slingers. He was advised by Mithridates not to risk a battle, but to lay waste the country from which the Romans were supplied with provisions, oblige them to raise the siege of Tigranocerta, and repass the Euphrates, with the disadvantage of having an enemy still in force to hang on their rear. This counsel of Mithridates, founded in the experience he had so dearly bought, was ill suited to the presumption of the king. He therefore advanced towards the Romans, impatient to relieve his capital and the principal seat of his magnificence. Lucullus, trusting to the specimens he had already seen of the Armenian forces, ventured to divide his army, and, without raising the siege, marched with one division to meet this numerous enemy. In the action that followed, the Armenian horse being in the van, were defeated and driven back on the foot of their own army, threw them into confusion, and gave the Romans an easy victory, in which, with very inconsiderable loss to themselves, they made a great slaughter of the enemy.

Tigranocerta immediately fell into the hands of the cou-

queror. The spoil was great; Tigranes having collected here, as at the principal seat of his vanity, the wealth and magnificence of his court.

Mithridates, who had been present in the late action, met the king of Armenia in his flight; and, having endeavoured to re-establish his equipage and his retinue by a participation of his own, exhorted him not to despair, but to assemble a new force, and to persist in the war. They agreed, at the same time, on an embassy to the king of Parthia, with offers of reconciliation on the part of Tigranes, who, at this time, was at war with that prince, and of satisfaction on the subjects in contest between them, provided the Parthians would join in the confederacy against the Romans. To their representations Arsaces seemed to give a favourable ear, agreed to the proposed confederacy, on condition that Mesopotamia, which he had formerly claimed, was now delivered up to him. At the same time he endeavoured to amuse Lucullus with offers of alliance against the king of Armenia.

In this conjuncture it probably was, that Lucullus, in the apprehension of being superseded and deprived of the honour of terminating the war, made his report that the kingdom of Mithridates was now in his possession, and that the kingdom of Tigranes was also in his power; and therefore, that the senate should, instead of a successor, send the usual commission to settle the form of the province, and to make a proper establishment to preserve the territories which he had already subdued. But after these representations were despatched, it became apparent that the king of Parthia had deceived him with false professions, Lucullus proposed to carry the war into Parthia; and for this purpose, ordered the legions that were stationed in Pontus to march without delay into Armenia.

These troops, however, already tired of the service, and suspecting that they were intended for some distant and hazardous enterprise, broke out into open mutiny, and refused to obey their officers. This example was soon afterwards followed by other parts of the army; and the general was obliged to confine his operations to the kingdom of Armenia, where he forced Tigranes once more to hazard a battle, and obtained a victory. He also fell down on Mesopotamia, and, after a short siege, made himself master of Nisibis, a rich city in that territory, where, with other captives, he took Guras, brother to the king, who commanded in the place.

Here, however, a report being spread in the Roman army, that their general was soon to be recalled, he, from that

moment, lost the small remains of his authority ; the legions deserted their colours, and treated, with contempt or indifference, all the attempts he made to retain them. This state of affairs, soon became known to Mithridates, and filled him with hopes of being able to recover his kingdom. That he might not suffer the opportunity to escape him, he fell back into Pontus, with what troops he had then under his command, and, by his authority and influence over his own subjects, soon augmented his force, penetrated among the scattered quarters of the Romans, who were left to occupy the country, and separately surprised or destroyed considerable bodies of their troops.

Lucullus, being informed of what had passed in Pontus, had influence enough with the army to put them in motion towards that kingdom with some appearance of order ; but before his arrival, Mithridates had shut up Fabius in Cabira, and defeated Triarius with considerable slaughter. In this last defeat the Romans lost twenty-four legionary tribunes, one hundred and fifty centurions, and seven thousand men.

It was not doubted, however, that Lucullus, on his arrival, if the army had been disposed to act under him, would have been able soon to retrieve his affairs : but he was at this time superseded ; and the men of his army, in great numbers, actually took the route of Cappadocia on their return to Italy.

This was the state of affairs when the commissioners, who, upon the report of Lucullus, had been sent by the senate to settle the kingdom of Pontus in the form of a province, actually arrived.

The Roman army in Asia, as a prelude to their present defection, had been taught to upbraid the parsimony of their own general by a comparison with the liberality and munificence of Pompey, and in this comparison showed a disposition to change their leader, which, it is not doubted, Pompey, by his intrigues, and with the aid of his agents, greatly encouraged. He could in reality ill brook the private station to which, by his late oath, in entering on the consulate, he had bound himself. He studied to support the public opinion of his importance, and wished for an occasion to derive some advantage from it ; but nothing had occurred for two years that was worthy of the high distinction to which he aspired. The command in Asia he coveted the more, that it was secured to Lucullus by the splendour of his own successes, and by the unanimous judgment of the senate and nobles, who knew his faithful attachment to their order, and his fidelity to the aristocratical part of the constitution. The difficulties in that service were over, and nothing but

the glory of terminating the war remained. Meantime a project was started, which was likely to place him near to this scene of action, and to facilitate his removal, if judged expedient, to the command of the army in Pontus.

The pirates still continued to infest the seas, and were daily rising in their presumption, and increasing in their strength. All the coasts of the empire were open to their depredations. The Roman magistrates were made prisoners in passing to and from their provinces; and citizens of every denomination, when taken by them, were forced to pay ransom, kept in captivity, or put to death. The supply of provisions to Italy was rendered extremely difficult, and the price in proportion enhanced. Every report too on these subjects was exaggerated by the intrigues of Pompey, who perceived, in this occasion of public distress, the object of a new and extraordinary commission to himself.

Frequent complaints having been made, and frequent deliberations held on this subject in the senate, Gabinus, one of the tribunes, at last proposed, that some officer of consular rank should be vested, during three years, with absolute powers, in order to put an effectual stop to these outrages. As Gabinus was known to be in concert with Pompey, the design of the proposition was manifest; it was received in the senate with great aversion and withdrawn.

A report was immediately spread in the city, that the person of the tribune Gabinus had been actually violated; multitudes assembled at the doors of the senate-house, and great disorders were likely to follow; it was judged prudent for the senate to adjourn; and the members, dreading some insult from the populace, retired by separate ways to their own houses. Gabinus, without farther regard to the dissent of the senate, prepared to carry his motion to the people.

On the day on which the question on the motion of Gabinus was to be put to the people, Pompey appeared in the Comitium; and, if we may judge from the speech which is ascribed to him, employed a dissimulation and artifice somewhat too gross even for a popular assembly. He took occasion to thank the people for the honours he had so often received; but complained, that having already toiled so much in the public service, he still should be destined for new labours.

To this Gabinus replied by observing, that it was agreeable to the character of this great man, neither to desire command, nor rashly to accept of what was pressed upon him. "They who are best able to surmount difficulties," he said, "are likewise least inclined to engage in them."

But it is your business, fellow citizens, to consider, not what is agreeable to Pompey, but what is necessary to your own affairs; not to regard those who court you for offices, but those who are fit to discharge the duties of them. I wish we had many persons of this description, besides the man I have proposed to your choice. But wishes cannot avail us; we must take men as they are; we cannot create them. If there be but one man formed for our purpose, with knowledge, experience, and good fortune, we must lay hold of him, and seize him, if necessary, even by force."

When Gabinius had finished his speech, Tribellius, another of the tribunes, attempted to reply; but such a clamour was immediately raised by the multitude that he could not be heard. He then, by the authority of his office, forbade the question; and Gabinius instantly proposed to have the sense of the tribes, whether Tribellius had not forfeited the character of tribune? Seventeen tribes were of this opinion, and the eighteenth would have made the majority, when Tribellius thought proper to withdraw his negative. In this state of affairs, Gabinius, trusting that, in the present humour of the people, no man would dare to oppose the measure, and wishing to increase the honour of Pompey's nomination, by the seeming concurrence of some of the more respectable citizens, called upon Catulus, who was then first on the roll of the senate, to deliver his opinion, and led him up into the rostra for this purpose.

This citizen, by the equability of his conduct, and by his moderation in support of the aristocracy had great authority even with the opposite party. He began his speech to the people with professions of public zeal, which obliged him to deliver with plainness what he thought was conducive to their good, and which entitled him to a deliberate hearing, before they should pronounce on the merits of what he was about to deliver. "If you listen," he said, "something may still be offered to inform your judgment; if you break forth again into disorders and tumults, your capacity and good understanding will avail you nothing. I must begin with declaring my opinion, that powers so great, and for so long a time, as are now proposed for Pompey, should not be committed to any single citizen.

"The precedent is contrary to law, and in itself, in the highest degree, dangerous to the state. Whence came the usurpations of Marius, but from the habit of continued command; from his being put at the head of every army, intrusted with every war, and no less than six times re-elected consul in the space of a few years? What inflamed to such a degree the arrogant spirit of Sylla, but the con-

tinual command of armies, and the continual power of dictator ?

“ I speak not with any particular reference to Pompey ; I speak what the law requires, and what I am sure is for your good. If high office and command be an honour, every one who has pretensions should enjoy them in his turn ; if they be a load or a burden, every one ought to bear his part. These are the laws of justice and of republican government. By observing them, republics have an advantage over every other state. By employing many men in their turns, they educate and train many citizens for the public service, and have numbers amongst whom they may choose the fittest to serve on every particular emergence. But if we always employ the same person in every public service, we shall soon have no other person to employ. Why were we so much at a loss for experienced commanders when Sertorius appeared to threaten Italy with an invasion ? Because command, for a considerable time before that period, had been engrossed by a few, and those few alone had any experience. Although, therefore, I have the highest opinion of Pompey’s abilities for this service, I must prefer to his pretensions the public utility and the express declaration of the laws.

“ You annually elect consuls and pretors ; to what purpose ? to serve the state ? or to carry for a few months the ensigns of power ? If to serve the state, why name private persons with unprecedented commissions to perform what your magistrates are either fit to perform, or are not fit to have been elected ?

“ If there be any uncommon emergency that requires more than the ordinary exertions of government, the constitution has provided an expedient. You may name a dictator, whose authority is confined within the limits of Italy, where alone the vitals of the state can be exposed to any great or pressing attack ; and limited to six months, a sufficient period in which to remove the cause of any sudden alarm.

“ If you bestow unlimited power by sea and by land on a single man, in what manner is he to exercise his power ? Not by himself in person, for he cannot be everywhere present ; he must have lieutenants or substitutes who act under his orders. If so, then why may not those who are to act be officers named by you, and not by any intermediate person ; accountable to you, and not to another ; and in the dangers they run, animated with the prospect of honour to themselves, not to a person who is unnecessarily interposed between them and their country ? Gabinius proposes to

invest this officer with authority to name many lieutenants ; I pray you consider, whether these officers should depend upon any intermediate person, or upon yourselves alone ? and whether there be sufficient cause to suspend all the legal powers, and to supersede all the magistrates in the commonwealth, and all the governors of provinces in every part of your empire, in order to make war on pirates ?”

The audience revered, for a moment, the candour and ability of this eminent citizen, but could not withstand the arts of Pompey, and the tide of popularity which then ran so much in his favour. The debate was speedily closed, and, on collecting the votes, a decree was passed to vest Pompey with the supreme command over all the fleets and armies of the republic, in every sea without distinction or limit, and on every coast within four hundred stadia, or fifty miles of the shore. This commission took place in Italy, and extended throughout every province, during three years from the time of passing the edict.

Upon the publication of an edict investing an officer of such renown with so high powers for restoring the navigation of the seas, corn and every other article of importation at Rome, considerably fell in their price. The friends of Pompey already triumphed in the success of their measure, and he himself soon after, notwithstanding the meanness of the enemy opposed to him, gained much credit by the rapid, decisive, and effectual measures he took to obtain the end of his appointment. Although it was the middle of winter, a season too rough, even in the Mediterranean, for such shipping as was then in use, he gave orders to arm and put to sea as many vessels as could be collected on every part of the coast. In a little time he had returns of two hundred and seventy galleys fit for service, one hundred and twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse embodied on the coasts to which his command extended. That the pirates might be everywhere attacked at once, and find no refuge by changing their usual places of retreat, he divided the maritime parts of the empire into separate districts, appointed lieutenants with full powers in each, assigned their stations, and allotted their quotas of shipping and troops. He himself, with a squadron of sixty ships, proposed to visit every quarter, and to give his presence where it should be most required. He began with the coasts of Spain and Gaul, and the seas of Sardinia and Corsica ; and in passing from thence, while the fleet coasted round the peninsula of Italy, he himself went on shore, and travelled by land to meet them at Brundisium. In this journey, upon his approach to Rome, he enjoyed, in all respects, the state of a great

monarch ; and was courted by multitudes, who went forth to receive him.

The fleet being arrived at Brundisium, Pompey hastened to join it, and from thence passed by the stations of his several lieutenants in the seaports of Macedonia and Greece, to the coasts of Pamphylia and Cilicia, which were the principal resort of the pirates. Such of these banditti as he took in his way, were treated with mildness ; and this circumstance, together with the great preparations which were reported from every quarter to be making against them, with the small hopes they had of being able to escape, induced them, in great numbers, to surrender themselves.

By these means the war was finished about the middle of summer, six months after the nomination of Pompey to this command. In that time seventy-two galleys were sunk, three hundred and six were taken, and a hundred and twenty piratical harbours or strongholds on shore were destroyed. Ten thousand of the pirates were killed in action, and twenty thousand, who had surrendered themselves, remained prisoners at the end of the war. These Pompey, having sufficiently deprived of the means of returning to their former way of life, transplanted to different parts of the continent, where the late or present troubles, by thinning the inhabitants, had made room for them. Upon this occasion he re-peopled the city of Soli in Cilicia, which had been lately laid waste, and forcibly emptied of its inhabitants by Tigranes, to replenish his newly established capital of Tigranocerta in Armenia.

Whilst Pompey was thus employed in disposing of the pirates on the coast of Cilicia, he received a message from Lappa in the island of Crete, now besieged by Metellus, intimating that the people of this place, were willing to surrender to Pompey. This sort of preference was one of the temptations which Pompey was unable to resist ; he accordingly, without consulting with Metellus, sent an officer and received the surrender of Lappa.

Metellus nevertheless continued the siege, forced the town to surrender, and threatening to treat Pompey's officer as a rebel, obliged him to leave the island. The senate, without otherwise deciding the controversy which was likely to arise on this subject, afterwards acknowledged Metellus as the conqueror of Crete, and decreed him a triumph in that capacity.

The dispute, however, at this time might have led to disagreeable consequences, if Lucullus had not appeared to Pompey a more formidable rival in power and consideration than Metellus, and the war in Pontus and Armenia likely

to furnish a more ample field of glory than the destruction of pirates.

Acilius Glabrio, the proconsul appointed to succeed in the command of the Roman army there, hearing the bad state of affairs, stopped short in Bithynia, and even refused to furnish Lucullus with the reinforcements he had brought from Italy. In these circumstances the province of Asia, likely to become a principal source of revenue to the commonwealth, was in imminent danger of being wrested from their hands. The friends of Pompey seized the opportunity to obtain a farther enlargement of his powers. Manilius, one of the tribunes, moved the people to extend his commission to the provinces of Phrygia, Bithynia, Cappadocia, and Pontus; and of course to commit the war in Armenia and Pontus to his direction. This motion was strenuously opposed by Catulus, Hortensius, and all the principal members of the senate. It was supported by Marcus Tullius Cicero and by Caius Julius Cæsar, who both intended, on this occasion, to court the popular party, by espousing the cause of a person so much in favour with the people.

With such able advocates, in a cause to which the people were already so well disposed, the interest of Pompey could not miscarry; and an addition was accordingly made to his former commission, by which he became in reality sovereign of the fairest part of the empire. Upon the arrival of this news in Cilicia, where he then was, he affected surprise and displeasure. He however despatched his orders to all the provinces that were now subjected to his power; and, without passing his mandates through the hands of Lucullus, summoned Mithridates, then with an army of between thirty and forty thousand men on the frontier of Pontus, to surrender himself at discretion. This prince, being in expectation of a powerful support from Parthia, refused to listen to this imperious message, and prepared for a vigorous resistance.

Pompey set out for Pontus, and in his way had an interview with Lucullus, who was then in Galatia. They accosted each other at first with laboured expressions of respect and of compliment on their respective services, but ended with disputes and sharp altercations.

From this conference Pompey entered on the command with many indications of animosity to Lucullus; he acted in a manner which seemed to justify the suspicion of his having encouraged the late disorders, suffering them to pass with impunity; and treating with the usual confidence even the legions which had refused to obey the orders of

their general. Finding himself, however, at the head of numerous and well-affected forces, both by sea and by land, he lined the whole coast of the Egean and Euxine Sea with his galleys, and, at the head of a great army, advanced in search of the enemy.

Mithridates, upon the approach of Pompey, continued retiring before him towards the Lesser Armenia, laid waste the country through which the Roman army was to pass, and endeavoured to distress them by the want of provisions and forage.

For several days successively the armies encamped in sight of each other. Pompey endeavoured to force an engagement; Mithridates to avoid it. The Roman general at length, on a certain day, doubled his march, passed the enemy's camp at noonday unobserved, and was actually posted on their route, when they began to decamp, as usual, on the following night. In the encounter which followed, having all the advantages of a surprise, and in the dark, against an army on its march, and little accustomed to order, he gained a decisive victory, in which he cut off or dispersed all the forces on which the king of Pontus relied for the defence of his kingdom.

Mithridates escaped with a few attendants; and, in this extremity, proposed to throw himself again into the arms of Tigranes; but was refused by this prince, who was himself then attacked by a rebellion of his own son. Upon this disappointment he fled to the northward, passing by the sources of the Euphrates to the kingdom of Colchia, and from thence, by the eastern coasts of the Euxine, to the Scythian Bosphorus, now the straits of Cossa, in order to take refuge in the Chersonesus, or Crim Tartary, at Panticapæa, the capital of a kingdom which he himself had acquired, and which he had bestowed on Machares, one of his sons.

While Pompey was deliberating on the measures to be taken in these circumstances, he was invited by Tigranes, son to the king of Armenia, then in rebellion against his father, to enter with his army into that kingdom, and to give judgment on the differences subsisting between the father and the son.

In consequence of this invitation, Pompey marched into Armenia, joined the rebel prince, and, under pretence of supporting the son, was about to strip the father of his kingdom, when this monarch, with an excess of meanness, proportioned to the presumption with which he had enjoyed his prosperity, now resolved to cast himself entirely upon the victor's mercy. For this purpose he was admitted into

Pompey's presence ; and under pretence of reimbursing the expense of the war, a sum of six thousand talents, or about one million one hundred and twenty-eight thousand pounds sterling, was exacted from him. Sophene, or the Lesser Armenia, on the right of the Euphrates, was allotted to Tigranes the son, reserving Syria and Phœnicia, together with Cilicia and Galatia, to the disposal of the Romans.

Tigranes the father with great submission acquiesced in this partition ; but the son, being taken into custody, was carried into Italy, and made a part in the ornaments of the victor's triumph.

The Roman general now resumed the thoughts of pursuing Mithridates into his present retreat. For this purpose he left Afranius in Armenia, with a force sufficient to secure his rear, and to prevent any disturbance on this side of the Euphrates. He himself passed the Araxes, and wintered on the Cyrus, or the Cyrnus, on the confines of Albania and Iberia. In the following summer, having defeated the natives of those countries in repeated encounters, he advanced to the mouth of the Phasis, where he was joined by his fleet, then plying in the Euxine sea, under the command of Servilius. Here he deliberated, whether he should pursue Mithridates any farther ; and took his resolution to return, and to avail himself, in the best manner he was able, of the possessions which had been abandoned to him by the flight of the king. With this resolution he directed his march, by the coast, back into the kingdom of Pontus ; and, finding no resistance, took all his measures as in a conquered province.

From Pontus, Pompey set out for the kingdom of Syria, which he now determined to seize in behalf of the Romans. Lucullus had already, agreeably to the policy of his country, and under pretence of setting the Syrians free, separated their kingdom from the other possessions of Tigranes ; and was content with restoring it to Antiochus, the last pretender of the Macedonian line, who had lived eighteen years in the greatest obscurity in Cilicia. Pompey now proposed to complete the transaction, by seizing for the Romans themselves, what the other affected only to restore to the lawful owner.

On the march into Syria, Pompey received the submission of all the principalities or districts in his way, and made the following arrangements. The Lesser Armenia, once intended for Tigranes the son, he gave to Dejotarus, king of Galatia, who afterwards was long continued on the frontier of the empire as a faithful dependant, and with possessions which served as a barrier against hostile invasions

from that quarter. Paphlagonia was given to Attalus and Pylæmenes, who were likewise liberal tributaries to the Roman officers, and vigilant guards on the frontiers of the empire. Upon his arrival at Damascus, he had many applications from the late subjects or dependants of the Syrian monarchy ; among others, from Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, two brothers contending for the sovereignty of Judea, who now repaired to him for judgment, and requested the interposition of his power in behalf of the party he should be pleased to favour.

Of these rivals, who were the sons of Alexander, late high priest of the Jews, Hyrcanus the elder had succeeded to his mother Alexandra, whom the father had left his immediate successor in the throne ; but was dispossessed by his younger brother Aristobulus, who, being of a more active spirit, had formed a powerful faction among the people.

Pompey, on hearing the merits of the question between the two brothers, declared for Hyrcanus, and advanced towards Jerusalem, to execute the decree he had passed. Upon his approach he was again met by Aristobulus, who made fresh offers of submission, and of a public contribution in money ; and Pompey sent forward Gabinus to take possession of the place, in terms of this submission. But upon a report that the gates were still kept shut by the party of Aristobulus, who yet remained in his camp, he ordered this prince into confinement, and advanced with his army.

The citizens being divided, those who espoused the cause of Hyrcanus were willing to receive the Romans ; the others, who were attached to Aristobulus, retired into the temple, and broke down the bridge by which this edifice was joined to the streets, and made every other preparation to defend themselves to the last extremity.

The gates of the city, in the mean time, were thrown open by the party of Hyrcanus ; and the Romans being admitted, took possession of all the principal stations within the walls, and commenced the siege of the temple. This building had all the advantages of a citadel, built on a height, surrounded with natural precipices, or with a deep ditch, overhung with lofty battlements and towers.

The siege and defence were carried on with mutual obstinacy for upwards of two months. At length one of the towers of the temple was brought in ruin to the ground ; and Faustus, the son of Sylla, at the head of the division he commanded, entered the breach, made way for more numerous parties to follow, and covered the avenues and porches of the temple with the slain. The priests, who were even

then employed in the sacrifices, waited for the enemy with great composure, and, without discontinuing their duties, were slain at the altars. Numbers of the people threw themselves from the precipices; and others, setting fire to the booths in which they had lodged under the walls of the temple, were consumed in the flames. About twelve or thirteen thousand perished on this occasion.

Pompey, being master of the temple, and struck with the obstinate valour with which the people had devoted themselves to its preservation, was curious to see the interior recess. This place, into which no one was ever admitted besides the high priest, he supposed to contain the sacred emblems of that power who inspired his votaries with so ardent and so unconquerable a zeal. And he ventured, to the equal consternation and horror of his own party among the Jews, as of those who opposed him, to enter with his usual attendance into the Holy of Holies. He found it adorned with lamps, candlesticks, cups, vessels of incense, with their supports, all of solid gold, with a great collection of the richest perfumes and a sacred treasure of two thousand talents, or about three hundred and eighty-six thousand pounds sterling.

Having satisfied his curiosity, it is mentioned that he respected the religion of the place so much as to have left every part of this treasure untouched, and to have given directions that the temple itself should be purified, in order to expiate the profanation of which he himself had been guilty. He restored Hyrcanus to the priesthood or sovereignty of the kingdom, but charged him with a considerable tribute to the Romans, and at the same time stripped the nation of all those possessions or dependencies in Palestine and Celosyria, which had been acquired or held in subjection by their ancestors.

Pompey now recollecting that he had formerly carried his arms to the shores of the Atlantic, and to the boundaries of Numidia and of Spain; that he had recently penetrated to the coasts of the Euxine, and to the neighbourhood of the Caspian sea; to the end that he might not leave any part of the known world unexplored by his arms, now formed a project to finish this round of exploits, by visiting the shores of the Asiatic or Eastern ocean.

But while Pompey was employed in the settlement of Syria, in the reduction of Jerusalem, and meditating these farther conquests, Mithridates was busy in making preparations to renew the war. Having heard of the extremities to which the citizens of Rome had been frequently reduced by the invasion of the Gauls and of Hannibal, and by the

insurrections of their own subjects and slaves, he concluded that they were weakest at home, or might be attacked with the greatest advantage in Italy. He now therefore resumed a project which he had formerly proposed to Sertorius, of marching an army of Scythians by the Danube and the Alps. He visited all the princes in his neighbourhood, made alliances with them, and persuaded them, by the hopes of a plentiful spoil, to join with him in the project of invading Europe. He even despatched his agents into Gaul, to secure the co-operations of nations on that side of the world, and trusted that, on his appearance in Italy, many of the discontented inhabitants would join him as they had joined Hannibal; and that the slaves, so lately at open war with their masters, would likewise be a plentiful supply of recruits to his army.

These projects, however, appeared to his own nation too hazardous and vast. The people of Phanagoria, a town on the shore of the Bosphorus, opposite to the fortress at which the king now resided, together with the inhabitants of the country, pretending a variety of provocations, revolted against him; and the army, during his confinement from indisposition, losing the usual awe of his person, mutinied, and acknowledged Pharnaces, one of his sons, for king. They assembled round the fort in which Mithridates was lodged, and which he had garrisoned with a chosen body of men. When he appeared on the battlements, and desired to know their demands: "To exchange you," they said, "for Pharnaces; an old king for a young one." He desired, by repeated messages, to know whether he might have leave to depart in safety? But none of the messengers he sent with this question being suffered to return, he apprehended that there was a design to deliver him up into the hands of the Romans. Under this apprehension he had recourse to his last resort, a dose of poison. He dismissed, with expressions of kindness and gratitude, such of his attendants as still continued faithful to him; and being left with two of his daughters, who earnestly desired to die with their father, he allowed them to share in the draught, and saw them expire. But the portion which he had reserved for himself not being likely to overcome the vigour of his constitution, he ordered a faithful slave who attended him, to perform with his sword what was in those times accounted the highest proof, as it was the last act, of fidelity in a servant to his master.

Accounts of this event were brought to Pompey, while his army was encamped at the distance of some days' march from the capital of Judea, in his way to Arabia. Having now

accomplished the principal object of the war, he dropped his design on Arabia, and directed the march of his army towards Pontus. Here he received the submission of Pharnaces, and, with many other gifts, was presented with the embalmed corpse of the king. The whole army crowded to see it, examined the features and the scars, testifying, by these last effects of their curiosity, the respect which they entertained for this extraordinary man. He had, with short intervals, occupied the arms of the Romans during forty years; and, though he could not bring the natives of Asia to match with the Roman legions, yet he frequently, by the superiority of his own genius, stood firm in distress, or rose from misfortune with new and unexpected resources. He was tall, and of a vigorous constitution, addicted to women, and, though superior to every other sort of seduction, to this his ardent and impetuous spirit made him a frequent and an easy prey.

Pompey proceeded to settle the remainder of his conquests; and, besides the arrangements already mentioned, annexed the kingdom of Pontus to the province of Bithynia, gave the Bosphorus to Pharnaces, and put the province of Syria, extending to the frontier of Egypt, under the government of Scaurus.

Without entertaining any farther projects for the present, he set out with two legions on the route of Cilicia towards Italy, having Tigranes, son to the king of Armenia, together with Aristobulus, late usurper of the Jewish throne, with his family, two sons and two daughters, as captives to adorn his triumph.

CHAP. III.

Growing Corruption of the Roman Officers of State—The love of Consideration changed for Avarice, Rapacity, and Prodigality—Laws against Extortion—Catiline a Candidate for the consulship—Conspiracy with Autronius—Competition for the Consulate—Election of Cicero and Antonius—Condition of the Times—Agrarian Law of Rullus—Trial of Rabirius—Cabals of the Tribunes—Of Catiline—His Flight from the City—Discovery of his Accomplices—Their Execution.

ABOUT the time that Pompey obtained his commission to command with so extensive a power in the suppression of the pirates, the tide began to run high against the aristocratical party.* The populace, led by some of the tribunes,

* U. C. 685.

were ever ready to insult the authority of the senate; and the vices of particular men gave frequent advantages against the whole order of nobility. Corruption and dangerous faction prevailed at elections, and the preferments of state were generally coveted, as steps to the government of provinces, where fortunes were amassed by every species of abuse, oppression, and violence. Envy and indignation concurred in rousing the people against these abuses. Cornelius, one of the tribunes, proposed a severe law against bribery, by which persons convicted of this crime should be disqualified for any office of state. The senate wished to soften the rigour of this law, by limiting the penalty to a pecuniary fine; but the tribune prevailed, and obtained an act imposing the severer penalty. He likewise, by another decree of the people, attacked the discretionary jurisdiction of the pretors, obliged them to be more explicit in the edicts they published, and to observe them more exactly.

The crime of extortion in the provinces, however, was the greatest disgrace of the Romans. To have found an effectual remedy for this evil, would have done more honour to the commonwealth than they had derived from all their conquests. Severe laws were accordingly enacted, complaints were willingly received, and prosecutions encouraged.

Manilius, one of the tribunes of the people, in order to strengthen the inferior class of his constituents, had obtained by surprise an act, by which the citizens of slavish extraction were to be promiscuously enrolled in all the tribes. This act, having drawn upon him the resentment of the senate, compelled him to seek for security under the protection of Gabinus and Pompey. With this view he moved his famous act, in which Cicero concurred, to vest Pompey with the command in Asia. This motion procured him a powerful support, and, on some occasions, the general voice of the people in his favour.

At the election of consuls for the following year, L. Aurelius Cotta, and L. Manlius Torquatus, were declared duly elected.

About the same time L. Sergius Catilina, who was one of the most violent executioners of Sylla's proscriptions, having returned from Africa, where he had served in the capacity of pretor, and intending to stand for the consulate, was accused of extortion in his province, and stopped in his canvass by a prosecution raised on this account. In his rage for this disappointment, he was ripe for any disorder; and, being readily joined by Autronius and Piso, formed a conspiracy to assassinate their rivals, to massacre the senate, to seize the ensigns of power, and, with the aid of their fac-

tion, to lay hold of the government. Julius Cæsar and Crassus are mentioned as accomplices in this plot, and it is stated, that, Crassus having relented, the whole was disconcerted.

Catiline, having prevailed upon Clodius, by the consideration of a sum of money, to drop the prosecution, which had been intended against him, was left to offer himself a candidate for the consulate of the following year.

In the next consulate, Caius Julius Cæsar, at this time thirty-five years of age, entered on his career of popularity and ambition.* Being edile together with Marcus Bibulus, he not only concurred with his colleague in all the expensive shows that were given to the people, but gave separate entertainments on his own account. The multitudes of the gladiators he had assembled on this occasion gave an alarm to the magistracy, and he was ordered not to exceed a certain number. In the administration of his office as pretor, he raised prosecutions on a charge of assassination, against all those who had put any citizen to death in execution of Sylla's proscription.

What has most distinguished this consulate, however, is the competition of candidates for the succession to that office on the following year, and the consequences of the election which followed. The candidates were M. Tullius Cicero, C. Antonius, son of the late celebrated orator, L. Sergius Catilina, P. Sulpitius Galba, and L. Cassius Longinus, Quintus Cornificius, and Licinius Sacerdos.

Cicero was the first of his family who had ever resided, or enjoyed any honours, at Rome. He was a native of Arpinum, a country town of Italy, and was considered as an obscure person by those who were descended of ancient families, but had great consideration on account of his eloquence and the consequences of it, to all such as had any interests at stake before the tribunals of justice. He was like other ambitious men at Rome, disposed to court every party, and willing to gain individuals; and had of late, in particular, considerably strengthened his interest, by having supported the pretensions of Pompey, and by having joined the popular tribunes, in what they proposed in behalf of that officer.

In the course of this competition for the consulship, Antonius and Catiline joined interests together, and spared no kind or degree of corruption. Cicero complained of their practices in the senate, and moved to revive the law of Calpurnius against bribery, with an additional penalty of

ten years' banishment. Catiline considered this measure as levelled against himself; and incited by this provocation, as well as by the animosity of a rival, was then supposed to have formed a design against Cicero's life, and to have expressed himself to this purpose, in terms that gave a general alarm to the electors, and determined great numbers against himself. He had drawn to his interests many persons of infamous character and desperate fortune, many youths of good family, whom he debauched or encouraged in their profligacy, and his language, at their meetings, was full of indignation at the unequal and supposed unjust distribution of fortune and power.

In the mean time, Catiline was considered as a person of the most dangerous designs, and was opposed in his election by all who had any regard to public order, or to the safety of the commonwealth. Cicero, at the same time, being supported by the senate, was elected, together with Caius Antonius. The latter stood candidate upon the same interest with Catiline, and was preferred to him only by a small majority.

By this event the designs of Catiline were supposed to be frustrated; but the consuls were not likely to enter on a quiet administration.* The tribunitian power, from the time of its restoration, was gradually recovering its force, and extending its operations. Every person that could give any public disturbance, that could annoy the senate, or mortify any of its leading members; every one that had views of ambition adverse to the laws, or who wished to take part in scenes of confusion and tumult; every person oppressed with debt, who wished to defraud his creditors; every person who, by his profligacy or crimes, was at variance with the tribunals of justice, was comprehended under the general denomination of the popular party. The Roman people had once been divided into patrician and plebeian, next into noblemen and commoners; but now they took sides with little regard to former distinctions against or for the preservation of public order.

One of the tribunes of the present year, Servilius Rullus, soon after his admission into office, under pretence of providing settlements for many of the citizens, promulgated the heads of an agrarian law, which he carried to the senate. He moved the conscript fathers, that they would be pleased to give it the sanction of their approbation and authority in being carried to the people. Upon this occasion, Cicero made his first speech in the character of consul.

* U. C. 690.

The former part of it is lost ; the remainder may be reckoned among the highest specimens of his eloquence. In this and the two speeches he delivered to the people, on the same subject, he painted in such lively colours the abuses which might be committed by Rullus, and by his associates in enforcing the proposed law ; and so exposed the impudence of the cheat, by which it was proposed to surprise the people into the granting of such powers, the absurdity and the ruinous tendency of the whole measure, that it was instantly rejected, and its author hissed from the assembly, and treated as an object of ridicule and scorn.

There happened under the same consulate a business of greater difficulty, being a motion to restore the sons of the proscribed to the privilege of being chosen into the offices of state, of which they had been deprived by an ordinance of Sylla. Their fate was undoubtedly calamitous and severe. But Cicero, apprehending that this proposal tended to arm and to strengthen persons, who, from long use, had contracted a habitual disaffection to the established government, powerfully opposed the motion, and succeeded in having it rejected.

Though the orations on the two subjects last mentioned have perished, great part of that which he spoke on the trial of C. Rabirius still remains. This man, of a great age, a respectable senator, at the distance of six-and-thirty years, was brought to trial as an accomplice in the death of Apuleius Saturninus, the factious tribune, who was put to death as a public enemy.

Titus Atius Labienus, one of the tribunes, was the declared prosecutor of C. Rabirius ; but historians agree, that this tribune acted at the instigation, and under the direction, of C. Julius Cæsar. The intention of the popular party was, to deter every person from acting in support of the senate, or from opposing force to the designs of factious tribunes, however turbulent or dangerous.

The senate, and all the friends of government, were greatly alarmed, and united in defence of Rabirius. The popular party took the opposite side.

The prosecutor laid his charge for treason of the most heinous kind, and destined the accused to die on the cross, the ordinary manner of executing the sentence of death on the slaves. The accusation was first brought before the pretor, who possessed the ordinary jurisdiction in such cases. This magistrate empaneled two judges, who were to determine in this mighty cause. These were Caius Julius and Lucius Cæsar. At this court the defendant was condemned ; and the sentence must have been executed, if

the condemned had not fled, by appeal, to the judgment of the people, where indeed his cause might be reckoned more desperate than if it had been before a select court. The parties attended this trial with great ardour. Hortensius conducted the appeal and defence. Cicero pleaded in behalf of justice and government; painted the age, the infirmities, the forlorn state of the defendant, who had survived his relations and his friends. He pointed out the danger to government and to order from this precedent, in terms that must have melted every heart, not callous from ambition, faction, or profligacy of manners: but in vain. Even in the assembly of the centuries, the majority was hastening to affirm the sentence, when Q. Cæcilius Metellus Celer, then pretor, and one of the augurs, hastened to the Janiculum, and tore down the ensign which was planted there as a sign of peace. A silly piece of superstition stopped the proceedings of those whom neither justice nor compassion, nor regard to government, could restrain.

It was established, that the assembly of the centuries could not proceed without this signal in view. In the first ages of Rome, the enemy were always at the gate. While the people were assembled in the field on one side of the city, they were in danger of being assailed on the other. When they assembled, therefore, in the field of Mars, a guard was always posted on the Janiculum, and an ensign displayed. If any enemy appeared, the ensign was taken down, the assembly dismissed, and the people took to their arms. This ceremony, like many other customs both of superstition and law, remained after the occasion had ceased; and it was held illegal or impious in the people to proceed in any affair without the ensign in view. By this means the trial was put off, and the tribune Labienus laid aside all thoughts of renewing the prosecution.

Among the several disturbers of the public peace, none was more desperate, nor supposed more dangerous, than Catiline, the late disappointed candidate for the consulship. His rival Cicero had intimation, before the elections, of a design formed by this desperate faction against his own person, and still continued to observe them. He entered into a correspondence with Fulvia, a woman of rank, who had given the first hints of a dangerous conspiracy; and, by means of this woman, procured the confidence of Curius, who gave him minute information of all the proceedings of the party.

In public, Catiline again professed himself a candidate for the office of consul, in competition with Servius Sulpicius, P. Muraena, and J. Silanus. He boasted of support from

Antonius; but Cicero, to divert his colleague from this dangerous connexion, made him every concession.

In secret, Catiline encouraged his adherents by professing to have many resources, and to be supported by numbers who were ready to take arms at his command. In a numerous meeting of his party in October, a few days before the consular elections, he opened the whole of his designs; and Cicero, who had frequently taxed Catiline with such designs, now determined to lay the whole of his intelligence before the senate; for this purpose deferring the consular elections, which were to have been held on the eighteenth of October, to a future day, and assembling the senate. Catiline having, with the other members, attended, and hearing the charge, did not pretend to deny or to palliate his words. "There are," he said, "in this republic two parties; one weak both in its members and head; the other strong in its members, but wanting a head: while I have the honour of being supported by this party, it shall have a head." Upon these words, a general cry of indignation arose in the senate; but no resolution was taken. Many, who were there present as members, were pleased to see the senate itself insulted; and Catiline, as if in condition to brave all his enemies, was, in all his expressions, equally unguarded in the streets and in the senate.

A prosecution was actually raised against him in the name of Lucius Paulus, a young man of distinction, for carrying arms against the public peace. On this occasion, however, he thought proper to dissemble his thoughts, and offered to commit his person to custody till his innocence should appear.

By one effect of the unparalleled freedom now enjoyed by Roman citizens, persons accused of the most dangerous crimes were at liberty, during the dependence of their trial, either to proceed in perpetrating their crime, or to withdraw from justice. This effect was derived from the laws of Valerius and Porcius, which secured against violence or the power of the magistrate, the person of every citizen, until he were finally condemned by the people.

Catiline, soon after the elections, at which, by the preference given to Muræna and Silanus, he received a fresh disappointment in his hopes of the consulship, sent Mallius, or Manlius, an experienced soldier, who had served with himself under Sylla, to prepare for an insurrection in the district of Etruria, where he assembled a considerable body of men.

Catiline meanwhile remained in the city, and had frequent consultations for the preparation and the execution

of his plot. At a meeting of the party, held in the beginning of November, in the house of M. Porcius Lecca, a general massacre of the principal senators was projected. The conspirators severally chose their stations, and undertook their several parts. Two in particular, who were familiar in Cicero's house, undertook next morning, under pretence of a visit, to surprise and assassinate the consul. But he being the same night apprized of his danger by Fulvia, gave the proper orders; and the intended murderers, upon their appearance at his door, were refused admittance. He immediately after assembled the senate in the temple of Jupiter. Catiline presented himself with his usual presumption; and Cicero, as appears from an oration which he then delivered, instead of laying the matter in form before the senate, accosted Catiline in a vehement invective, urging him to be gone from the city, where all his steps were minutely observed, where his meaning was understood, and precautions taken against all his designs.

Catiline rose and attempted to vindicate his character, but was silenced with a general cry of indignation; upon which he left the senate; and, after concerting farther measures with those of his party, not thinking that a longer stay in the city could be of any use to his affairs, he withdrew in the night for the camp of Mallius, and entered into a state of open war. The features of this man's portrait are probably exaggerated by the vehement pencils and lively colourings of Cicero and of Sallust. He is represented as able to endure hardships of any kind, and as fearless in any danger; as, from his youth, fond of discord, assassinations, and bloodshed; as having, under pretence of Sylla's proscription, murdered his own brother to possess his estate; as having murdered his own child, to remove the objection made to him by a woman who refused to marry him with the prospect of being a step-mother. He is represented as rapacious, prodigal, gloomy, impetuous, unquiet, dissembling, and perfidious; a description, of which the horrors are probably amplified: but for which it cannot be doubted there was much foundation.

In this state of affairs, the ambassadors of the Allobroges, a people then inhabiting what is now called the territory of Geneva, and part of Savoy, were apprehended having in their possession documents showing the prime agents and workings of the conspiracy.

The consul sent messages to Gabinius, Statilius, Cethegus, and Lentulus, the agents of Catiline in the city, desiring to see them at his own house. The three former came with the messenger; but Lentulus was newly gone to bed,

and, by his delay, gave some cause to suspect that he was aware of his danger. He too, however, came; and the house of Cicero was presently crowded, not only with numbers of the equestrian order that were in arms for the defence of his person, but likewise with many senators whom he desired to be present. The ambassadors of the Allobroges, now prisoners, were likewise conducted thither, and the letters found upon them were produced unopened. Cicero gave orders to assemble the senate without delay, in order to lay the whole matter before them; and the senate was accordingly called. Meantime the Allobroges dropped some expressions which implied, that arms were concealed in the house of Cethegus. This occasioned a search being there made, and a considerable quantity of daggers and swords were accordingly found.

At the meeting of the senate, the deputies of the Allobroges acknowledged, that they had been charged by Lentulus, Cethegus, Statilius, and Cassius, with assurances of support to the council of their nation, confirmed by oath, accompanied with directions, without delay, to march a body of horse into Italy, where they should be joined by a numerous infantry, and receive proper directions in what manner they should farther proceed; that, to encourage them Lentulus quoted a prophecy, found in the collection of the Sybils, by which he himself was pointed out as the third of the Cornelii destined to arrive at the sovereignty of Rome.

The supposed conspirators were next called in their turns; and the letters, with the seals unbroken, were exhibited before them. Cethegus, persisted in denying his knowledge of any conspiracy. Lentulus at first with great confidence, denied the charge; but during an examination he forgot his disguise, and confessed: Gabinius too was at last brought to own his guilt; and in this manner the conspiracy was fully laid open.

A proclamation was issued to apprehend M. Cæparius, who had been sent to raise an insurrection in Apulia, together with P. Furius, Magius Chilo, and P. Umbrenus, who had first introduced the Gaulish ambassadors to Gabinius. The senate voted thanks to the consul Cicero for his great vigilance, and for the consummate ability he had shown in the discovery and suppression of this treasonable design; to the pretors, for the faithful execution of the consul's orders; and to Antonius, his colleague, for having detached himself from men with whom he was known to have been formerly connected. A public thanksgiving to the gods was likewise decreed.

An assembly of the people being called, Cicero gave this

account of the proceedings in a speech which is still extant, and early on the following day assembled the senate to deliberate on the farther resolutions to be taken with respect to the prisoners. An agent had been busy in the night to raise some disturbance in favour of Lentulus ; but the design of setting fire to the city struck the people in general with so much horror, that citizens of every rank came forth to strengthen the hands of the magistrates.

When the senate met, the members differed in their judgment ; and after a long discussion, in which C. Julius Cesar, Cato, and Cicero took part, passed sentence of death against the prisoners. Their execution was accordingly determined, and Cornelius Lentulus, in the beginning of the following night, was, by order of the consul, committed to a vaulted dungeon under ground, and strangled. His accomplices had the same fate ; and the minds of men, though somewhat quieted of their fears, were nevertheless stunned with the scene, and beheld with amazement a patrician of the Cornelian family, of the first rank in the commonwealth, who himself had been consul, suffering, without any formal trial, by the hands of the common executioner of justice.

While these things were in agitation at Rome, Catiline was endeavouring to augment his force in the field. He found about two thousand men under Mallius. These he formed into two legions, and as his party increased he completed their numbers ; endeavoured to gain time, in hopes that, the intended blow being struck at Rome, a general defection of the opposite party would ensue. But when accounts came that his design had failed in the city, and that his principal associates were no more, those who were inclined to his cause were discouraged, and numbers who had already joined him began to fall off, he determined to remove to a distance from his enemies ; and for this purpose directed his march to a pass in the Apennines, by which he might escape into Gaul. This design the Pretor Metellus had foreseen, made a forced march to prevent the effecting of it, and Catiline at last, finding himself beset on every quarter determined to hazard a battle. Of the armies that were in the field against him he chose to face that of Antonius ; Antonius, being taken ill, had left the army under the command of Petreius. With this commander Catiline engaged in battle, and after many efforts of valour and of conduct, fell with the greater part of his followers, and thus delivered the state from a desperate enemy, whose power was happily not equal to his designs, and who has owed much of his celebrity to the orator and the historian, who have made him the subject of their eloquent compositions.

CHAP. IV.

Character of the Times—Philosophy—Opposite Tenets and Volaries—Proceedings of the senate—Tribunate of Metellus Nepos, and of Cato—Proposal to recall Pompey at the head of his army frustrated—His arrival in Italy—And Triumph.

It may appear strange, that any age or nation should have furnished the example of a project conceived in so much guilt, or of characters so atrocious as those under which the accomplices of Catiline are described by the eloquent orator and historian, from whose writings the circumstances of the late conspiracy are collected. The scene, however, in this republic was such as to have no parallel, either in the past or in the subsequent history of mankind. There was less government, and more to be governed, than has been exhibited in any other instance. The people of Italy were become masters of the known world; it was impossible they could ever meet in a fair and adequate convention. They were represented by partial meetings or occasional tumults in the city of Rome; and to take the sense of the people on any subject was to raise a riot. Individuals were vested with powers almost discretionary in the provinces, or continually aspired to such situations. The public interests and the order of the state were in perpetual struggle with the pretensions of single and of profligate men.

Among the causes that helped to carry the characters of men in this age to distant extremes, may be reckoned the philosophy of the Greeks, which was lately come into fashion, and which was much affected by the higher ranks of men in the state. Philosophy was considered as an ornament, as well as a real foundation of strength, ability, and wisdom in the practice of life. Men of the world embraced their forms in philosophy, as the sectaries in modern times have embraced theirs in religion; and probably in the one case honoured their choice by the sincerity of their faith and the regularity of their practice, much in the same degree as they have done in the other.

In these latter times of the Roman republic the sect of Epicurus appears to have prevailed. Men were gluttoned with national prosperity; they thought that they were born to enjoy what their fathers had won, and saw not the use of those austere and arduous virtues by which the state had increased to its present greatness. The votaries of this sect ascribed the formation of the world to chance, and denied the existence of Providence. They resolved the

distinctions of right and wrong, of honour and dishonour into mere appellations of pleasure and pain. Every man's pleasure was to himself the supreme rule of estimation and of action. All good was private. The public was a mere imposture, that might be successfully employed, perhaps to defraud the ignorant of their private enjoyments, while it furnished the conveniences of the wise.

Other sects, particularly that of the Stoics, maintained, almost in every particular, the reverse of these tenets. They maintained the reality of Providence and of a common interest of goodness and of justice, for which Providence was exerted, and in which all rational creatures were deeply concerned. They allowed, that in the nature of things there are many grounds upon which we prefer or reject the objects that present themselves to us, but that the choice which we make, not the event of our efforts, decides our happiness or our misery; that right and wrong are the most important and the only grounds upon which we can at all times safely proceed in our choice, and that, in comparison to this difference, every thing else is of no account; that a just man will ever act as if there was nothing good but what is right, and nothing evil but what is wrong; that the love of excellence and honour was aspiring and noble, and led to the greatest exertions and the highest attainments of our nature.

Other sects affected to find a middle way between these extremes, and attempted, in speculation, to render their doctrines more plausible; that is, more agreeable to common opinions than either; but were, in fact, of no farther moment in human life than as they approached to the one or to the other of these opposite systems.

Cesar is said to have embraced the doctrines of Epicurus; Cato those of Zeno. The first, in compliance with fashion, or from the bias of an original temper. The other, from the force of conviction, as well as from the predilection of a warm and ingenuous mind. When such characters occur together, it is impossible not to see them in contrast. Cato was distinguished from his infancy by an ardent and affectionate disposition. He had from his infancy, according to Plutarch, a resolution, a steadiness, and a composure of mind not to be moved by flattery, nor to be shaken by threats. Without fawning or insinuation, he was the favourite of his companions, and had, by his unaffected generosity and courage, the principal place in their confidence. Though in appearance stern and inflexible, he was warm in his affections, and zealous in the cause of innocence and justice. He became a striking contrast to many of his

contemporaries ; and to Cesar in particular, not only a contrast, but a resolute opponent ; and though he could not furnish a sufficient counterpoise, yet he afforded always much weight to be thrown into the opposite scale. They were both of undaunted courage, and of great penetration ; the one to distinguish what was best ; the other to distinguish the most effectual means for the attainment of any end on which he was bent. It were to mistake entirely the scene in which they were engaged, to judge of their abilities from the event of their different pursuits. Those of Cato were by their nature a series of struggles with almost insurmountable difficulties : those of Cesar a constant endeavour to seize the advantages of which the vices and weaknesses of the age, except when he was resisted by persons bent on the same purpose with himself, gave him an easy possession. Cato endeavoured to preserve the order of civil government, however desperate, because this was the part it became him to act, and in which he chose to live and to die. Cesar proposed to overturn it ; because he wished to dispose of all the wealth and honours of the state at his own pleasure.

Cesar, as versatile in his genius, as Cato was steady and inflexible, could personate any character, and support any cause ; in debate he could derive his arguments from any topic ; from topics of pity, of which he was insensible ; from topics of justice and public good, for which he had no regard. His vigour in resisting personal insults and wrongs appeared in his early youth, when he withstood the imperious commands of Sylla to part with his wife, the daughter of Cinna, and when he revenged the insults offered by the pirates to himself ; but while his temper might be supposed the most animated and warm, he was not involved in business by a predilection for any of the interests on which the state was divided. So long as the appetites of youth were sufficient to occupy him, he saw every object of state, or of faction, with indifference, and took no part in public affairs. But even in this period, by his application and genius, in both of which he was eminent, he made a distinguished progress in letters and eloquence.

Cesar had attained to seven-and-thirty years of age before he took any part as a member of the commonwealth. He then courted the populace in preference to the senate or better sort of the people, and made his appearance in support of the profligate, against the order and authority of government. With persons of desperate fortune and abandoned manners, he early bore the character of liberality and friendship. They received him as a generous patron

come to rescue them from the morose severity of those who judged of public merits by the standard of public virtue, and who declared against practices, however fashionable, which were inconsistent with public safety. When he emerged from the avocations of pleasure, or from the sloth which accompanies the languor of dissipation, his ambition or desire to counteract the established government of his country, and to make himself master of the commonwealth, became extreme. To this passion he sacrificed every sentiment of friendship or animosity, of honour, interest, resentment, or hatred.

Cato began his military service in the army that was formed against the gladiators, and concluded it as a legionary tribune, under the pretor Rubrius in Macedonia, while Pompey remained in Syria. He was about three-and-thirty years of age when he made his speech relating to the accomplices of Catiline; and by the decisive and resolute spirit he had shown on this occasion, came to be considered as a principal support of the aristocracy, or of the authority of the senate. To this body, as usual, every flagrant disorder repressed was a victory. The discovery of a design so odious as that of Catiline, covered under popular pretences, greatly weakened their antagonists. One of the first uses they proposed to make of their advantage, was to have Cato elected among the tribunes of the subsequent year. The leading men of the senate were now, for some time, aware of the intrigues of Pompey, and bore, with indignation, the personal superiority which he affected even to the first and most respected of their order. They took occasion, in the present crisis, to mortify him by admitting Lucullus and Metellus Creticus to the triumphs to which, by their victories in Pontus and in Crete, they were long entitled. Hitherto their claims had been overruled by the popular faction, either to annoy the senatorian party, to which they were attached, or to flatter Pompey, who was supposed to be equally averse to the honours of both. They had waited in Italy about three years, and, in the manner of those who sue for a triumph, had abstained from entering the city, and still retained the fasces or ensigns of their late command.

Lucullus, having obtained the honour that was due to him, seemed to be satisfied with the acknowledgment of his right; and, as if merely to show with what sort of enemy he had fought, he entered the city with a few of the Armenian horsemen cased in armour, a few of the armed chariots winged with scythes, and about sixty of the officers and courtiers of Mithridates, who were his captives. He

ordered the spoils he had gained, the arms and ensigns of war, the prows of the galleys he had taken, to be displayed to public view in the great circus, and concluded the solemnity with giving a feast to the people. The senate hoped for his support against the ambition of Pompey, and the factious designs of the popular leaders; but he was disgusted, and scarcely ever after took any part in the affairs of state.

The triumph of Metellus Creticus did not take place till after the accession of the following consuls, P. Junius Silanus and Lucius Muraena, after whose election, Cicero, about to resign his power with the usual asseveration, upon oath, that he had faithfully, and to the best of his abilities, discharged his trust; instead of swearing simply, that he had been faithful to his trust, he took an oath that he had preserved the republic. It was on this occasion, probably, that Cato, now a tribune, in a speech to the people, alluding to the suppression of the late conspiracy, called Cicero the father of his country.

Soon after the accession of the new magistrates, a storm began to gather, which, though still aimed at the party of the senate, burst at last in a personal attack upon the late consul who had been the author or instrument of the senate in the summary proceedings against the accomplices of Catiline.* Metellus Nepos, lately entered on the office of tribune, moved in the senate, as had been usual in the times of its highest authority, for leave to propose a decree in the assembly of the people recalling Pompey from Asia at the head of his forces, in order to restore the constitution of the commonwealth, which, he alleged, had been violated by the arbitrary administration of Cicero. This was the first attempt of the popular party to inflame the minds of the people on the subject of the late executions; and Pompey was, in this manner, offered to the popular party as their leader to avenge the supposed wrongs they had received. Cato, when the matter was proposed in the senate, endeavoured to persuade Metellus to drop it, reminded him of the dignity of his family, which had been always a principal ornament and support to the state. This treatment served only to raise the presumption of Metellus, and brought on a violent altercation between the tribunes. The senate applauded Cato, but had not authority enough to prevent the motion which was proposed from being made to the people.

Metellus, apprehending an obstinate resistance from his

* U. C. 691.

colleague, endeavoured to fill the place of assembly with his own partisans; and, on the evening before the meeting, in order to intimidate his opponents, paraded in the streets with a numerous attendance of men in arms. On the following day, this party being again assembled by Metellus, at the temple of Castor, and the place having been in the night occupied by persons under his direction, armed with sticks, swords, and other offensive weapons, Cato went forth attended only by Minucius Thermus, another of the tribunes, and a few friends. When they came to the bench of tribunes, they found that Metellus, with the pretor Julius Cesar, had taken their places there; and that, in order to concert their operations in the conduct of this affair, they were closely seated together. Cato, to disappoint this intention, forced himself in betwixt them, and, when the ordinary officer, began to read the intended decree, interposed his negative, and forbade him to proceed. Metellus himself seized the writing, and began to read; but Cato snatched it out of his hands. Metellus endeavoured to repeat the substance of it from his memory. Thermus clapped his hand to his mouth. A general silence reigned in the assembly, till Metellus, having made a signal for his party to clear the comitium of their enemies, a great tumult and confusion arose; and the tribunes who opposed Metellus were in imminent danger. The senators had met in mourning, to mark their sense of the evils which threatened the commonwealth; and now gave a charge to the consuls to watch over the safety of the state.

In consequence of this charge, the consul Muræna appeared with a body of men in arms, and had the good fortune to rescue Cato; and Thermus Metellus abandoned the city, even left Italy, and fled to the camp of Pompey in Asia, from which he was lately arrived. Pompey was, at this conjuncture, with his army moving towards Italy, and his coming was matter of great solicitude to the friends of the commonwealth, who feared that, in return to the affront of his not being invited to come with his army, upon the motion of Metellus, he would employ it in person to enforce his commands. Upon his arrival at Brundisium, however, as formerly upon his return from Africa, he dispelled those fears by an immediate dismissal of the troops, with instructions, merely that they would attend at his triumph. He himself came forward to Rome with the single equipage of his proconsular rank. Multitudes of every condition went forth to receive him, and with shouts and acclamations recompensed the moderation with which he acquiesced in the condition of a citizen.

It was probably during this year in which Cesar was pretor, that Cesar promoted prosecutions upon a charge of assassination against some persons concerned in the execution of Sylla's proscriptions. While he seemed to have formed so many designs against the peace of the commonwealth, and in the capacity of pretor supported them with the authority of a magistrate, the senatorian party made a powerful exertion of their influence to have him suspended, and actually obtained a decree for this purpose. He affected at first to slight their authority; but finding that a power was preparing to enforce it, he abstained from the functions of his office, until, having rejected an offer of the people to restore him by force, he was, with proper marks of regard, for this instance of moderation, reinstated by an act of the senate.

The aristocratical party, at the same time, to confirm and perpetuate the evidence on which they proceeded against the accomplices of Catiline, continued their prosecutions on this subject; and Crassus and Cesar were accused as accessory to his conspiracy. But the whole of these proceedings were suspended by the approach of Pompey. This leader had now drawn the attention of all men upon himself, was quoted in every harangue as the great support of the empire, and courted by multitudes, who, without inquiry, affected to be classed with his admirers and friends, the contagion spreading like a fashion among the vulgar of every description. Having previously sent Piso, one of his lieutenants, before him to stand for the consulate, he had the presumption to desire that the senate would defer the elections until he himself could be present to canvass for his friend. Piso, however, was elected together with Valerius Messala, and entered on his office before the triumph of Pompey.

This solemnity followed soon after; and, though continued for two days, could not make place for all the magnificent shows that had been provided for it.* The list of conquests exceeded that which had ever been produced at any other triumph. Asia, Pontus, Armenia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Media, Colchis, Iberia, Albania, Syria, Cilicia, Mesopotamia, Phœnicia, Judea, Arabia, Scythia, Crete, with the sea in all its coasts. Among the people or potentates subdued, were the Bastarnæ, Mithridates, and Tigranes. Among the captures, a thousand fortresses, nine hundred cities reduced, eight hundred galleys taken, and above two millions of men in captivity. Towns repeo-

* U. C. 692.

repeopled, not less than three hundred and ninety-nine. To this pompous list, it was subjoined by his friends, that, this being his third triumph, he had been round the known world, and had triumphed over all the three parts of the earth, Africa, Europe, and Asia.

After rewarding the soldiers, of whom none received less than fifteen hundred denarii,* he carried to the treasury twenty thousand talents.† He led, among his principal captives, besides the chief pirates, Tigranes, son to the king of Armenia, with his wife and his daughter,—Zozimé, the queen of Tigranes,—the father Aristobulus, king of the Jews,—a sister of Mithridates with five sons, and some Scythian women;—the hostages of the Iberi, and the Commageni, together with trophies for every battle he had fought, making in all a more splendid exhibition than any that was to be found on the records of the state.

In these solemnities, executed for the honour of Pompey, were admitted whatever could distinguish or signalize the occasion. Among these, there were many costly ornaments of gold and of precious stones, which were fabricated on purpose to be shown; and the whole conducted with more arrangement and order, than were necessary, perhaps, in the disposition of any of the battles which the triumph was intended to celebrate. Among the images, representations, and memorials which were carried before the victor on this occasion, there was held up to view a state of the public revenue, from which it appeared, that, before Pompey's time it amounted to no more than fifty millions;‡ and that the addition which he alone brought to it amounted to eighty-five millions.¶

CHAP. V.

Transactions at Rome, and in the Provinces—Julius Cesar appointed in the quality of Propretor to his first Province of Lusitania—Trial of Clodius—Proposed Adoption into a Plebeian Family to qualify him for the Office of Tribune—Cesar, a Candidate for the Consulship—The Triumvirate of Cesar, Pompey, and Crassus—Consulship of Cesar—Motion of Valinius, to confer on Cesar, for five years, the Command in Gaul—Marriage of Pompey to Julia—Of Cesar to Calpurnia—Consulate of Lucius Calpurnius and A. Gabinus—Attack made upon Cicero by Clodius—His Exile.

POMPEY, at his departure from Syria, left that province

* About 50*l*.

† About 3,860,000*l*.

‡ 416,666*l*.

¶ 708,333*l*.

with two legions under the command of Æmilius Scaurus, one of his lieutenants. This officer occupied the country from the Euphrates to the frontier of Egypt, and continued the war which his predecessor had begun with the Arabs.

Caius Antonius, the late colleague of Cicero in the consulate, soon after the defeat of Catiline, proceeded to the province of Macedonia, of which, by the arrangements of the year, he had been appointed governor. He entered his province with the ensigns of victory, which had been obtained by the defeat of Catiline; but these he soon forfeited by his misconduct in a war against the Thracians, and by the disgrace which he otherwise incurred for the mal-administration of his province.

The Allobroges, though deprived of the support they were made to expect from the party of Catiline, nevertheless took arms, and invaded the Roman province of Gaul. After a variety of events, they were repulsed by Pontinius, who then commanded the Roman forces in that quarter, and forced to retire into their own country.

About the same time, Caius Julius Cesar, upon the expiration of his term in the office of pretor, obtained his first military command, receiving by lot the government of Lusitania, where, under different pretences, he found an opportunity to quarrel with the natives, to show his capacity for war, and to lay some ground for his claim to a triumph. In pushing his way to the preferments which he now held in the state, he had ruined his fortune by largesses, public shows, and entertainments to the people, by his lavish bounty in private to needy and profligate citizens, and in supporting every desperate cause against the senate and the government; and is reported to have said of himself, that he needed one hundred and fifty millions Roman money, or one million two hundred thousand pounds sterling, to be worth nothing.

A person, who, in any other state than that of Rome, could suppose such a fortune reparable, must have thought of means alarming to the state itself; but Cesar had now quitted the paths of pleasure for those of ambition; and, in an empire which extended over so many opulent provinces, could easily proportion his wealth to the extent of his power. Although the province into which he was then sent was none of the richest, and was only a step to somewhat farther, more considerable, and more likely to supply him with the means of pursuing the objects of his ambition, he was nevertheless reported to have supplied his own wants, and to have enriched his army.

In passing the Alps, on his way into Spain, at a village

on the way, one of his company observed, that "Here too there are probably parties and contests for power." "Ay," said Cesar, "and I would rather be the first man in this place than the second at Rome." Upon his arrival in Lusitania, he made the necessary augmentation of the army, and soon overran all the districts that were disposed to resist his authority. With the same ability with which he conducted his military operations, he supported the dignity of a Roman governor, no less in the civil than in the military department.

While these things passed in the provinces, the city was occupied with ordinary affairs, and suffered an increase of the political distempers with which the public had been for some time infected. The expense and dissipation attending the public shows, in particular, were augmented to a great degree.

About the same time happened the memorable trial of Publius Clodius, for the scandal he had given by profaning the sacred rites in Cesar's house. It fell to the lot of Pompeia, as being wife to one of the pretors in office, to celebrate, at her house, the festival of a certain female deity* worshipped by the Romans; and at whose rites women alone were admitted. Clodius took this opportunity to carry on his intrigue; and put himself in a female dress, expecting to pass for a woman; but his voice betrayed him. A cry of amazement and horror was immediately raised, communicated through all the apartments, and the occasion of it discovered to the matrons, who were met to celebrate the rites. Clodius escaped, but not without being known. The college of pontiffs made a report, that the sacred rites had been profaned; and the senate ordered the trial of the accused.

Clodius, by his profligacy, had incurred a general detestation; and many of the senators combined, as the likeliest way of removing him from the commonwealth, in urging the prosecution against him.

He himself, foreseeing this storm, had taken refuge in the popular party, and endeavoured to silence the voice of infamy, by professing extraordinary zeal for the people and vehement opposition to the senate. These parties accordingly became interested in the issue of his cause.

At length the trial came on. Hortensius, who conducted the trial, was confident that no jury could acquit the accused; but the majority suffered themselves to be corrupted, and took money in the course of the trial; so that

* Called the *Bona Dea*.

of fifty-six judges that were enclosed, twenty-five gave their voice to condemn, and thirty-one to acquit.

Pompey, in the course of this transaction, had been obliged to declare himself for the senate; but his object was to be on good terms with all parties, and to manage his interest, by having some of his creatures always chosen into the highest offices of state. He offered, as candidate for the consulate of the following year, Afranius, one of his dependants, who is represented by Cicero as a person of mean character, and who, having no personal dignity, nor any credit with the people, was supported in his canvass by money alone. Afranius was elected, together with Q. Cecilius Metellus Celer.

Upon the accession of the new consuls, several other matters, tending to innovation and public disturbance, were introduced. Metellus Nepos, late tribune, being now in the office of pretor, procured a law to abolish the customs payable at any of the ports of Italy. The Romans, as has been observed, upon the accession of wealth derived from Macedonia, had exempted themselves from all the ancient assessments, and they now completed the exemption of all the Italians from every tax besides that of quit-rents for public lands, and the twentieth penny on the value of slaves when sold or emancipated. They were become the sovereigns of a great empire, and as such, thought themselves entitled to receive, not obliged to pay, contributions.

Another motion was made in which Pompey was deeply interested. It related to the provision to be made for the soldiers of Pompey, and was, by L. Flavius, one of the tribunes, moved in the assembly of the people, under the title of an Agrarian law.

The consul Metellus Celer, supported by the senate, strenuously opposed the passing of this law. The tribune persisted with great obstinacy, and, to remove the obstruction he met with, committed the consul to prison: but matters were likely to end in greater extremities than suited the indirect and cautious conduct of Pompey, and the tribunes gave up the contest. About this time Cesar returned to Rome with the reputation of victory, applied for a triumph, and, at the same time made interest for votes at the approaching election.

The senators were, in general, now aware of their danger from Cesar, and were disposed to resist his applications, and refused to grant him the triumph; but admitted him on the list of candidates for the office of consul.

The people were at this time divided into a variety of factions. Pompey and Crassus distrusted each other, and

both were jealous of Cesar. Their divisions strengthened the party of the senate, and furnished that body with the means of thwarting separately many of their ambitious designs. This Cesar had long perceived, and had paid his court both to Pompey and Crassus, in order to hinder their joining the senate against him. The expedience of this precaution now appeared more clearly than ever, and he is supposed to have separately represented to these rivals the advantage which their enemies derived from their misunderstanding, and the ease with which, if united, they might concert among themselves all the affairs of the republic, gratify every friend, and disappoint every enemy. Upon this representation Pompey and Crassus were reconciled, and agreed to act in concert with Cesar, and to support him in his pretensions at the approaching elections.

This private combination, which remained some time a secret, was afterwards, by a kind of mockery, alluding to the ordinary names of public office, taken from the number of those who were joined in them, called the triumvirate. In the mean time, these supposed leaders of opposite factions, in abating their violence against each other, took a favourable appearance of moderation and candour. They paid their court separately to persons whom they wished to gain, and flattered them with hopes of being able to heal the divisions of their country. This sort of court they paid in particular to Cicero; and by their flatteries, and real or pretended admiration of his talents, seemed to have got entire possession of his mind. Few persons were naturally possessed of more penetration, although it will afterwards appear how egregiously he was mistaken on this occasion.

Cesar, to the other arts which he employed to secure his election, added the use of money, which he obtained by joining his interest, in opposition to Bibulus, the candidate supported by the senatorian party, with that of Lucceius, another of the candidates possessed of great wealth. He himself having squandered his fortune, as has been observed, was still greatly in debt, and Lucceius willingly furnished the money that was given to the people in the name of both. The aristocratical party prevailed in carrying the election of Bibulus against Lucceius; and though they could not exclude Cesar from the office of consul, they hoped, by means of his colleague, to oppose and to frustrate his designs.

Cesar, well aware of their purpose, in the opening of his administration, guarded his own behaviour with every appearance of moderation and candour, paid his court not only to leaders of faction, but to persons of every descrip-

tion, and while he took care to espouse the popular side in every question, was active in devising regulations for the better government of the empire: so that the senate, however inclined to counteract his designs, as calculated to raise himself on the ruins of the commonwealth, could scarcely, with a good grace, oppose him in any particular measure.

This consulate is distinguished by the passing of many laws, particularly this, which was devised for the settlement of citizens on certain public lands; and therefore known by the title of the Agrarian law. On this act Cesar was to rest his popularity, and his triumph over the senate. He gave out that he was to make a provision for twenty thousand citizens, without any burden to the revenue. He declared, that he did not mean to strip the revenue of any branch that was known to carry profit to the public, nor to make any partial distribution in favour of his friends; that he only meant to plant with inhabitants certain unprofitable wastes, and to provide for a number of citizens, who, being indigent and uneasy in their circumstances, filled the city itself with frequent disorders and tumults; and that he would not proceed a step without consulting the senate, and persons of credit and authority in the state. In a way to save these appearances, and with these professions, Cesar formed the first draught of an act which he brought to the senate for their approbation, and the support of their authority in proposing it to the people.

Odious as the task of opposition on such difficult ground might appear to the people, the senate did not decline it. Cato being asked his opinion in his turn, answered, that he saw no occasion for the change that was now proposed in the state of the public lands; and entered on an argument with which he endeavoured to exhaust the whole time of the sitting of the senate, and to prevent their coming to a question. In this purpose, he was defeated, and the senate, after a struggle, yielded the question.

At the first assembly of the people, Cesar proposed his scheme to appropriate the lands of Campania, with some valuable additions; and first of all called on his colleague Bibulus to declare his mind on the subject. Bibulus spoke his dissent; and in vehement terms declared, that no such alienation of the public demesne should be made in his consulate. Cesar next called upon Pompey, though in a private station; and the audience, ignorant of the concert into which these leaders had entered, were impatient to hear him on the subject of a measure which was likely to elevate a supposed rival so high in the favour of the people

To the surprise of all who were present, Pompey applauded the general design, and, in a speech of considerable length, discussed all the clauses of the act, and with great approbation of each.

To oppose a measure so popular, and from which such numbers had great expectations, no means remained so likely to succeed as superstition. To this aid Bibulus accordingly had recourse, and, by virtue of the authority with which he was vested, proclaimed a general fast, and a suspension for the present year of all the affairs of state. The design of this suspension, and the extravagant length of time to which it was extended, probably enabled his colleague to treat it with contempt, and to proceed in the design of putting his question, as if no such proclamation had been issued. The assembly was accordingly summoned in the temple of concord. Cesar, early in the morning, secured all the avenues and the steps of the portico with an armed force; had Vatinius, one of the tribunes of the people who was entirely devoted to his interest, and even in his pay, stationed with this party, in order to take the odium of all violent measures on himself. Bibulus, however, attended by numbers of the senate, and three of the tribunes, who were prepared, by their negative, to put a stop to every proceeding, came into the place of assembly with a firm countenance; he protested against the legality of any meeting to be formed in a time of general fast: but the opposite party being in possession of the temple, forced him from the steps, broke the ensigns of the lictors, wounded the tribunes that interposed in his defence, and effectually removed all farther obstruction to their own designs. The question then being put, the law passed without opposition, including a clause to oblige every senator, under pain of exile or death, to swear to the observance of it.

The consul Bibulus, and even Cato, though far removed from any ambiguity of conduct, saw no possibility of resisting the torrent. The first retired to his own house, and from thence forward, during the remainder of the year, did not appear in any public place. Cato absented himself from the senate.

While Cesar engrossed the full exercise of the consular power, Bibulus was content with issuing his edicts or manifestos in writing, containing protests, by which he endeavoured to stop all proceedings in public affairs on account of the religious fast, or continuation of holidays, which he had instituted to restrain his colleague. That able adventurer, though suspected of the deepest designs, went still deeper in laying his measures for the execution of them

than his keenest opponents supposed. He found means to tie up every hand that was likely to be lifted up against himself; as those of Pompey and Crassus, by their secret agreement, of which the articles were gradually disclosed in the effect. He confirmed to Pompey all the acts of his administration in Asia, and, by putting him on the commission for dividing the lands of Campania, and for settling a colony at Capua, gave him an opportunity, which the other earnestly desired, of providing for many necessitous citizens of his party. He flattered Crassus sufficiently, by placing him on the same commission, and by admitting him to a supposed equal participation of that political consequence which the triumvirs proposed to secure by their union. He gained the equestrian order, by granting a suit which they had long in dependence, for a diminution of the rents payable by the revenue farmers in Asia.

With his consent and under his authority, Fufius, one of the pretors, and Vatinius, one of the tribunes, obtained two laws, both of them equitable and salutary: the first relating to the use of the ballot in the comitia, or assembly of the people: the other, relating to the challenge of parties in the nomination of judges or juries. Fufius proposed that the orders of Patrician, Equestrian, and Plebeian, should ballot apart; and this regulation had some tendency to restore the influence of the superior classes. Vatinius proposed that in criminal actions, when the judges were drawn by lot, the defendant and prosecutors might, in their turns, challenge, or strike off from the list, persons to whom they took a particular exception.

Cesar himself was busy in devising new regulations to reform the mode of elections, and to improve the forms of business in some of the public departments. With these acts he adorned his consulate, and in some measure discountenanced the party which was disposed to traduce him. He is, nevertheless, accused of having stolen from the treasury, to which he had access in the capacity of consul, bars of gold weighing three thousand pondo, and of having concealed the theft by substituting brass gilt, and of the same form, in its place.*

Whatever foundation there may have been for this report, it soon appeared that Cesar had objects of a more serious nature, could copy, on occasion, the example of Pompey, and, in his manner, cause what was personal to himself to be proposed by others, whom he might be free to support

* Sueton. in Jul. c. 54. Cesar is said to have sold the gold bullion he brought from Spain at 3000 H. S. or about 25*l*. of our money. This will make his alleged theft about 75,000*l*.

or disavow according to the reception which his proposal met from the public. It cannot be doubted that he now conceived the design of bringing a military force to support his pretensions in the city. Hitherto kingly power being odious at Rome, whoever had aspired to it had always perished in the attempt, and the mere imputation, however supported, was fatal. The most profligate party among the populace were unable or unwilling to support their demagogues to this extent; and the people in general became jealous of their most respectable citizens, when it appeared that merit itself approached to monarchical elevation.

The republic had taken many precautions to prevent the introduction of military power at Rome. Although the functions of state and of war were intrusted to the same persons, yet the civil and military characters, except in the case of a dictator, were never united at once in the same person. The officer of state resigned his civil power before he became a soldier, and the soldier was obliged to lay aside his military ensigns and character before he could enter the city; and if he sued for a triumph in his military capacity, must remain without the walls till that suit was discussed. The command of armies and of provinces in the person of any officer was limited to a single year at a time, at the end of which, if it were not expressly prolonged, it was understood to expire, and to devolve on a successor named by the senate.

That no leader of a party might have an army at hand to overawe the republic, no military station was supposed to exist within the limits of Italy. The purpose, however, of this precaution was in some measure frustrated by the near situation of a province in which an army was kept within the Alps. Italy was understood to extend only from the sea of Tarentum to the Arnus and the Rubicon: beyond these boundaries, on the north-west, all those extensive and rich tracts on both sides of the Apennines, and within the Alps, which now make the duchies of Ferrara, Bologna, Modena, Milan, the states of Piedmont and Venice, with the duchy of Carniola, and the whole of Lombardy, were considered, not as a part of Italy, but as a province termed the Cisalpine Gaul, and, like the other Roman provinces, was held by a military officer, supported by an army.

The Cisalpine Gaul was peculiarly suited to the purpose of Cesar. But the distribution of the provinces was still within the prerogative of the senate; and the provincial governments were filled by their appointment, in pursuance of an express regulation ascribed to Caius Gracchus, and known, from his name, by the title of the Sempronian law

Cesar had ever been at variance with the greater part of the senators, and it was necessary in order to obtain this object, to set aside the authority of the senate, and procure his nomination by some degree of surprise. The tribune Vatinius accordingly, upon a rumour that the Helvetii, or the nations inhabiting from mount Jura to the Alps, were likely to cause some commotion on the frontier of Gaul, moved the people to set aside the law of Sempronius, and, by virtue of their own supreme power, to name Cesar as proconsul of the Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum for five years with an army of three legions. The senatorian party, as might have been expected, were greatly alarmed at this proposal. They vainly, however, hoped to evade it by substituting another appointment for Cesar in place of this province. A weak attempt, however, which they made for this purpose against so able an adversary, only tended to expose the meaning of those by whom it was made, and by showing to the senate their own weakness, hurried them into concessions which perhaps might have been otherwise avoided. In order that Cesar might not owe every thing to the people and nothing to them, they extended his command at once to both sides of the Alps, they joined to his province on the Po that of the Transalpine Gaul, with an additional legion. In this manner, whether from these or any similar reasons, it is affirmed by some of the historians, that the senate even outran the people in concessions to Cesar; and to this occasion is referred the memorable saying of Cato: "Now you have taken to yourselves a king, and have placed him with his guards in your citadel."

Cesar, at the same time, on the motion of the tribune Vatinius, was empowered to settle a Roman colony on the lake Larius at Novum Comum, with full authority to confer the privilege of Roman citizens on those who should settle in this place. Having obtained the great object of his consulate, he insulted the senate, and no longer disguised his connexion with Pompey and Crassus, or the means by which, in his late measures, the concurrence of these rivals had been obtained.

As such combinations and cabals generally have an inviolous aspect to those who are excluded from them, the triumvirate, for so it began to be called in detestation and irony,* notwithstanding the popularity or influence enjoyed

* The titles of *duumvirs*, *triumvirs*, and so on, were the designations of legal commissions at Rome acting under public authority; such title was given to the private coalition of these adventurers in mere irony.

by those who had formed it, became an object of aversion and general abuse. They were received at all public places with groans and expressions of hatred. Pompey lost his temper and his spirit, and sank in his consideration as much as Cesar advanced in power. It became manifest even to the people, that Cesar had procured their conjunction for his own conveniency; but Pompey himself probably felt that he was too far advanced to recede.

The senate, and all the most respectable citizens of Rome, though unanimous in their detestation of the design that was formed by Cesar, Pompey, and Crassus, to dispose of the republic at their pleasure, yet either were, or believed themselves, unable to cope with the power of so many factions united.

Cato, with his declared disapprobation of the late measures, was reduced to the single expedient of assisting Bibulus in drawing up the edicts or manifestos against the proceedings of Cesar, which were at this time received with much avidity by the people.

Cicero now declined taking part in any affair of state; but being known for an advocate, was courted in this capacity by many citizens, who had affairs in dependence before the courts of justice, and apprehending an attack which was likely to be made upon himself, on account of the transactions of his consulate, he avoided, as much as possible, giving offence to any of the parties which divided the commonwealth. The storm was to be directed against him by Publius Clodius, under whose animosity to the government of the nobles, and to Cicero in particular, it was perceived for some time to be gathering.

This bustling profligate having, in the former year, in order that he might be qualified for tribune of the people, got himself adopted into a plebeian family, could not obtain the necessary ratification of the deed of adoption in the assembly of the Curiae, until his cause was espoused by Cesar, who seems to have taken his part, in resentment of some insinuations thrown out against himself by Cicero in pleading for M. Antonius, his late colleague in the consulate. Antonius being, on account of his administration in Macedonia, accused of extortion, was defended by Cicero, who took that occasion to lament the state of the republic, brought under subjection as it was by a cabal which ruled by violence, and in contempt of the law. Cesar was greatly provoked: and determining not to leave Cicero at the head of the senatorian party to operate against him, permitted the act of adoption to pass in the assembly of the Curiae.

With these transactions the year of Cesar's consulate drew to a close. He ratified his treaty with Pompey, by giving him his daughter Julia in marriage. He himself married the daughter of Calpurnius Piso, who, together with Gabinius, the creature of Pompey, was destined to succeed in the consulate, and who was, by this alliance, secured in the interest of Cesar. "Provinces, armies, and kingdoms," said Cato on this occasion, "are made the dowries of women, and the empire itself an appendage of female prostitution."

By the influence of Pompey and Cesar, Gabinius and Piso were elected consuls; and, by their connivance, Clodius became tribune of the people.* The ascendant they had gained, however, was extremely disagreeable to many of the other officers of state, and even to some of the tribunes. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus and C. Memmius Gemellus joined in an accusation against Cesar, late consul, for proceedings in office contrary to law and religion. Cesar pleaded his privilege as a person destined for public service; and accordingly, without staying to answer this charge, withdrew from the city, and continued to make his levies, and to assemble his army in the suburbs of Rome.

In this posture of affairs, one of the questors, who had served under Cesar in his consulship, was convicted of some misdemeanour; and the opposite party, as if they had of a sudden broken the chains in which they were held, commenced suits against all the tools that had been employed by him in his late violent measures. Gabinius had been charged with bribery by Caius Cato, then a young man. But the pretor, whose lot it was to exercise the jurisdiction in such cases, being under the influence of Pompey, evaded the question. Caius Cato complained to the people, and, having said that Pompey usurped a dictatorial power, narrowly escaped with his life.

Vatinius was accused before the pretor Memmius, who willingly received the accusation; but all proceedings were suddenly stopped by the interposition of Clodius in the capacity of tribune; and the attention of the people and of the senate soon came to be more entirely occupied with the designs of this factious adventurer.

The ruin of Cicero appears to have been the principal object which Clodius proposed to himself in entering on the office of tribune; and this, though affecting to be of the popular party, he pursued chiefly from motives of personal animosity and resentment. Cicero had given evidence

against him on his trial, and afterwards in the senate made him the butt of his invective. He is generally represented by Cicero as effeminate and profligate, void of discretion or prudence. On the present occasion, however, he seems to have managed with considerable steadiness and address. He acted evidently in concert with Cesar, Pompey, and Crassus; but probably had not from them any particular direction in what manner he was to proceed.

Ever since the summary proceedings which were employed against the accomplices of Catiline, the danger of this precedent was a favourite topic with the popular faction. Clodius professed that the object of his tribunate was to provide a guard against this danger. He began with paying his court to different parties and different orders of men in the republic, by proposing acts favourable to each; and he stated his motion for the better securing of the people against arbitrary executions, which he meant in the end to apply to Cicero, as but one of many regulations intended by him for the benefit of the public, and which he joined with some acts of gratification to private persons.

Joined to many arts practised to reconcile different parties to the measures he affected to take for the security of the people's liberties, Clodius promulgated his law of provision against arbitrary executions, and gave it a retrospect which was undoubtedly meant to comprehend the summary proceedings which had been held against Cethegus and Lentulus in the consulate of Cicero. While the subject was in dependence, he foresaw an opposition and possibly a disappointment in his design against Cicero, if Cato continued at Rome, and devised a commission to employ him in foreign service. Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, had put a personal affront on Clodius, by refusing to pay his ransom when taken by pirates on the coast of Asia near to that island. He now took an opportunity to be revenged on him, by procuring an act to forfeit his kingdom and his treasure; and by making Cato the instrument of his revenge, he managed to free himself at the same time from the interruption which this citizen was likely to give to his projects at Rome, by getting him appointed as commissioner to reduce Cyprus into the form of a province.

The storm was now prepared to fall upon the magistrate who had presided in the suppression of Catiline's party, and no man had any doubt of its direction. Cato, before he left Rome, seeing Cesar in possession of the gates with an army, and ready, in the event of any tumult, under pretence of quieting disorders, to enter the city by force, and to seize on the government and apprehending, that the

cause in dependence, however just, was altogether desperate, earnestly exhorted Cicero, rather to yield and to withdraw from the city, than to bring matters to extremities in the present state of the republic.

Cicero, however, was for some time undecided. Having secured the support of L. Ninius Quadratus, one of the tribunes, he proposed to obstruct the proceedings of his enemy, and to give a negative to all his motions. Afterwards, upon assurances from Clodius, that the purpose of the act was altogether general, and had no special relation to himself, he was prevailed on not to divide the college of tribunes, or to engage his friends in the invidious task of giving a negative to a law, that was intended merely to guard the people against arbitrary proceedings.

Clodius, having obtained this advantage, no longer made any secret of his design against Cicero, and boasted of the concurrence of Cesar and Pompey. In this neither of these professed friends of Cicero denied the imputation; but excused themselves in private by pleading, that while their own acts of the preceding year were still questioned by the pretor, it was necessary for them to keep terms with so violent a tribune; but Pompey, together with this apology for his present conduct, gave Cicero the strongest assurances of future protection. "This tribune," he said, "shall kill me before he injure you." It is not credible that Pompey then meant to betray him; it was sufficiently base, that, in the sequel, he did not keep his word.

In the mean time, the consul Gabinus, though under the absolute direction of Pompey, promoted the attack against Cicero, and checked every attempt that was made in his favour. When the equestrian order, together with numbers of the most respectable citizens from every quarter of Italy, crowded in mourning to Rome, and presented a memorial to the senate in his behalf; and when the members proposed to take mourning, and to intercede with the people, Gabinus suddenly left the chair, broke up the meeting, went directly from thence to the assembly of the people, where he threw out injurious insinuations against the senate, and the equestrian order

In this extremity Cicero attempted to see Pompey in person at his country-house; but while the suppliant was entering at one door, this treacherous friend withdrew at another. No longer doubting that he was betrayed by a person on whom he had so fully relied, he began to be agitated by a variety of counsels and projects. He was invited by Cesar to place himself in the station of lieutenant in his province of Gaul; and, in that public character abroad, to

take refuge from the storm that was gathering against him in Italy. But this, from a person who had so much contributed to raise the storm, was supposed to proceed from a design to insult or betray him.

Such was the state of affairs, when Clodius assembled the people to pass the act he had framed against arbitrary executions. He had summoned them to meet in the suburbs, that Cesar, who on account of his military command was then excluded from the city, might be present. This artful politician being called upon among the first to deliver his opinion; with an appearance of moderation, and unwillingness to bear hard on any person to whom the law might apply, referred the people to his former declarations; said, that every one knew his mind on the subject of arbitrary executions; that he approved the act which was now proposed, as far as it provided against such offences for the future; but could not approve of its having a retrospect to any transaction already passed.

While Cesar thus, in delivering his own opinion, affected to go no farther than consistency and a regard to his former conduct seemed to require, he permitted or directed his party to go every length with Clodius, and meant either to ruin Cicero, or force him to accept of protection on the terms that should be prescribed to him.

When the general law had passed, there was yet no mention of Cicero; and his enemies might have still found it a difficult matter to carry the application to him; but he himself, in the anguish of his mind, anticipated the accusation, and not only went forth in mourning to the streets, imploring mercy of every citizen with an aspect of dejection, but abandoned the city, and intended to have made his retreat into Sicily, where the memory of his administration in the capacity of questor, was likely to procure him a favourable reception. But Clodius, immediately upon his departure, having carried a special attainder, by which, in the language of such acts, he was interdicted the use of fire and water; and by which every person within five hundred miles of Italy was forbid, under severe penalties, to harbour him; Virgilius, the pretor of Sicily, though his friend, declined to receive him. He turned from thence to Brundisium, passed into Macedonia, and settled in Cyzicum.

We have better means of knowing the frailties of Cicero, than perhaps is safe for the reputation of any one labouring under the ordinary defects of human nature. He was open and undisguised to his friends, and has left an extensive correspondence behind him.

From the whole of this correspondence of Cicero in his exile, it appears that the consciousness of his integrity, even his vanity forsook him; and his fine genius, no longer employed in the forum or in the senate, or busied in the literary studies which amused him afterwards in a more calamitous time of the republic, now, by exaggerating the distress of his fortunes, preyed upon himself. It appeared from this, and many other scenes of his life, that although he loved virtuous actions, yet his virtue was accompanied with so insatiable a thirst of the praise to which it entitled him, that his mind was unable to sustain itself without this foreign assistance; and when the praise which was due to his consulate was changed into obloquy and scorn, he seems to have lost the sense of good or of evil in his own conduct or character; and at Thessalonica, where he fixed the scene of his exile, sank or rose in his own esteem, as he seemed to be valued or neglected at Rome.

CHAP. VI.

Cesar takes possession of his Province—Migration of the Helvetii—Their Defeat—War with Ariovistus—Return of Cesar for the Winter into Italy—Motion to recall Cicero from exile—Disorders that followed upon it—Opposition made to Clodius by the tribune T. Annius Milo—Augmentation of the Army in Gaul—Second Campaign of Cesar—Operations on the Aisne—On the Meuse and Sambre—Battle with the Nervii—Successful Attempt for the Restoration of Cicero—Controversy relating to his House—Repeated Riots of Clodius—Trial of Milo.

WHILE the transaction which terminated in the exile of Cicero was still in dependence, Cesar, although, by assuming the military character, he had disqualified himself to take any part in civil affairs, still remained in the suburbs of Rome to observe the issue of that business, and to direct the conduct of his party.

The provinces of which Cesar had obtained the command, comprehended, as has been observed, under the denomination of the two Gauls, considerable territories on both sides of the Alps. The Cisalpine Gaul, which was joined to Italy, extended to Lucca, not far from Pisa on one side of the Apennines, and to the Rubicon, not far from Ariminum on the other. Beyond the Alps, the whole territory from the Mediterranean to the Rhine and the Meuse, was known by the name of Gaul. A part of this tract, which was bounded by the Rhone, the mountains of Auvergne, the Garonne,

and the Pyrenees, was already a Roman province, including, together with Languedoc and Dauphiné, what, from its early subjection to the Romans, is still named Provence.

The remainder of the country was divided into three principal parts, occupied by the Aquitani, the Celtæ, and the Belgæ, nations differing in language, establishments, and customs. The first division extended from the Pyrenees to the Garonne; the second from the Garonne to the Seine; and the third from thence to the Meuse and the Scheldt.

In each of these tracts there was a multiplicity of separate cantons and independent communities, of which Cesar had occasion to enumerate no less than four hundred. The people, in general, were held in a state of dependence by two separate orders of men. One order was ecclesiastical, composed of the Druids, who, by their profession, had the keeping of such mysteries, and the performance of such rites as were then in use; and the other order was military, and consisted of persons whose principal distinction arose from the number of their armed adherents.

The country, we learn, in general, was interspersed with what are called towns, and what were, in reality, safe retreats, or places of strength. It abounded in corn and cattle, the resources of a numerous people; armies were collected, and political assemblies were statedly, or occasionally called: but how the people were accommodated, or in what degree they were supplied with the ordinary productions of mechanic or commercial arts, is nowhere described.

In these particulars, however, as they were probably less skilful than the Italians, so they surpassed the Germans, to whom they yielded in the reputation of valour; and they were now in reality on the eve of becoming a prey to the rapacity and ferocity of the one, or to the ambition, refined policy, and superior arts of the other.

Among parties, who were already so numerous, and likely to be divided indefinitely by family or personal jealousies, Cesar was about to find the occasions, which he undoubtedly sought for, of raising his reputation in war, of enriching himself and his dependents, and of forming an army inured to service, and attached to himself. While he was yet in Italy, he was called to his province by a wonderful project formed by the Helvetii, natives of the tract which extends from the Jura to the Alps, to quit their own country in order to exchange it for a better settlement, on the lower and more fertile plains of Gaul. They mustered no less than three hundred and fifty-eight thousand souls, of whom ninety-two thousand were warriors,

or men fit to bear arms; and began their operation by sending to Cesar a pacific message, desiring, that they might be allowed to pass the Rhone, and giving assurances that they would abstain from every sort of hostility on their march through the Roman province. Cesar, in order to gain time, affected to take their request into consideration, and promised to give them an answer without long delay.

After preparing for his defence, he, on the return of the Helvetian deputies, gave them for answer, That the Romans never allowed strangers to pass through their country; and that if any attempt were made on his province, he should repel it by force. Upon receiving this answer, the Helvetians, though too late, endeavoured in vain to effect the passage of the Rhone, changed their course, and passed over the Jura into Gaul.

Cesar, probably not more alarmed for the safety of his province, than desirous to render it a scene of action, determined to observe the migrations of this enemy, and to seize the occasion they furnished him of forming his troops to service. For this purpose he himself, in person, repassed the Alps, ordered additional levies, and with the forces assembled near Aquileia, returned to his northern province. He had traversed the country of the Allobroges, and passed the Rhone above its confluence with the Saone, when he had intelligence that the Helvetii, having cleared the passes of Jura, and marched through the country of the Sequani, were arrived on the Saone; and that they threatened the nations inhabiting beyond this river with fire and sword.

Upon application made to him for protection from the natives inhabiting between the Saone and the Loire, this willing auxiliary continued his march; and being informed, that of the Helvetii, who had moved in four divisions (this being the number of their cantons,) the three first had already passed the Saone; and that the fourth division being to follow, yet remained on the nearer bank of the river, he marched in the night with three legions, surprised this rear-division; and, having put many of them to the sword, forced the remainder to take refuge in the neighbouring woods.

As soon as the main body of Cesar's army arrived on the Saone, he constructed a bridge, and passed that river in his way to the enemy. The Helvetians, sensible of their loss in the late action, and alarmed at the rapidity of his motions, he having executed in one day the passage of a river which had detained them above ninety days, sent a deputation to treat with the Roman proconsul, and to obtain, if possible, his permission to execute their project of a

new settlement on amicable terms. They offered, in case they were allowed to sit down in quiet, to leave the choice of the place to himself; bidding him remember, at the same time, that the arms of the Helvetii had, on former occasions, been felt by the Romans.

To this message, Cesar replied, "That he could recollect to have heard of insults which had been offered to the Romans by their nation, and to which they now probably alluded: that he likewise had more recent provocations which he knew how to resent: nevertheless, if they meant to comply with his demand, to repair the injuries they had done to the Allobroges* and to the Edui,† and to give hostages for their future behaviour, that he was willing to grant them peace." Upon this reply the Helvetian deputies withdrew, saying, That it was the practice of their countrymen to receive, not to give hostages; and both armies moved on the following day: the Helvetians, in search of some quarter where they might settle without interruption; and Cesar, to observe their motions.

The Roman general had followed them for sixteen days without finding a favourable opportunity of engaging, when being obliged to alter his route in order to receive a supply of provisions, the enemy believed that he was retreating, and began to pursue in their turn. Advancing to attack him, after an obstinate engagement which lasted from one in the afternoon till night, they were defeated with the slaughter of about two hundred thousand of their people; and the remainder, amounting to no more than one hundred and thirty thousand souls, reduced to despair by the sense of their losses, and the want of subsistence, surrendered at discretion.

At the end of this first operation of Cesar, while great part of the summer yet remained, the nations who inhabited the banks of the Saone and the Loire, sent deputies to congratulate the Roman general on his late victory, and to solicit relief from the common oppression they underwent from the tyranny of Ariovistus, a German chief, who, when the Gauls were at war among themselves, had been invited as an auxiliary to one of the parties, and had obtained the victory for his allies: but took for the reward of his services possession of one third of their territory, which he bestowed on his own people, and assumed for himself the sovereignty of the whole.

These unfortunate nations found Cesar sufficiently wil-

* Inhabitants of what is now the territory of Geneva, and part of Savoy.

† Occupying the country between the Saone and the Loire.

ling to embrace every opportunity of rendering his province a theatre of action to his army, and of renown to himself. He sent without delay a message to Ariovistus, desiring to have a conference with him on affairs that concerned the general interests of Gaul; and received for answer, "That if the Roman general meant to have an interview with him, his place of residence was known. On a renewal of his message, he was set at defiance, whereupon he advanced upon the Germans before they could think him in condition to act against them. Cesar made a circuit of forty miles, to avoid some difficulties which lay on the direct road; and after a march of seven days, he arrived within twenty-four miles of the German quarters.

Upon this unexpected arrival, Ariovistus, in his turn, thought proper to desire a conference with Cesar. He proposed that they should meet on horseback, and be attended only by cavalry. In this part of his army, which was composed chiefly of Gaulish horse, Cesar was weak. But, not to decline the proposal that was made to him, he mounted a favourite legion on the horses of the Gauls, and with this escort came to the place appointed for the conference.

It was an eminence in the midst of a spacious plain, about half-way between the two armies. The leaders, each attended by ten of his officers, met at the top of the hill. Their escorts drew up at the distance of two hundred yards on each side.

After a short interview, while Cesar yet spoke, the German horse had advanced, and even began to throw darts, which made it expedient for him to break up the conference. He accordingly withdrew, giving strict orders to his people not to return the insults of the enemy.

In a few days after this conference, the German chieftain proposed another personal interview, or, if that were declined, desired that some person of confidence should be sent with whom he might treat. Being gratified in the second part of this alternative, but intending no more by this request than a mere feint to lull the enemy into some degree of security, he pretended to take offence at the quality of the persons who were sent to him, ordered them into custody, and on the same day put his army in motion upon a real design, which showed that, barbarian as he was, he understood the plan, as well as the execution, of military operations. Observing that the Romans derived their subsistence from the country behind them, he made a movement, by which he passed their camp, took a strong post about eleven miles in their rear, and by this means intercepted their ordinary supply of provisions.

Cesar for many days successively endeavoured, by forming on the plain between the two armies, to provoke the enemy to a battle; but having failed in this purpose, he attacked them in their camp, and defeated them with great slaughter. Ariovistus himself, with the remains of his followers, fled to the Rhine, about fifty miles from the field of battle, passed that river in a small canoe; numbers of his people perished in attempting to follow him, and the greater part of those who remained were overtaken, and put to the sword by Cesar's cavalry.

In this manner Cesar concluded his first campaign in Gaul. And laid the foundation of his future conquests in that country, by stating himself as the protector of its native inhabitants against the Helvetii and the Germans, two powerful invaders who were likely to subdue it. He placed his army for the winter among the nations whom he had thus taken under his protection, and set out for Italy, under pretence of attending to the affairs of his province on that side of the Alps; but more probably to be near to Rome, where he had many political interests at stake, friends to support, and enemies to oppose, in their canvass for the offices of state.

At the election of consuls for this year, P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther was joined with Q. Cecilius Metellus Nepos, of whom the latter had, in the capacity of tribune, distinguished himself as an instrument of the most dangerous factions. Lentulus had been edile in the consulate of Cicero, and had taken a vigorous part in those very measures for which Cicero was now suffering in exile. He was likely to favour the restoration of that injured citizen, and upon this account was now the more acceptable to Pompey, who, having an open rupture with Clodius, was disposed to mortify him by espousing the cause of his enemies.

Encouraged by division among their enemies, the majority of the senate, who justly considered the cause of Cicero as their own, had ventured, on the twenty-ninth of October, while Clodius was yet in office, to move for his recall, but failed to obtain their object. However, upon the election of the new consuls and tribunes for the following year, better hopes of success were entertained by the friends of Cicero. Lentulus declared that the restoration of this exile should be the first object of his administration; and signified his intention to concur with the consul. Milo, Sextius, and six more of the tribunes, with all the pretors except Appius Claudius the brother of Publius, declared their intention to take an active part in forwarding this measure.

Encouraged by these appearances, Cicero left his retreat at Thessalonica, and arrived at Dyrrachium, to be at hand to consult with his friends on the steps that were to be previously taken. Meantime the consuls-elect had their provinces assigned. Lentulus was destined to command in Cilicia and Cyprus, and Metellus in the farther province of Spain. The consul Lentulus, on the first of January, the day of his entering on office, moved the senate to resolve that Cicero should be immediately recalled from banishment; that all persons opposing his return should be declared enemies to their country; and that if the people should be disturbed by violence in passing this decree, it should, nevertheless, be lawful for the exile to avail himself of it.*

This motion was received in the senate with general applause, and it was resolved to propose a law to the people for Cicero's restoration; a day being fixed for this purpose. Early in the morning of that day Fabricius, one of the tribunes in the interest of the exile, endeavoured to occupy the place of assembly with an armed force, but found that Clodius, with a numerous troop of gladiators, was there before him. A conflict ensued: the party of the senate were driven from the forum; Clodius, at the head of his gladiators, with swords already stained in blood, pursued his victory through the streets. "The streets, the common sewers, the river," says Cicero, "were filled with dead bodies, and all the pavements were stained with blood." No such scene had been acted since the times of Octavius and Cinna, when armies fought in the city for the dominion of the empire.

After so strange a disorder, parties for some months, mutually afraid of each other, abstained from violence. The tribune Milo commenced a prosecution against Clodius for his crimes; but it was for some time eluded by the authority of Appius Claudius, brother of the accused, who was now in the office of pretor; and the courts, when actually called, were repeatedly dispersed by the armed party of gladiators, with which Publius Clodius himself infested every public place. It was vain to oppose him without being prepared to employ a similar force, and Milo accordingly had recourse to this method. He purchased a troop of gladiators, and of bestiarii, or baiters of wild beasts, and the remainder of those who had been employed by the ediles Pomponius and Cosconius, and who were now in the market for sale.

So provided, Milo ventured to encounter with Clodius. Their parties frequently engaged in the streets, and the populace, fond of such shows, enjoyed the spectacle which was presented to them in every corner of the city.

While the disorders which thus arose from the disputes relating to Cicero's restoration were daily augmenting, he himself fell from the height of his hopes to his former pitch of dejection and sorrow. The attempt which had been made in his favour might have succeeded, if Pompey had been fully prepared to concur in it. But all the measures of the triumvirate being concerted at the quarters of Cesar, Pompey was obliged, after declaring his own inclinations on the subject, to consult his associate, and found him by no means inclined to restore a citizen who was likely to be of so much consequence, and who was to owe the favour of his restoration to any other than himself. The tribune Sextius, before the late dissolution, had made a journey into Gaul, to obtain the consent of Cesar to this measure, but could not prevail.

In this year, which was the second of Cesar's command, two more additional legions were by his orders levied in Italy; and under pretence of an approaching war with the Belgæ, a nation consisting of many cantons in the northern extremities of Gaul, this reinforcement was made to pass the Alps to the northward in the spring. As soon as the forage was up, he himself followed in person, took the field, and, in the usual spirit of his conduct, endeavoured by the rapidity of his motions, to frustrate or to prevent the designs of his enemies.

His force now consisted of eight Roman legions, besides numerous bodies of horse and foot from different cantons in Gaul, archers from Crete and Numidia, and slingers from the Balearian islands; so that it is likely the whole may have amounted to about sixty thousand men. Cesar having now taken numbers of their people into his army as auxiliaries or as hostages, took his route to the northward, to carry the war into the enemy's country. After a march of fifteen days, he arrived in the canton of the Remi,* where he found a people, though of Belgic extraction, disposed to receive him as a friend, and to place themselves under his protection.

From this people he had a confirmation of his former intelligence relating to the designs of the Belgic nations, and an account of the forces which they had already assembled. From the tract of country that is watered by the

* Now the district Rhelma.

rivers, which are now called the Oise, the Scheldt, and the Meuse, he understood that no less than three hundred and fifty thousand men were assembling against him. He immediately fortified a station on the north bank of the Aisne, while the Belgæ advanced with a great army, laid waste the country, and came within two miles of his camp. They had a front, as appeared from their fires, extending about eight miles.

Cesar, considering the numbers and reputation of this enemy, thought proper to proceed with caution. He observed them from his intrenchments, and made several trials of their skill in partial encounters; but avoided battle except on terms which they would not accept. The Belgæ, after a considerable time spent in skirmishing, had exhausted their provisions, and found themselves under the necessity to break up their camp. It was therefore resolved in their general council, that their forces, for the present, should separate; and if any of their cantons should be afterwards attacked by Cesar, that the whole should assemble again for their common defence.

With this resolution they decamped in the night, but with so much noise and disorder that Cesar suspected a feint, or an intention to draw him into a snare. On the following day he moved with his whole army, and, that the enemy might not have time to re-assemble their forces, determined to penetrate into the heart of their country. In the beginning of his march he followed the course of the Aisne, and in his way reduced the Suessones and Bellovaci, two cantons that lay on the right and the left, near the confluence of this river with the Oise. From thence he detached the young Crassus, with a considerable force, towards the sea coasts, to occupy those cantons which now form the provinces of Normandy and Brittany.

Part of the country through which the Meuse and the Sambre passed, now forming the duchy of Hainault, was then occupied by the Nervii, one of the fiercest of the Belgic nations, who, having heard with indignation of the surrender of the Bellovaci and Suessones, their neighbours, prepared for resistance. Having sent such of their people as, by their sex or age, were unfit to carry arms into a place of security, assembled all their warriors, and summoned their allies to a place of general resort, they took post on the Sambre.

Cesar, in the mean time, about three days after he had marched from Samarobriua, now supposed to be Amiens, being apprized that he was come within ten miles of the river, on the banks of which the enemy was posted, began,

as usual, to intrench, and received no disturbance, till the column of baggage came in sight. At this signal the enemy drove in the cavalry that were posted to cover the working parties, and attacking him suddenly, brought on a general engagement.

The event of this tumultuary action was various in different places. The Nervii, in one part of the action, forced the imperfect works of the Roman camp : but in another part of it were themselves forced from their ground, and driven in great numbers into the river. Victory declared for Cesar by the arrival of two legions of the rearguard, and of two others, that were sent by Labienus to support him.

Of four hundred chiefs of the enemy only three escaped ; and of an army of sixty thousand men, no more than five hundred left the field of battle.

Another enemy yet remained in the field. The Attuatici, descendants of the Cimbri and Teutones, had been on their march to join the Nervii, when they heard of this unfortunate action ; and then withdrew to their own country. Being pursued by Cesar, they shut themselves up in their principal fortress ; but very soon surrendered, and were in consequence of a breach of faith on their part, to the amount of fifty thousand persons, sold for slaves.

Thus Cesar having, in the second year of his command, penetrated to the Meuse and the Scheldt, and being master of the eastern frontier of Gaul as far as the Rhine, and of several cantons in Normandy and Brittany, placed his army for the winter in the midst of these conquests, and himself set out for Italy and the neighbourhood of Rome.

Here the principal point which he left in contest between the parties, relating to the restoration of Cicero, had been for some time determined. Clodius had found a proper antagonist in Milo, and, as often as he himself, or any of his party, appeared in the assemblies of the people, or in the streets, was everywhere attacked with his own weapons. His own credit, however, and the fear which citizens entertained of his armed banditti, who were now in a great measure restrained by Milo, had abated so much, that the party of the senate determined to make another vigorous effort for the restoration of their exiled member.

This business was accordingly again moved in the senate ; and about the beginning of June a decree was passed in the fullest terms for the restoration of Cicero. Cicero had intimation of the act being passed, set out for Rome, and continued his journey through multitudes of people, who were assembled on the roads to testify their joy upon his

return: he entered the city on the fourth of September. Next day he addressed the senate. The multitudes that were assembled on this occasion, their impatience to see him, their acclamations and wonderful unanimity, raised him once more to his former pitch of glory, and appeared to repay all the services he had rendered to the public, and to compensate all the sorrows of his late disgrace.

During these transactions Cesar was at a great distance, in the northern extremities of Gaul, engaged with fierce and numerous enemies; and Pompey, not the less jealous of him for their pretended union, and sensible of the advantage he had gained in a military command of so long a duration at the gates of Rome, now wished to propose for himself some appointment of equal importance.

The importation of corn into Italy had lately miscarried, and a great scarcity and dearth had followed. The populace being riotous upon this complaint, had in the theatre attacked with menaces and violence numbers of the wealthy citizens who were present, and even insulted the senate itself in the capitol. It was insinuated by the adherents of Pompey, that no man was fit to relieve the people besides himself; that the business should be committed to him alone; and Cicero was called upon, as he entered the senate, to make a motion to this purpose, as bound to procure some relief to the people, in return to their late cordiality in his cause.

Cicero had probably owed his recall to the declarations of Pompey in his favour; and, however little reason he had to rely on his friendship, it was convenient to appear on good terms with him. He suffered himself, therefore, to be carried by the stream in favour of this fashionable leader. As if the necessity of the case had suggested the measure, he moved the senate that a commission, with pro-consular power over all the provinces, should be granted to Pompey to superintend the supplies of corn for the city. The senate passed a measure to that effect, and sent it to the assembly of the people for their assent.

Here C. Messius, one of the tribunes, proposed to enlarge the commission, and to comprehend the superintendency of the revenue, with an allotment of fleets and armies suited to the extent of this unprecedented trust. Pompey, observing that this additional clause was ill received, denied his having any share in proposing it, and affected to prefer the appointment intended for him in terms of the act which had been proposed to be drawn up by the consuls.

The extraordinary commission now granted to Pompey, as it did not bestow the command of an army, fell short of

the consequences which Cesar principally dreaded in his rival ; and though probably the cause of some jealousy, did not produce any immediate breach between them.

The great change in the affairs of Cicero occasioned considerable vexation and disappointment to Clodius. That violent individual openly attacked Cicero, as he was passing in the streets, attended by a company of his friends, and attempted to take his life. He burned the house of Quintus Cicero to the ground, and was defeated in an attempt to do the same to that of Milo. It appears scarcely credible, that a state could subsist under such extreme disorders ; yet the author of them had been long under prosecution for crimes of the same nature. Marcellinus, the intended consul of next year, moved the senate to hasten the prosecution, and to join the late disorders committed by the criminal to the former articles of the charge which lay against him. But Metellus Nepos, one of the present consuls, and the relation of Clodius, having formerly found means to put off the trial, was now determined to prevent it altogether, by hastening the election of ediles, in which Clodius was candidate.

What passed on the day of election is uncertain ; but it is known, that Clodius at last prevailed ; that, being elected edile, he was, by the privilege of his office, screened from the prosecution that was intended against him ; and being himself safe, did not fail, upon the expiration of Milo's tribunate, to retort the charge upon his prosecutor ; and accordingly brought him to trial, on the second of February, for acts of violence and breach of the peace. At the trial^a Pompey, as well as Cicero, appeared in defence of Milo ; and they succeeded in having him acquitted, while they themselves incurred a torrent of reproach and invective on the part of the prosecutor.

CHAP. VII.

Return of Cato from Cyprus - His Repulse at the Election of Pretors - Arrival of Ptolemy Auletes at Rome - Visit of Pompey and Crassus to Cesar's Quarters at Lucca - Renewal of their Association - Military Operations in Cesar's Province - Violent Election of Crassus and Pompey - Provinces Of Crassus in Syria - Of Pompey in Spain for five years - Crassus departs for Syria.

THE particulars we have related in the last chapter have

^a U. C. 697.

led us on to the middle of February, in the consulate of Lentulus Marcellinus and L. Marcius Philippus. The first was attached to the forms of the republic, and was a strenuous partisan of the senate. His election was probably a continuation of the victory which this party had obtained in the restoration of Cicero. Philippus was now nearly related to Cesar, having married his niece, the widow of Octavius; and possibly owed his preferment in part to that connexion. He was, by this alliance, become the step-father of young Octavius, now a boy of ten years of age, brought up by his mother in the house of her second husband. This appears to have been a man of great moderation, no way qualified to be a party in the designs or usurpations of the family with which he was now connected.

Some time before these consuls entered on office, in the end of the preceding year, Marcus Cato arrived from having executed his commission to Byzantium and Cyprus. Upon his approach to Rome, the magistrates, the senate, and multitudes of the people went forth to receive him. The senate thought proper in this manner to distinguish their friends, and to favour them with some marks of consideration, in order to balance, if possible, the public honours that were frequently lavished on their enemies.

Cato, in the execution of his late commission, had taken exact inventories of all the effects sold at Cyprus; but his books being lost, or burned in a vessel that took fire on the voyage, Clodius frequently threatened him with a prosecution to account for the sums he had received; and in this he was seriously instigated by Cesar, who, from his winter quarters at Lucca, watched all the proceedings at Rome.

The power of Cesar, aided by his influence in so important a station, was daily increasing; and as he spared no pains to crush those whom he despaired of gaining, so he declined no artifice to gain every one else. While in his winter quarters at Lucca, many senators resorted from Rome to pay their court, of these no less than two hundred were said to have been present at one time; and so many of them in public characters, that the lictors, who paraded at the entrance of his quarters with the badges of office, amounted to one hundred and twenty.

During this winter, a question relating to the restoration of Ptolemy Auletes to the throne of Egypt, gave rise to warm debates in the senate. This prince had been dethroned by his subjects; and, conceiving that he had sufficient credit with many persons at Rome, who had experienced his bounty, he repaired thither to solicit his own restoration. To the great encouragement of his hopes, he was favourably

received by Pompey, who was then possessed of the reigning influence in the city, and who considered this as a proper opportunity to have a military commission joined to the civil one of which he was already possessed.

The king of Egypt succeeded in procuring an act in his own favour, and Lentulus Spinther, consul of the present year, being destined at the expiration of his magistracy to command in Cilicia and Cyprus, had inserted the business of restoring Ptolemy as a part of his own commission. But after Lentulus was gone for his province, this part of the commission, probably by the influence of Pompey, who had views on that expedition, as the object of a military command for himself, was recalled. A strong party of the nobles, however, being jealous of the state which Pompey affected, and of his continual aim at extraordinary powers, conceived an expedient to disappoint him on this occasion, or to render the commission unworthy of his acceptance. In visiting the books of the Sybils, verses were said to be found, containing an injunction to the Romans, not indeed to withhold their friendship from a king of Egypt soliciting their protection, but "to beware how they attempted to restore him with a military force."

Pompey, disgusted with his disappointment in not being named to this service, left Rome on pretence of applying certain sums with which he was now intrusted for the purchase of corn in Sardinia and Sicily. In his way he passed by Lucca, and, together with Crassus, augmented the number of attendants who paid their court at the quarters of Cesar. At an interview of these three leaders they renewed their former confederacy; agreeing that Pompey and Crassus should themselves enter the lists, in order to exclude Domitius Ahenobarbus from the consulate, and that on the expiration of the term for which they were to hold this office, Pompey should have the province of Spain, Crassus that of Syria, each with a great army: that Cesar should be continued in his present command, and have such additions to the establishment of his province as might enable him to support an army of eight Roman legions, with the usual accompaniments of auxiliaries and irregular troops. Such was already the state of his forces, including a legion of native Gauls; he having, contrary to the express limitation of his commission, by which he was restricted to three legions, made this enormous augmentation. This convention, like the former, was, for some time, kept a secret, and only began to be surmised about the usual time of the elections.

Soon after these matters were settled, Crassus being to

remain in Italy, Pompey proceeded on his voyage to Sardinia, and Cesar repaired to his army in Gaul, where the war in different places had been renewed in his absence. Among the dispositions he had made for the winter, the young Crassus was left to command on the coasts of the British channel; and Galba, another of his lieutenants, was posted among the Alps to protect the traders of Italy at a principal pass of these mountains. This latter officer had failed in the object for which he was stationed, the natives having renewed the war, and forced him to retire to the neighbourhood of Geneva.

The war had broken out likewise in the quarters of Crassus, at the other extremity of the province. Some nations, who had made their submission, and given hostages at the end of the preceding campaign, repented of this step, and entered into a concert to recover their liberties. The principal authors of this revolt were the inhabitants of what is now termed the coast of Brittany, between the rivers Vilaine and Blavet. They trusted to the strength of their situation on small islands, or peninsulas, that were joined to the continent only by some narrow beach or isthmus, which the sea, at high water, overflowed. They depended likewise on the strength of their shipping, in the use of which, by the practice of navigation on that stormy sea, and by their frequent voyages even to Britain, they were extremely expert.

Cesar, having received intelligence of this enemy while he remained in his quarters at Lucca, sent Titurius Sabinus with a proper force into Normandy, where the natives were already in arms; and the young Crassus to the Garonne, to give the natives of Gascony sufficient occupation in their own country, and to prevent their junction with the authors of this revolt.

He himself made haste to join the troops that were stationed in Brittany, and ordered Decimus Brutus to assemble his fleet, and to make sail without loss of time for the bay of Vannes. After his arrival on the coast, he met with many difficulties. The enemy had retired from the continent to their strongholds on the promontories or headlands, in which they were periodically surrounded by the sea. Being attacked at one station, they withdrew in their boats to another; and by their situation seemed to be secure from any enemy, who was not in a condition to make his attack, at once, both by sea and by land.

Cesar, to decide the event of this singular contest, was obliged to wait the arrival of his shipping. As soon as it appeared, the natives got under sail with all their force,

amounting to two hundred and twenty vessels, and steered directly for their enemy.

The Romans being inferior to them in the use of their sails, as well as in the strength of their vessels, endeavoured to supply their defect, as usual, by an effort of address and unexpected contrivance. They had provided themselves with scythes, fastened to shafts of a proper length, in order to cut the enemy's rigging, and let loose or discompose their sails; and having thus, in the first encounter, disabled many of their ships, they grappled with them, and boarded them sword in hand.

The Gauls, seeing a great part of their fleet thus irrecoverably lost, would have escaped with the remainder, but were suddenly becalmed, and being, from ten in the morning till night, continually exposed to the attack of the Romans, were all either taken or destroyed; and the nation, thus bereft of its principal strength and the flower of its people, surrendered again at discretion.

The inhabitants of the lower banks of the Seine, at the same time, having been defeated by Titurius, returned to their former submission. The nations inhabiting the banks of the Garonne were still inclined to resist the approaches of Crassus to their country. To the advantage of numbers, they joined a lively courage, of which the Romans themselves had frequently felt the effects. Crassus being reinforced, proceeded against the natives who were divided into many little hordes, of which Cesar has, on this occasion, enumerated twelve, jealous of each other, and unwilling to join even in their common defence. They accordingly, notwithstanding their valour, fell separately into the hands of the Romans, and in the end were vanquished, or made their submission.

By these conquests, the former acquisitions of Cesar on the Seine and the Marne, had a direct communication with the districts of Toulouse and Narbonne, or what was already called the Roman province of Gaul. Cesar himself, having re-established peace in those tracts which are now termed Brittany and Normandy, closed the campaign and set out for Italy. There his presence was greatly wanted by Pompey and Crassus, who, on the approach of the elections, were likely to meet with unexpected difficulties in executing the plan lately concerted between them.

At Rome, the spring and part of the summer had passed in dispute between persons connected with the opposite parties. Clodius had attacked Cicero in his own person, in his effects, and in the persons of his friends. P. Sextius, who, in the character of tribune, had been so active in the

recall of this injured exile, and who had exposed his life in the riots to which that question gave rise, was now accused, and brought to trial for supposed acts of violence committed by him in the course of those contests. He was defended with great zeal by Hortensius, and with a proper gratitude by Cicero; and by their joint endeavours was, on the twelfth of March, acquitted by the unanimous verdict of his judges.

After this trial was over, a piece of superstition, curious as it forms a picture of the age, gave occasion to a fresh dispute between Cicero and his enemy Clodius. Upon a report that horrid noises and clashing of arms had been heard under ground in one of the suburbs, the senate thought proper to take the subject under consideration, and they referred it for interpretation to the college of Aruspices. This body delivered in judgment, that the gods were offended, among other things, by the neglect and profanation of the holy rites, and by the prostitution of sacred places to profane uses. This response Clodius endeavoured to apply to the case of Cicero's house, once consecrated and set apart for religion, and now again profaned by being restored to its former owner. Cicero endeavoured to remove the charge of profanation from himself to Clodius, by reviving the memory of his famous adventure in Cesar's house. "If I quote any more recent act of impiety," says he, "this citizen will recall me to the former instance, in which he intended no more than adultery." He proceeded, however, to apply the response of the Augurs to a late intrusion of Clodius in rushing into the theatre with an armed rabble, while the games were celebrating in honour of the great goddess.

The senate for two days together listened to the mutual invectives of both parties, and were entertained with their endeavours to surpass each other in declarations of zeal for religion. Cicero, however, by the goodness of his cause, the force of his admirable talents, and perhaps still more by the aid of the triumvirate, whose favour he earnestly cultivated, prevailed in the contest.

This martyr in the cause of the senate, ever since his return from banishment, courted the formidable parties, whose power, at least to hurt, he had experienced. He committed, or affected to commit, himself entirely into the hands of Pompey; and, with a declaration of much attachment also to Cesar, composed a flattering panegyric, which this leader received with great pleasure.

The aristocratical party now recovered their courage, and Domitius Ahenobarbus, by their influence, was in a

fair way to succeed in his election for consul of the following year. The tribunes, excited chiefly by Caius Cato, espoused the opposite interest, and proposed many resolutions to the people, in order to favour their designs. The consul Marcellinus endeavoured to interrupt them by the appointment of fasts and holidays, in which it was not lawful to transact affairs in the assembly of the people. The tribunes, in their turn, suspended the election of consuls, and in this were encouraged by Pompey and Crassus, who feared the effect of a choice to be made under the direction of Marcellinus, and had not even openly declared their own intentions to offer themselves.

They found the tribune, Caius Cato, a proper instrument for their purpose, secured his negative, and employed it repeatedly to suspend the elections. The republic, upon the approach of the new year, being to lose its former magistrates, without any succession of new ones, was likely to fall into a state of great confusion. The senate went into mourning, and discharged every member from assisting at any of the public diversions. In this state of suspense and public alarm, Publius Clodius, who had for some time been at variance with Pompey, as if gained by the sympathy of measures on this occasion, was reconciled to him, and attacked Marcellinus with continual invectives.

In this manner the year was suffered to elapse without any election of consuls. The fasces dropped from the hands of Marcellinus and Philippus, and an interregnum ensued. Pompey and Crassus then openly appeared as candidates for the vacant offices of state. Young Crassus came from the army in Gaul, attended by a numerous body of citizens then serving under Cesar : they brought a considerable accession of votes to the party of their general, and were themselves not likely to be outstripped by their opponents in acts of sedition and the use of force. Domitius Ahenobarbus alone, supported by the councils of his kinsman Marcus Cato, had the courage to persist in a contest with these powerful and dangerous antagonists. The time of election being fixed, he went before break of day to occupy his place in the field of Mars, but found his way already obstructed by a disorderly populace, and even by men in arms. The slave who carried a light before him was killed. Some of his friends, particularly Marcus Cato, was wounded ; and his adherents not being in condition to dispute the ground with the force that was assembled against them, retired to their own houses, leaving Pompey and Crassus to be named without opposition.

In the same manner the faction of the triumvirate over-

ruled every other election, procured the preference, which has already been mentioned, of Vatinius to Cato, and filled every office with their own creatures. They were disappointed in the nomination only of two of the tribunes, Publius Aquilius Gallus and Attæius Capito, who were of the opposite party.

These events however were, by the contest which arose on every question, deferred for all the months of winter and spring.* The offices of pretor were not filled up by the middle of May.

Among the acts of Pompey and Crassus, in their second consulate, are mentioned some regulations respecting the courts of justice, and some resolutions passed to enforce the laws against murder, and to amend those against bribery by additional penalties, together with a sumptuary law to check the extravagance and prodigality of the age.

The allotment of provinces, which was the principal object of this consulate, was for some time kept from the view of the people. Trebonius, however, at this time tribune of the people, made a motion, that the province of Syria should be assigned to Crassus; that of Spain, together with Africa, to himself; each in imitation of Cesar's appointment in Gaul, to continue for five years, with such establishments of men and of money as the necessity of the service during that period might require.

After encountering strong opposition, Pompey and Crassus obtained the provinces in question, and on the terms proposed; they proceeded to fulfil their part of the late engagement to Cesar, by moving that his command should be continued during an additional term of five years. "Now, indeed," said Cato (addressing himself to Pompey,) "the burden is preparing for your own shoulders. It will one day fall on the republic, but not till after it has crushed you to the ground."

Pompey either had not yet begun to perceive what Cato suggested to him, that the greatest difficulty he had to fear, in preserving the eminence to which he aspired, was the emulation of Cesar; and that the sword must determine the contest between them; or he flattered himself that, like the person who stays at the helm, he was to command the vessel; and by remaining at the seat of government, while his associates and rivals accepted of appointments at a distance, that he continued to preside as sovereign, and supreme dictator of the whole. Under the influence of these conceptions, he sent his own lieutenants, Afranius

and Petreius, as private agents for himself into Spain, while he himself remained in Italy.

Crassus ever considered riches as the chief constituents of power, and he expected, with the spoils of Asia, to equal the military or political advantages that were likely to be acquired by his rivals in Europe. From the levies and other preparations which he made for his province, it soon appeared that he intended a war with the Parthians, the only antagonists which the Romans had left on the frontier of Syria. Observing that he was likely to meet with an opposition to this design from the senate and from the tribunes, who exerted their powers to interrupt his preparations, and took measures to detain him at home, he became the more impatient to set out for his province, and left Rome before the expiration of the year for which he was elected into the office of consul. The tribune Atteius endeavoured to stop him, first by his tribunitian negative, next by actual force, and last of all by solemn imprecations, devoting the consul himself, and all who should follow him on that service, to destruction.

While Crassus passed through the gates of Rome, on his intended departure for Asia, this tribune, with a lighted fire, the usual form of devoting a victim to the infernal gods, denounced a curse, which gave great alarm to many.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PROGRESS AND TERMINATION
OF THE
ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

State of the Commonwealth—Administration of the Provinces—Operations of Cesar in Gaul, Germany, and Britain—State of Pompey at Rome—Progress of Crassus into Syria—Kingdom of Parthia—Invasion of Crassus beyond the Euphrates—Second Invasion of Cesar in Britain.

THE provincial appointments of Pompey and Crassus, with that which was at the same time prolonged to Cesar, seemed to dismember the empire, if not to expose the republic itself to great danger.

Of these three adventurers, Pompey and Cesar, apart from the evil particularly apprehended in any of their measures, were in themselves subjects of a very dangerous character: neither possessed that dignity of mind which fits the citizen for the equality of persons in a republican state; neither could acquiesce in the same measures of consideration or power which other senators had enjoyed before him; neither could be at ease where he did not command as master, or appear at least as the principal object in every scene in which he was employed.

This paltry ambition, some ages before, might have been held in contempt by the meanest of the people, or must have shrunk before that noble elevation of mind by which the statesman conceived no eminence besides that of high personal qualities employed in public services, or before the austere virtue which confined the public esteem to acts of public utility, supported by unblemished reputation in private life. But in the present age, there was a fashion

which set such antiquated notions at defiance, controlled the authority of the state itself, and bestowed on private adventurers the attachment which belonged to the commonwealth, and the deference which was due to its legal head.

In the progress of this republic the character of parties has already repeatedly changed, and the danger to be apprehended from them accordingly varied.

In the first periods of its history, citizens were divided on the supposed distinctions of birth ; and, in the capacities of patrician or plebeian, strove for prerogative or privilege with much emulation, as separate orders of men in the commonwealth, but with little jealousy of personal interests.

In a subsequent period, when the invidious part of the former distinction was removed, citizens having no longer the same subject of animosity, as being born to different pretensions, they entered more fully on the competition of individuals, and the formation of separate factions. They strove for the ascendant of aristocratical or democratical government, according to the interest they had formed to themselves in the prevalence of either. They were ready to sacrifice the peace and honour of the public to their own passions, and entered into disputes accordingly, which were in the highest degree dangerous to the commonwealth. They thought personal provocations were sufficient to justify public disorders ; or, actuated by vehement animosities, they signalized their victories with the blood of their antagonists. But, though sanguinary and cruel in their immediate executions, they formed no deliberate plans of usurpation to enslave their country, nor formed a system of evils to continue beyond the outrage into which they themselves were led by their supposed personal wrongs or factious resentments.

We are now again once more to change the scene, and to have under our consideration the conduct of men who were in reality as indifferent to any interest of party as they were to that of the republic, or to any object of state ; who had no resentments to gratify ; or who easily sacrificed those which they felt to the purposes of a cool and deliberate design on the sovereignty of their country. Though rivals, they could occasionally enter into combinations for mutual support, frequently changed their partisans, and had no permanent quarrel but with those who uniformly wished to preserve the republic.

Peace had now, for some years, except in that part where Cesar commanded, been established throughout the

empire. Instead of military operations, the state was occupied in directing the farms of the revenue, in hearing complaints of oppression from the provinces, and in appointing the succession of military governors.

It has been mentioned that Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, in exile from his kingdom, had applied to the Romans for aid in recovering his crown; that his suit had been granted, but rendered ineffectual by the regard which was paid to a supposed oracle, which forbade his being reinstated with a military force. He had withdrawn to Epheusus, and taken sanctuary in the temple, where he waited for some change of fortune in his favour. Lentulus, the governor of Cilicia, to whom the business of restoring him, though without military force, had been committed by the senate, deliberated whether he should not venture to disregard the restriction imposed upon him; march with an army and restore the king of Egypt. But the business still remained in suspense, when Gabinius arrived in Syria, and probably, by an advice from Pompey, undertook the restoration of this exile to his throne. Having received or bargained for a great sum of money in return for this service, he advanced with a fleet and an army towards Egypt, defeated the forces of Berenicé, and restored Ptolemy to his kingdom.

In this busy time of Cesar's faction at Rome, he himself, upon an alarm of an invasion from Germany, had been called to defend the northern extremity of Gaul. Two separate hordes, the *Tenchteri* and *Usipetes*, pretending to be driven by superior force from the usual tract of their migrations, had united together, and presented themselves on the banks of the Rhine. The native inhabitants of the right of that river instantly abandoned their habitations, and collecting all the boats that could be found on it to the opposite side, made a disposition to stop the passage of these invaders.

The Germans, observing the precautions which were taking against them, affected to lay aside the design of passing the Rhine; and, by changing their course, made a feint to divert the attention of their antagonists. But they suddenly turned their whole cavalry, and in one night re-passed the ground over which they had marched on the three preceding days, surprised a sufficient number of boats with which to accomplish their passage, dislodged the natives of the country on the left of the river before them, and from thence continued their migrations betwixt the Rhine and the Meuse, over what is now called the duchies of Juliers, of Limburg and Luxemburg.

These invaders amounted, by Cesar's account, to upwards of four hundred thousand souls; a number which exceeds that of the inhabitants of any city in Europe, besides London and Paris, and which may perhaps raise some suspicion of error in copying the text, or of exaggeration in the commentary, which was itself intended to raise the character of Cesar at Rome.

The Suevi, before whom the present invaders of Gaul had retired, were said to consist of a hundred cantons, each furnishing annually a thousand men for war, and a like number for the care of their herds and domestic concerns. Such clouds gathering on the frontiers of Cesar's province, required his presence. He accordingly assembled his army, and advanced between the Rhine and the Meuse. Being arrived within twelve miles of the camp of the Germans, he was met by their deputies, with an offer to treat with him.

Cesar seems to have granted a cessation of arms; and sent an order to his vanguard to abstain from hostilities. This order, however, had no effect. His advanced guard, consisting of five thousand horse, had an encounter with eight hundred of the enemy.

On the day which followed this skirmish of the cavalry, the leaders and principal men of the German: leaving their own camp unfurnished with officers, in perfect security, came in great numbers to that of Cesar to exculpate themselves, to convince him of their pacific dispositions, and to prevent the farther progress of his army. This he thought a favourable opportunity to cut off, by a complete surprise, this enemy entirely, and to finish the war. Having accordingly secured the persons of their leaders, who had thus put themselves in his hands, he advanced with his whole army directly to their camp, easily overcame the few that took arms to oppose him, and without distinction of sex or age, put the whole to the sword. The country, over all the ways by which they endeavoured to escape from the camp, at which the slaughter began, to the confluence of the Rhine and the Meuse, was strewed with the slain.

The Roman people, though seldom sparing of the blood of their enemies, were shocked at the recital of this extraordinary massacre; and proposed to deliver up the person of Cesar to those injured nations, that he might expiate, by his own sufferings, so many acts of injustice and impiety, which the gods might otherwise avenge on his country.

The German horse by their absence had escaped this calamity which befell their countrymen, and appear to have taken refuge with some of the hordes who lived near the

sources of the Roer and the Lippe. Thither Cesar, to spread the terror of his arms, soon afterwards pursued them; passed the Rhine by a bridge, which was executed in ten days, with much ingenuity, and some ostentation of his power and skill, and advanced into the contiguous parts of Germany, where, on account of the reception given in that quarter to the cavalry who had escaped the late massacre on the Meuse, he laid the country under military execution.

This singular man, whose abilities were equal to any task, now projected the invasion of Britain, though surrounded by the ocean, and untouched by the arms of any foreign invader. To carry this design into immediate execution, as soon as he had repassed the Rhine, he continued his march through the low countries, and collected his forces in the neighbourhood of the *Portus Itius* and *Gesoriacum*.*

The extent of this island, the numbers and character of its people, were then unknown on the continent. Cesar having in vain endeavoured to procure information in these particulars, sent a galley with orders to explore the coast, and to observe the countenance of the natives. He ordered all his shipping, and even those vessels which he had employed the preceding year against the *Veneti*,† to sail round the Cape of Brittany into the British channel, and repair to the straits which separate this island from the continent.

On the report of these preparations, which evidently pointed at Britain, some of the natives, willing to avert by negotiation the storm which threatened them, sent to the Roman proconsul a submissive message, and offered to come under his protection.

Cesar, founding a claim to the possession of the island on these advances which were made to him, proceeded with more boldness to the execution of his enterprise. That the natives of the country he was leaving might not create any trouble in his absence, he obliged them to give hostages, and made a proper disposition of his army to keep them in awe. He had assembled at the most convenient haven on the Gaulish side, now supposed to be the *Wissan*, between *Calais* and *Boulogne*, eighty transports or ships of burden, with a number of galleys to accommodate the officers of rank, and their equipage. The remainder of his shipping was yet detained, by contrary winds, in a creek at some miles' distance, supposed to be *Boulogne*; thither he sent his cavalry, with orders to embark on board the ships where they lay. He himself went on board, with the infantry of

* *Calais* and *Boulogne*. † In the Bay of *Biscay*, about *Vannes*.

two legions, at the former haven, and having found a favourable wind and moderate weather, weighed about ten at night, and reached the coast of Britain, on the following day, at ten in the morning. The cliffs, where he first came near to the shore, were high and steep, and the hills were covered with numerous bodies of foot, of men on horse-back, and even in wheel carriages, from which the natives of this country were accustomed to make war. It being impossible to land under such difficulties, and in the face of this opposition, he bore away, as is probable, to the northward about eight miles, with a favourable wind, to some part of the flat shore which surrounds the Downs; and here, in the manner of ancient debarkations, for which the shipping of those times was built, ran his transports aground and prepared to land.

In the mean time the Britons came down to the strand, and advanced even some way into the water to oppose the descent. Cesar seeing his men unusually backward, did not think proper in these circumstances to urge them farther; but ordered some of the lightest vessels, which were mounted with missile engines, or manned with archers and slingers, to row as near to the shore as they could on the right and the left of the landing-place, and from thence to gall the enemy. This disposition succeeded so well, that the beach close to the water was presently cleared, and the Romans were left to descend from their ships, and to wade undisturbed to the land.

On the fourth day after the Roman infantry had landed, a second division of ships, with the cavalry, appeared in sight; but before they could reach the land, were dispersed by a violent storm, even the shipping, from which the legions had disembarked, were set adrift, or filled with water, many of them beat to pieces or greatly shattered, and rendered unserviceable. Hereupon the natives began to drive away the cattle, and to lay waste the country within reach of the Roman camp. They flattered themselves that the enemy would be obliged to depart, or must perish for want of provisions. They assembled in great bodies to intercept the foragers of Cesar, and obliged him to cover them with the whole force of his army. The legions were at first greatly disconcerted by the unusual effect of the British chariots, and by the want of their own cavalry; but as they prevailed in every close fight, the Britons were soon dispirited, submitted, and agreed to deliver up a number of hostages. But Cesar not thinking it proper, with shattered vessels, at the mercy of autumnal winds and stormy seas, to await the performance of this article, ordered the

hostages to be sent after him into Gaul, reembarked with his army, and with the first favourable wind repassed to the continent. At his arrival, he found that the Morini, inhabiting what are now the districts of Calais and Dunkirk, with other nations of the low countries, had taken arms against the officers he had stationed to keep them in awe. The campaign therefore concluded with the operations which were necessary to quell this revolt. Cesar, having taken measures to enable him at a more convenient season to renew his expedition into Britain, set out as usual for Italy, and for the neighbourhood of Rome. Here he found Pompey and Crassus employed, as has been already related, in obtaining for themselves, and for him, the objects which they had severally in view. As if secure of their interests, they permitted the election of consuls to proceed without disturbance; and suffered Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, a professed partisan of the senate, together with Appius Claudius, to be elected consuls; Marcus Cato, and Milo, to be placed in the list of pretors; and several citizens, well affected to the senate, to be admitted into the college of tribunes.*

The winter and spring, however, were inactive on the part of the aristocracy. Pompey, now master of Spain and part of Africa, with an adequate army, still under the pretence, as has been mentioned, of his commission to furnish the public granaries with corn, remained in Italy, and passed the greater part of his time among his country villas. He was attended by numbers of every rank and condition, who treated him as a great prince, and with his connivance fomented disorders tending to shake the government of the senate; to the end that the republic might be forced to rely on him for support, while he himself affected to decline the burden.

In the management of these intrigues, and in the full hopes of their success, Pompey was now left by Crassus, as well as by Cesar. The first, in his impatience to take possession of his government, had broken through all the impediments that were placed to hinder his departure from Rome, made haste to Brundisium with his army, embarked, notwithstanding the unfavourableness of the season, and, with considerable loss, both of men and of shipping in a storm, made his passage into Macedonia.

Upon his arrival in Syria, he pillaged the temple of the Jews, and laid hold of treasure wherever else he could find it. He made a pretence of the military levies to be made

* U. C. 699.

in the provinces for extorting money; and afterwards, reserving the money he had raised for his own use, neglected the levies. In the same spirit of avarice and rapacity, he invaded the Parthians without any authority from the state, and even without the pretence of a quarrel.

The Parthians, like other dynasties which before or since have arisen in that part of the world, or in the neighbourhood of the Euphrates and the Tigris, were of Scythian extraction. On the decline of the Macedonian power, about two hundred years before the present date, a swarm from the north had migrated to the lower banks of the Tigris, overran the country round Ctesiphon, continued to harass the neighbourhood by their depredations; and, at last, being commanded by Arsaces, the founder of this new kingdom, took possession of an extensive country, and though under a new name, in fact restored the monarchy of Persia.

The Parthian, or new Persian monarchy, being yet in its vigour, was the most formidable power that now anywhere appeared within reach of the Roman arms. Its forces consisted almost entirely of horse. They had different notions of victory and defeat from other nations; they always counted it a victory, when, by their flights, they drew an enemy into straits by hasty and unguarded pursuits, and often enjoyed the greatest advantage when they seemed to be routed and to fly.

When Crassus advanced to the Euphrates, Orodes king of Parthia, then engaged in a war with Artabazus, on the side of Armenia, sent a deputation to expostulate with the Roman general on the cause of his hostile approach; Crassus made answer, that he would give the reasons of his coming when he arrived at Seleucia. Crassus proceeded in his march, passed the Euphrates, and ravaged Mesopotamia without any resistance. Having continued his operations until the end of the season, he returned for the winter into Syria. Upon his arrival in this province, he was joined by his son Publius, who had served some years in a considerable rank in the army in Gaul, and was now detached by Cesar with a thousand horse, and many marks of honour, to act under his father in Syria.

Cesar, in the mean time, found continual occupation for his troops in Gaul, or in the neighbourhood of that province. Early in spring, he returned to the quarters of his army in the low countries, and directed a great armament to assemble at the same port from which he sailed on the preceding year, in order to receive the army on their intended invasion of Britain. The force intended for this

expedition to Britain consisted of five legions, amounting possibly, on the probable supposition that they were not complete, to about twenty thousand men,* together with a body of Gauls, including many of their chiefs, whom Cesar chose to retain with his army, rather as hostages for the fidelity of their countrymen, than as auxiliaries in the war. The fleet consisted of five hundred and sixty transport vessels, twenty-eight armed galleys, with many tenders and small craft, provided by officers for their own conveniency, and for the reception of their equipages; in all eight hundred sail.

The wind being northerly for five-and-twenty days after the fleet was assembled, the troops still remained on shore. At the expiration of this time the wind changed, and on the embarkation proceeded, and being completed at sunset of the same day, the wind being still fair, the fleet weighed, and got into the channel. At daybreak, they saw the land of Britain on their left, and arrived at noon at a convenient part of the coast not far distant from the landing-place of the former year, but less exposed to the sea. This place we may suppose to have been Pigwell Bay, beyond the mouth of the Stour, or the entry to Sandwich Haven.

The Britons had assembled as formerly to oppose the descent of the Romans; but, on the appearance of so great a fleet, were intimidated, and withdrew from the coast. Cesar, being informed that the Britons had their forces assembled on a small river (probably the Stour,) at the distance of ten or twelve miles from his landing-place, put his army in motion in the night, and at break of day came up with them, dislodged them from their post, and obliged them to retreat. He had taken his resolution to pursue them on the following day, and had begun his march in three divisions, when a messenger overtook him with tidings, that all his ships, in a storm which arose in the preceding night, had been driven from their anchors, had run foul of each other, that many of them were stranded and wrecked, and all of them greatly damaged.

Cesar, on this report, having fixed the main body of his army in a well-fortified camp, selected a proper escort, and returned to the coast. At his arrival he found that forty of his ships were irrecoverably lost; but that the remainder, though greatly damaged, might be refitted. In the work of refitting and securing these vessels and building new ones, the army was incessantly employed for ten days, and without intermission even in the night. The

* The legions, at the end of this campaign, were reduced to 3,500.

fleet, at length, being in this manner secured from the dangers of the sea, and covered by an intrenchment on the side of the land, he returned to his camp, and resumed the operations of his army.

It appears that the natives of Britain, being divided into many small cantons, or separate principalities, and, as usual in such cases, frequently at war among themselves, had been actually at variance when Cesar arrived; but during the short respite which the disaster that had befallen his fleet had given them, they had agreed to suspend their own quarrels, and were assembled in greater numbers than formerly, under Cassivelaunus, a chieftain of Middlesex.

This chieftain brought into the field a numerous army of infantry, of horsemen, and armed chariots. His knowledge of the woods enabled him to harass the Romans on their march, and, following the tracts that were clear of under-wood, not only to gall them with missiles from the thickets but to charge them likewise with his horsemen and chariots, even in places where the ground seemed least fitted for the movement of such bodies. Encouraged with his success in this species of warfare, he ventured to attack the whole cavalry of the Roman army, which, being on a foraging party, were supported by an entire legion. But the Britons being, in this attempt, defeated with great slaughter, their chief lost courage, or was deserted by his followers, and never more attempted to face the Romans.

Cesar, finding this enemy remit his ardour, advanced with a quicker pace. He appears to have followed the vale of the Stour to Ashford, and from thence to have kept on the plains to Maidstone; and then to have advanced to the banks of the Thames at the reach which runs from south to north, somewhere between Kingstone and Brentford. There he observes, that the only ford in the river was fenced and guarded; that a row of sharp stakes was driven under water; that the opposite bank was lined with a palisade, and manned by a numerous body of the natives. He nevertheless proceeded to force his way, and by the impetuosity of his attack, drove the enemy from their post, and effected his passage.

Cassivelaunus had, for some time, made no attempt to resist the Roman army; he had contented himself with observing their motions, and with endeavouring to strip the country before them of every particular by which they could profit on their march. Cesar, on his part, advanced with the precautions necessary against such an enemy, and, as they had destroyed what could be of immediate use to his army, he destroyed what was left, in order to force the

natives to submission. In this state of the war, having leisure and opportunity to observe the condition of the country and the manners of the people, he gives the following account of both: "That on the coast there were colonies from the neighbouring continent, still distinguished by the names of the countries from whence they had come; that these colonies, being possessed of agriculture, and well stocked with cattle, were extremely populous; that they had money made of iron or brass; the first of which metals, with great quantities of tin, were found in their own island; the other metal was imported from abroad; that the winter was milder here than in Gaul; that the woods of Britain furnished the same timber with those of Gaul, except the fir and the beech; and that the houses were built in the same manner in both countries." From this account of the coast he proceeds to observe, "That the inland parts were occupied by the original natives, who, with little corn, subsisted chiefly by milk and the other produce of their herds; that, by a particular superstition, although possessed of hares, of geese, and other fowls, they were forbid to eat of these animals; that they were curious in the ornaments of the person; affected to have bushy whiskers, and long hair; that they stained or painted their bodies of a blue colour, and had no clothes besides the skins of beasts; that they associated in small clubs or fraternities of ten or a dozen in number." And adds a circumstance, in which, if he were not deceived, as is common enough to foreigners, by some appearances which were not sufficiently explained to him, he gives a striking example of the diversity which takes place among mankind in settling the canon of external actions. The brothers, the father, and the son, though separately married, and reputed the parents of children, brought forth by their respective wives, yet, without jealousy or imputation of evil, lived with those wives in common.

Cesar, being on the left of the Thames, made an alliance with the Trinobantes, supposed to have been the inhabitants of Essex and Suffolk. The sovereign of this canton having, in some quarrel with his own people, been expelled from his dominion, had taken refuge with Cesar in Gaul, and was now, by force of the Roman arms, restored to his kingdom. Five other principalities submitted at the same time. Cassivelaunus retired to his principal fortress, from which he was driven by the Romans, leaving some herds of cattle, and many of his men, to fall into their hands. After this defeat, the British prince endeavoured, as a last resource, to give Cesar some trouble in his rear; and for this purpose

sent an order to the four princes of Kent, to assemble their people, and endeavour to force the Roman station, and destroy the Roman shipping, where they lay on the coast. They accordingly attacked the intrenchment, but were repulsed; and Cassivelaunus himself, reduced to despair by the defection of so many of his countrymen, and by his repeated defeats, determined to make his submission. The season of the year being far advanced, and Cesar, desirous to retire with honour from a country in which he was not prepared to make any settlements, accepted this on easy terms.

A certain tribute was imposed on the nations inhabiting the banks of the Thames, hostages taken for the payment of it, and the invaders, with a host of prisoners, retired to their ships, and were transported into Gaul.

CHAP. II.

Death of Julia the daughter of Cesar and wife of Pompey — Trial of Gabinius — Detection of an infamous Transaction of Memmius and Ahenobarbus — Revolt of the Low Countries — Military Execution against the Inhabitants of the Country between the Rhine and the Meuse — Operations of Crassus in Mesopotamia — His Death — Competition for the Consulate — Death of Clodius — Riot in the City — Pompey sole Consul — Trial of Milo.

WHILE the Roman army was in Britain, there happened, by the death of Julia, the daughter of Cesar and wife of Pompey, a great change in the discontinuance of the relation which subsisted between them, and in the separation of their supposed political interests. While the familiar relation of father-in-law and son subsisted between Cesar and Pompey, and while Crassus continued to hold a species of balance in their councils, they seemed to acquiesce in a participation of consequence and power. But the death of Julia, and that likewise of the child of which she had been delivered only a few days before her death, put an end, not only to any real cordiality in this connexion, but even to any semblance of friendship, and rendered them, from this time forward, mutually jealous of the advantages they severally gained, whether in respect to force in the provinces, or to state and popularity at Rome.

In the mean time, parties in the city, though engaged on the side of different competitors for office at the approaching elections, were likewise intent on the cause of Gabinius. This officer, while yet in his province, had been impeached

for disobeying the orders of the senate, and for contempt of religion in his expedition to Egypt. But having, by the influence of Pompey and of Cesar, eluded his first attack, he set out for Rome in great confidence. No less than three prosecutions were preparing against him: one for treason, one for extortion in his province, and one for some other crimes.

Before his trial for extortion took place, C. Memmius, one of the tribunes, on the ninth of October delivered to the people, with great force, a charge of treason against Gabinius. The judgment of the tribes being called, and sentence of condemnation likely to pass, while the lictors were preparing to seize their prisoner, his son, a young man, with much filial piety, a virtue highly esteemed by the Romans, threw himself at the feet of the tribune, and being rudely spurned on the ground, happened to drop his ring, the badge of Roman nobility; the spectators were moved; Lelius Balbus, another of the tribunes interposed, and, with the general approbation of the people, commanded the process to stop.

The other prosecutions nevertheless were continued against Gabinius. One before the pretor Alfius, in which the majority of the judges voted to acquit, another before Cato, on a charge of depredation in his province, to the amount of four hundred millions Roman money, or about three millions sterling; in this last he was condemned, and forced into exile.

The approaching elections gave rise to competitions and intrigues more connected with the state of the republic, and more an indication of the manners which then prevailed. The poorer citizens came to depend for their subsistence on the gratuities, which were made or procured by those who aspired to the offices of state. The laws against bribery were losing their force for want of persons to prosecute a crime, of which so many either wished to reap the benefit, or which many were so strongly tempted to commit. To supply this defect, Cato obtained an edict, requiring the ordinary judges, that were named for trials within the year, to take cognizance of the means by which candidates succeeded to office; and to set those aside who were found to have incurred the penalties of corruption. The tribunes interposed their negative; the proposal gave great offence to the parties concerned; and Cato, being attacked by the populace, narrowly escaped with his life. He afterwards, in a full assembly of the more respectable citizens, was favourably heard on this subject. But Terentius, one of the tribunes, still persisting in his negative, this attempt to

restrain the corrupt practices of those who canvassed for office had no effect.

In the competition for the consulate, corruption was carried to the greatest excess. An office was opened, at which the candidates dealt out money to the people, who came in the order of their tribes to receive it. All the four candidates, Memmius, M. Scaurus, Cn. Domitius Calvinus, and M. Messala, mutually raised prosecutions for bribery against each other; and in the course of these transactions, it appeared that Memmius, once a vehement partisan of the senate, had made his peace with Cesar, and was now supported by his party at Rome.

It appeared that, among other irregularities at Rome in the administration of government, even laws, and supposed acts of the senate or people, could be forged or surreptitiously obtained. The present consuls, Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Ap. Claud. Pulcher, entered into a compact with those two who were candidates to succeed them, Caius Memmius and C. Domitius Calvinus: the two first, to secure their own nomination to lucrative provinces at the expiration of their consulship; the two others now standing for this office, to secure their elections: and the parties agreed to forge an edict of the senate and of the people, fixing the consular provinces. Memmius, however, being gained by the parties of Cesar and Pompey, was persuaded to sacrifice his own reputation in order to ruin that of Domitius Ahenobarbus; and laid this strange agreement, which had been drawn up in writing, together with the bonds which had been granted upon it, before the senate.

The infamy of this recent transaction produced a delay of the elections, until the term of the present consuls in office was expired. An interregnum accordingly ensued. The partisans of Pompey hinted the necessity of naming a dictator. He himself affected great reserve, in expectation that when the present troubles came to their height, the powers necessary to suppress them would, by general consent, be pressed into his hands.

In the mean time, Cesar, whose councils had so great a share in determining these events, was detained in the northern parts of Gaul, and was obliged, contrary to his usual practice, to pass the whole winter on this side of the Alps. On his return from Britain, finding that the harvest in Gaul had been unfavourable, he extended his quarters, which reached from the Seine to the Meuse, about Maestricht, and from the sea to the neighbourhood of Treves. The distance at which the posts were placed from each

other being observed by the natives, who still bore with impatience the intrusion and usurpation of these strangers, tempted them to form a design against each of these quarters apart, and by cutting them off, to rid their country for ever of these imperious and insatiable guests.

In execution of this design, Ambiorix, leader of the nations which were situated in the angle, above the confluence of the Meuse and the Rhine, and round the quarters of Sabinus, which are supposed to have been at a place which is now called Tongres, suddenly presented himself with a numerous body before the Roman station, and endeavoured to force the intrenchment; but being repulsed, had recourse to an artifice in which he succeeded. Affecting a great regard for the Romans, he pretended to disclose, with the utmost regret, a secret design formed by the Gauls to cut off the Roman army; gave notice that a great body of Germans had already passed the Rhine to join in the execution of this design; that he himself had been very much averse to the project; but had been obliged to give way to the impetuosity of his countrymen, which he could not resist; that all he could do was to warn the Romans of their danger, to the end that they might withdraw, and gain the nearest station of their own people, while he had influence enough to hinder their being molested on the march.

This admonition determined Sabinus to quit his present situation. He accordingly began a march of fifty miles towards the quarters of Quintus Cicero, and falling into a snare, which the treacherous chieftain had laid for him, perished, with an entire legion and five cohorts, of whom the greater part were put to the sword. Some got back to the station they had left, but finding no security in that place, killed themselves in despair. A very few escaped, by the woods, to Labienus on the Moselle.

The natives, thus encouraged, pushed on to the quarters of Quintus Cicero, armed and assembled the country as they passed, and arrived with such expedition, that they intercepted all the parties which were abroad in search of wood, provisions, or forage, and made so unexpected an attack on the Roman station, as left Cicero scarcely time sufficient to man his intrenchments. The enemy being about sixty thousand men, formed a circle, facing to the centre, quite round the Roman intrenchment; and, the more effectually to cut off all communication of supplies or intelligence from without, effected a line of circumvallation, consisting of a ditch and a breastwork extending over a circumference of fifteen miles. From this line they made regular approaches to the Roman intrenchment; and having pushed their tur-

rets quite up to the ditch, threw, by means of their slings, red-hot bullets and burning darts into the thatch with which the huts of the camp were covered; set them on fire; and, in the midst of the confusion which arose from this circumstance, endeavoured to scale the palisade and the parapet.

While Cicero continued, with great ability and courage, to withstand these attacks, the intelligence was carried to the headquarters of the Roman army: and Cesar, as usual, trusting more to despatch and rapid execution than to the numbers of his men, left a legion at Samarobriva* to guard his stores, magazines, and baggage, and with two other legions, not exceeding seven thousand men, being all that, without hazarding an improper delay, he could assemble, hastened his march to the quarters of Cicero.

When the fire and smoke of Cesar's camp began to appear on the plain, and gave both parties equal intimation of his coming, the Gauls got in motion with all their force, and having abandoned their lines of circumvallation, advanced to meet him. Cicero sent him intelligence of this movement of the enemy. The armies arrived nearly at the same time on the opposite sides of a brook running in a hollow track between steep banks, which neither party in the presence of the other would venture to pass.

Cesar, supposing that the great inequality of his numbers might inspire the Gauls with contempt, endeavoured, by exceeding his usual caution, to feed their presumption. The event justified Cesar in his expectation. The Gauls, trusting to the superiority of their numbers, thought they had nothing to dread but the escape of their enemy; and they accordingly passed the rivulet, with intention to force an encampment which he had formed. Instead of defending it, he poured forth his army at once from all its avenues, and, with the advantage of a surprise upon those who came to attack him, and by the great superiority of the Romans, when mixed sword in hand with an enemy, routed, dispersed, or forced to lay down their arms, the greater part of this multitude.

By this victory Cesar not only relieved Quintus Cicero, whom he joined the same evening, but likewise dispelled the cloud which hung over the other quarters of his army. These insurrections, however, so much disconcerted the plan which he had formed for the winter, that he was hindered from making his usual journey across the Alps.

During this stay in Gaul, the civil government in the

* Amiens.

city was hastening fast to its ruin, and the longest sword was soon likely to decide the sovereignty of the empire. The occasion seemed ripe for the execution of Pompey's design; and accordingly another tribune, Luceius Hirrus, known to be in the secret of Pompey's intrigues, moved that he should be named dictator. This motion appeared to be extremely disagreeable to all the principal members of the senate. Pompey therefore thought proper to disclaim it, denied his having encouraged the tribune to make it, and even refused to accept of the dictatorship; adding, that he had been called to the exercise of great powers earlier than he himself had expected; and that he had always resigned his powers earlier than had been expected by any one else. Cato pronounced an encomium on this act of moderation, recommended the republic to his care, and encouraged him in the resolution he had taken, to prefer the esteem of his fellow citizens even to the power of disposing of their lives and fortunes at his pleasure. Pompey from thenceforward joined with the senate in bringing on the elections; and accordingly, after seven months' interval of confusion and anxiety, Cn. Domitius Calvinus and M. Valerius Messala were chosen and entered on office in the month of July.*

Cesar having, in the course of this winter, called the nations of Gaul to a general convention at an island in the Seine,† he began the operations of the following summer by punishing some of the cantons,‡ who had absented themselves from that assembly, and who, by this act of disrespect, had incurred his resentment, or given him suspicion of hostile intentions. The principal object of the campaign, however, was the punishment of Ambiorix and his countrymen, by whom, as has been related, Sabinus, with a legion and five cohorts, had been circumvented and cut off in the beginning of the preceding winter.

As the Romans scarcely appear to have conceived that any people had a right to withstand their invasions, and treated as rebellion every attempt a nation once vanquished made to recover its liberties, Cesar states it as necessary for the credit of the Roman army, for the security of their quarters, and for preventing such acts of perfidy for the future, that the subjects of Ambiorix should suffer an exemplary punishment. To secure this effect, he projected two expeditions; one to the right and the other to the left of this enemy's country, with intention to preclude them from any retreat or assistance on either side. He

* U. C. 700. † Now Paris. ‡ The Senones and Carnutes.

penetrated into the woods and marshes of Brabant, or the low grounds on the left of the Meuse, and obliged the inhabitants to come under engagements not to assist or harbour his enemies.

From thence, still avoiding to give any alarm to the nation which was the principal object of these operations, he advanced by quick and silent marches into the countries between the Rhine and the Meuse. Hitherto Ambiorix and his countrymen, who were the principal objects of all these operations, had taken no alarm, and had enjoyed such perfect security, that the leader himself, upon the arrival of Cesar's horse, narrowly escaped, and had no more than time, by a general intimation, to warn his people to consult their own safety. They accordingly separated, part hid themselves in the contiguous marshes, others endeavoured to find refuge with some neighbouring nations, or fled to the islands that were formed at the confluence of the Meuse and the Rhine.

Cesar, as if he had been forming a party of hunters, separated his army into three divisions; sent Labienus with one division to pursue those who had fled to the confluence of the two rivers; Tribonius with the second up the course of the Meuse; and he himself, in pursuit of Ambiorix, directed his march to the Scheld. His orders were, that each division should put all they met to the sword, and calculate their time so as to return to the place of general rendezvous in seven days.

Cesar having made an example, which he supposed was to overawe all the nations of that neighbourhood, and stationed two of his legions on the Moselle, and the remainder on the Marne, on the Seine, and the Loire, he himself hastened into Italy, where all his views and preparations ultimately centred. The scene of political intrigue, in which Crassus had hitherto borne a part with Pompey and himself, was now, in consequence of recent events on the other extremity of the empire, about to undergo a great change, that was likely to affect the conduct of all the parties concerned.

In the spring, Crassus had taken the field on the frontier of Syria, with seven legions, four thousand horse, and an equal number of light or irregular troops. With this force he passed the Euphrates, was joined by an Arabian chieftain, mentioned by historians under the different names of Acbarus or Ariamnes, and expected likewise to have been joined by Artabazus, king of Armenia; but Orodes, now on the throne of the Parthians, prevented this junction, by invading the kingdom of Armenia in person, while

he left Surena, a young warrior of great reputation, in Mesopotamia, to oppose the Romans.

Crassus intended to have followed the course of the Euphrates to where it approaches nearest to Seleucia and Ctesiphon, the capital of the Parthian kingdom; but was dissuaded by Ariamnes, who prevailed on him to direct his march eastward on the plains to meet Surena, as not in a condition to oppose him. Some parties too, that were advanced to examine the country, reported that they had been on the tract of departing cavalry, but that no enemy was any where to be seen. Thus Crassus was induced to quit the Euphrates, and agreeably to the directions of his guide, took the route of Carræ eastward. From thence, in a few marches, he arrived in sandy and barren plains, without trees, herbage, or water. While the army, though discouraged by these appearances, still continued its march, a few horsemen belonging to the advanced guard returned to the main body with signs of terror, and brought an account that their division had been surrounded by numerous bodies of horse, and to a few cut off; that the enemy were advancing apace, and must soon appear. Crassus fearing to be surrounded by the enemy, formed a square, having his cavalry on the angles.

The Roman army being thus compacted, the Parthians appeared on every side, came within reach of an arrow shot, and galled them without intermission. The weapons of the Romans in this situation availed them nothing; even the shield could not cover them from arrows, that showered from every quarter, and in many different directions. They stood however in their place with some degree of courage, in hopes that the quivers of the Parthians must soon be exhausted, and that this enemy would be obliged either to join them in close fight, or to retire. But they found themselves deceived in this expectation, observing that the enemy had a herd of camels in their rear, loaded with arrows, and that the quivers of those in the front were continually replenished from thence. At the same time Ariamnes, the Arabian, deserted, and was perceived to go over to the enemy. The desertion of this traitor, completed the general discouragement which the Romans had already begun to feel. They crowded together in despair, and oppressed with heat and thirst, or stifled with dust, they continued for a while, like beasts caught in a snare, to present an easy prey to their enemies.

In this extremity, Crassus ordered his son Publius to form the Roman horse into one body, and make a general charge. The young man advanced with great impetuosity

against a flying enemy, and in hopes of completing his victory: but the Parthians, under cover of the dust which everywhere arose, instead of flying before him, as he supposed, were actually turning on his flanks, and even falling behind him to encompass his rear. The legions at the same time, happy to be relieved from the attack of the enemy, quitted their ground, and for a little resumed their march, but the father, recollecting the danger to which he exposed his son, again prevailed on them to halt. In this situation, a few of the horse arrived, with accounts that they had been surrounded, that Crassus, the son, was slain, and the whole cavalry cut off, except a few who escaped to the father with these melancholy tidings.

Night, however, was fast approaching, and the Parthians, on a sudden, withdrew, sensible that their way of fighting would expose them to many disadvantages in the dark. It was always their practice to retire at night to a considerable distance from the enemy whom they had harassed by day, and upon these occasions they generally fled like an army defeated, until they had removed so far as to make it safe for them to pasture their horses, and to store up their arms. Crassus, apprised of this practice, took the benefit of the night to continue his retreat, and abandoning the sick and wounded of his army, made a considerable march before it was day. But the advance he had gained was not sufficient to hinder his being overtaken by the same enemy, and again involved in the same distress. Having his defeats and his flights renewed on every succeeding day, he arrived at last at the post which he had fortified at Carræ, and there found some respite from the attacks of the enemy. At this place, however, it was not possible to make any considerable stay, as the whole provisions of the army were lost or consumed, and such supplies as the country around might have furnished, were entirely in the power of the enemy. Here the army mutinied against Crassus, and offered the command to Caius Cassius; but he, although desired even by Crassus himself, declined to accept of it. The troops of consequence no longer obeyed any command, and separated into two bodies. The first went off by the plains on the nearest way into Syria: the other took the route of the mountains; and if they could reach them before the enemy, hoped to escape into Cappadocia or Armenia. The first division was accompanied or commanded by Cassius, who, though with considerable loss, led them back to Syria. The other, with Crassus himself, was pursued by Surena, and harassed on every ground where the Parthian horse could ply on their

flank or their rear. Being exposed to frequent losses, they suffered a continual diminution of their numbers.

Surena, apprehending that these remains of the Roman army might gain the mountains before he could force them to surrender, sent a deputation to Crassus, proposing a conference. Crassus, pressed to it by his troops, put himself, with a few friends, under the direction of Surena's messengers, and submitted to be led to their general; but on the way, finding himself treated as a prisoner, he refused to proceed, and having made some resistance, was slain. The army separated into sundry divisions, a few escaped into Armenia or Syria, the greater part fell into the enemy's hands.

Thus died Crassus, commonly reputed a rare instance of ambition, joined with avarice, and mean capacity. On account of his wealth, probably, he was considered by Cesar and Pompey as a person, who, if neglected by them, might throw a weight into the scale of their enemies; and he was admitted into their councils, as a person fit to witness their transactions, and on occasion to hold the balance in suspense between them. These circumstances placed him among the competitors for the principal influence at Rome, and makes his death an era in the history of those factions which were hastening to overwhelm the republic. By this event, his associates Cesar and Pompey, already disjoined by the dissolution of their family connexion, were left to contend for the superiority, without any third person to hold this species of balance between them.

The calm which had succeeded the late election of consuls was but of short duration. The time of electing their successors was fast approaching, and the candidates Scipio, Milo, and Hipseus, were already declared. Clodius, at the same time, stood for the office of pretor. These competitors, in contending for the streets and the usual places of canvassing the people, joined to the former arts of distributing money, and of exciting popular tumults, the use of an armed force, and a species of military operations in the city. Three parties in arms every day paraded in different quarters of the town, and wherever they encountered, violence and bloodshed generally followed.

These disorders so long obstructed the elections, that the term of the present consuls in office expired, before the nomination of any successors; and every legal power in the commonwealth being suspended, the former state of anarchy, with accumulated distractions, again ensued.* When

* U. C. 701.

the senate proposed to have recourse to the remedy usual in such disorders of the state, by naming an interrex, the only title under which any person could preside in restoring the magistracy by an election of consuls, they were forbid by the tribune Munatius Plancus.

During the confusion, an accident happened which brought the disorder to a height, and forced every party to accept of a remedy. On the 20th of January, Milo going to Lanuvium, a town about fifteen miles from Rome, of which he was chief magistrate, about three o'clock in the afternoon, met with Clodius returning from his country seat at Aricia. Milo was in a carriage with his wife Fausta, the daughter of Sylla, and a friend Fusius. He had a numerous escort, amounting to some hundreds of servants in arms, and, in particular, was attended by two noted gladiators: a fray ensued, Clodius endeavoured to quell it, or to punish the authors of it; but meeting with little respect among the gladiators, received a wound in the shoulder, and was carried to be dressed in the inn at Bovillæ, near to which place the disturbance began. Milo, thinking it safer to end their quarrels there, than await the revenge of an enemy thus provoked, who would not fail, at the head of his faction in the city, to rouse the fury of the populace against him, encouraged his people to pursue their advantage; they accordingly forced their way into the inn, dragged Clodius from thence, and having killed him, and dispersed all his followers, left him dead of many wounds in the highway.

On the body being taken to Rome, multitudes crowded to see it. The crowd continued to increase till Q. Munatius Plancus, and Q. Pompeius Rufus, tribunes of the people, gave orders to carry the body naked to the market-place, and there to leave it exposed to public view on the rostra; and at the same time accompany this spectacle with inflammatory harangues to the people. When this was done, the body was removed to the senate-house, as a reproach to the order of senators as accessory to the murder. The populace, who still followed in great numbers, burst into the place, tore up the benches, and brought into a heap the materials, with the tables and desks of the clerks, the journals and records of the senate, and having set the whole on fire, consumed the corpse on this extraordinary pile. The fire soon reached the roof, and spread to the contiguous buildings. The senate-house, the Porcia basilica, and other edifices were reduced to ashes. The mob repaired to the house of M. Lepidus, who, upon the first alarm of an insurrection, had been named interrex, forced into the hall, and destroyed

every thing they could reach. From thence, they proceeded to attack the house of Milo, but were received in such a manner as soon obliged them to withdraw.

From this time, for some days, an armed populace, mixed with slaves, continued, under pretence of searching for Milo and his adherents, to pillage every place they could enter. A succession of officers, with the title of *interrex*, continued to be named at the expiration of every usual term of five days ; but such was the confusion and distraction of the scene, that no election could be made. The senate, under the greatest alarm, gave to the *interrex*, and to the tribunes of the people, to whom they joined Pompey, the usual charge given to the consuls, to watch over the safety of the republic.

The partisans of Pompey, in the midst of this wild and disorderly state of affairs, were busy in renewing the cry which they had raised in the former *interregnum*, that he should be named dictator, for the re-establishment of order, and the restoration of the public peace. Such an extraordinary power had never been at any time more wanted in the republic ; but the times, in which it might be safely applied, were no more. The name of dictator recalled the memory of Sylla's executions, and it appeared to be uncertain against whom they might now be directed. To avoid the title more than the power of dictator, Bibulus moved in the senate, that all the present candidates for the consulate should be set aside, and that the *interrex* should assemble the people for the election of Pompey sole consul.

It was resolved, in terms of this motion, that Pompey should be presented to the people as sole candidate for the office of consul, and that after two months were elapsed, he might propose any other candidate to be joined in this office with himself. The election was accordingly brought on by the *interrex* Servius Sulpitius, and Pompey declared sole consul, with a commission from the senate to arm, if necessary, the inhabitants of Italy, for the better establishment of order in the city.

The first object of Pompey, in the high and unprecedented dignity which was now conferred upon him, appears to have been the framing of some laws to restrain for the future such disorders as had lately prevailed, and to bring criminals to justice. For this purpose, he obtained an act to enforce the laws which already subsisted against violence and corruption ; and to regulate the form of proceeding in trials on such criminal accusations.

By the regulations now suggested by Pompey, every trial was to end in four days. The examination of evidence

might occupy the three first; the hearing of parties, and the judgment, the fourth. The prosecutor was allowed two hours to support his charge, and the defendant three hours to make his defence. The number of advocates was restricted, and the use of commendatory characters prohibited. The *quesitor*, or judge criminal, was to be chosen from among those who had held the office of consul, and eighty judges or jurors were to be impaneled, and obliged to attend the trial. After the evidence and pleadings were heard, the parties were then allowed each to challenge or reject fifteen of the jury or judges. To remedy the general corruption at elections, a clause was enacted in the law of Pompey, by which any person formerly convicted of bribery, might obtain a remission of the penalties he had incurred by convicting any one other person of a crime equal, or by convicting two persons, though of a crime less heinous than his own.

These regulations were made with a particular view to the trial of Milo, now arraigned on the statutes both of corruption, and of violence or assassination. The aristocratical or senatorian party was much interested in his preservation. The argument, in equity, indeed was strong on his side. During the late suspension of government, the factions were rather separate parties at war, than subjects enjoying the protection, and amenable to the jurisdiction of any civil power whatever. They who procured or prolonged this state of anarchy, were alone chargeable with the consequences. Domitius Ahenobarbus was chosen commissioner for the trial of Milo, on the charge of murder; and the other judges, taken from among the most respectable of each order in the commonwealth, were impaneled in terms of the late statute.

The court, it appears, was assembled in the forum or open market-place. At the opening of the proceedings such a disturbance arose as induced Pompey to act with a strong military force, and several lives were lost in clearing the court. Afterwards witnesses were examined for two days without any disturbance. Among these the inhabitants of Bovillæ, the family and relations of Clodius, and his wife Fulvia, were examined on the several circumstances that fell within their knowledge, and left no doubt remaining with respect to the fact. The minds of men every day became more intent on the issue: so that, on the fourth day, when the parties were to plead, all other business was suspended in the city; the shops and offices were shut.

There appeared for the prosecutors Appius Claudius, M. Antonius, and Valerius Nepos. They began at eight, and

spoke till ten. For the defender appeared Q. Hortensius, M. Marcellus, M. Calidius, Faustus Sylla, M. Cato, and M. T. Cicero, of whom the last only attempted to speak. It is remarked of this celebrated orator, that he began all his orations under considerable solicitude and awe of his audience. On this occasion, when he stood up to speak, the partisans of Clodius, who were likewise inveterate enemies to himself, endeavoured to disconcert him with clamours and menacing cries. The unusual sight of military guards, commanded by an officer, who was supposed to be prejudiced against his client, it is said, so far overcame and sank his spirit, that he spoke feebly, and concluded abruptly; and that what he actually delivered was far short of that masterly oration which he composed, and afterwards published under the title of Milo's defence.

The accused, however, even in this alarming scene, stood at the bar with an undaunted countenance; and while every one else, in imitation of the senators, appeared in mourning, he alone appeared in an ordinary dress. When judgment was given, and the ballots inspected, it appeared that he was condemned by thirty-eight, against thirteen. Before sentence was pronounced, being still at liberty to withdraw, he retired into exile, and fixed his residence at Marseilles.

CHAP. III.

Character of Pompey in capacity of sole Consul - Privilege of Cesar to be admitted as Candidate for the Office of Consul, without resigning his Province - General Revolt of the Gauls - Operations in that Country—Blockade and Reduction of Alesia—Distribution of Cesar's Army in Gaul.

POMPEY in his dignity of sole consul, having joined a legal authority to the personal elevation which he always affected, possessed much of the influence and consideration of a real monarch; and it would have been happy, perhaps, for the state, if he could have made such a dignity hereditary, and a permanent part of the constitution, or given to the commonwealth that reasonable mixture of kingly government, of which it appears to have stood so greatly in need. In his present elevation he rose for a while above the partialities of a factious leader, and appeared to adopt that interest which the sovereign ever has in the support of justice. He even seems to have personated the character

of a prince, or to have considered himself as above the rank of a citizen.

Besides the measures taken to punish past offences, it was thought necessary to devise some laws to prevent for the future, or to lessen the temptation to the commission of such dangerous crimes. The principal source of the late disorders appeared to be the avidity of candidates for those offices of state, which led immediately to the government of lucrative provinces. To remove this temptation, it was ordained, at the suggestion of Pompey, that no man could be appointed to a province till five years after the expiration of that office, whether of consul, pretor, or questor, in virtue of which he claimed a proportionate station in the provinces.

Before the enacting of this law, however, Pompey had the address to procure for himself a prolongation of his government in Spain for five years. It had been wisely ordained by the laws, that the persons offering themselves as candidates for the office of consul, should appear in person to sue for it; and that no man, without resigning his command and dismissing his army, could enter the city, or even go beyond the limits of the province in which he had governed. Pompey, however, though vested with such a command in Spain, had contrived to be exempted from the observance of this law; and, under pretence that his office of general purveyor of corn for the Roman people did not confine him to any station, and in reality extended to the whole empire, or had a particular reference to Italy, still continued to reside in the city of Rome.

Cesar, to keep pace with his rival, openly aspired to the same privilege with Pompey, and instructed his partisans among the tribunes to move, that, being continually engaged in a hazardous war, which required his presence, and being necessarily detained abroad in the service of his country, he might be exempted from the law, which required the candidates for office to attend their canvass in person, and might therefore be elected into the consulate without presenting himself to the people for that purpose.

This proposition was sufficiently understood by the leading men of the senate, and by the few who joined with them in support of the commonwealth. Cicero, as well as Pompey, supported the tribunes in their motion, and obtained for the proconsul of Gaul the dispensation he desired, to retain his army, while he offered himself a candidate for the highest office of the state at Rome. Cesar contented for the present with the privilege he had obtained, left the state, as before, apparently in the hands of Pompey; and

in the middle of winter, on the report of a general defection of all the Gaulish nations, repassed the Alps.

Most of the nations that lay beyond the mountains of Auvergne, the original limits of the Roman province, roused by the sense of their present condition, or by the cruel massacre lately executed in a part of their country, were actually in arms. The occasion, they said, was favourable for the recovery of their country. The Romans were distracted at home, and Cesar had sufficient occupation in Italy. The present time, they concluded, was the favourable opportunity to shut out the Romans for ever beyond the Cevennes, or even to force them to retire within the Alps.

The people of the Carnutes* undertook to begin hostilities; and accordingly, on a day fixed, surprised the town of Genabum,† where they put many Roman traders, together with the commissary general of the army, to death. It was the custom of the Gauls to convey intimation of such events by means of a cry which they raised at the place of action, and repeated wherever the voice was heard, till passing almost with the velocity of sound itself, it gave the speediest information of what was done. In this manner intelligence of what had been transacted at Genabum at the rising of the sun, was, before night, propagated in every direction to the distance of a hundred and sixty miles, and put all the nations within this compass in a ferment. Its first and principal effects, however, were produced in the country of the Arverni.‡ Here Vercingetorix, a youth of heroic spirit and great capacity, assembled his retainers, took possession of Gergovia, now Clermont, the capital of his country, and from thence sent messengers in every direction to urge the execution of the measure lately concerted for the general freedom of Gaul. He himself, in return for his zeal, being chosen the common head of the confederacy, in this capacity, fixed the quota of men and of arms to be furnished by each separate canton, and fixed the time and place of muster.

Vercingetorix having assembled a considerable army, sent a part of his force to act on the Garonne, and to harass the frontiers of the Roman province, while he himself moved to the Loire, and brought to his standard all the warriors of those cantons that lay on the left of that river. His party on the Garonne, at the same time, were joined by all the nations of Aquitania, and, in formidable numbers, threatened with immediate destruction the cities of Tou-

* Chartres.

† Orleans.

‡ Auvergne.

louse and Narbonne, or such part of their districts at least as were open to invasion.

Thither Cesar, with all the forces he could assemble upon his arrival from Italy, immediately repaired ; and having put the province of Narbonne in a condition not to be insulted, proceeded to give the enemy an alarm in their own country. Having entered Auvergne he sent his cavalry abroad in numerous parties to destroy with fire and sword the people, with their habitations and possessions. When he thought the alarm was sufficiently spread, and must have reached the Gaulish army on the Loire, and drawn them to that quarter of the country, he pretended that his presence was required in the province behind him, gave the command of the troops in Auvergne to Decimus Brutus, then a young man ; giving him orders at the same time to keep his parties abroad, and to continue to harass the country as he himself had done.

Having taken these measures to fix the attention of the enemy in one quarter, Cesar, with a few attendants, passed by Bibracte,* and the country of the Lingones,† to the nearest quarter of his army on the Seine, and while he was yet supposed to be in Auvergne, had actually assembled his legions which had been distributed on the course of that river.

Vercingetorix having notice that the Roman army on the Seine was in motion, perceived that the invasion of his own country had been no more than a feint, and resumed the operations which he had intermitted on the Loire.

Cesar, notwithstanding the difficulty of procuring provisions and forage so early in the season, thought himself under a necessity of opposing the progress of the enemy. For this purpose he left his baggage, under the guard of two legions, at Agendicum ;‡ and from thence, with the remainder of the army, proceeded to Genabum § Upon his arrival there the Gauls resolved to abandon the town ; but Cesar, having notice of their design, forced open their gates, put the greater part to the sword, and, under the pretence of revenging the massacre of the Roman traders, who had been cut off at this place, ordered that the town should be destroyed. From thence he penetrated into the country of the Bituriges,|| on the left of the Loire ; and, on his way towards Avaricum,¶ the capital of that district, forced every place that opposed his passage.

Vercingetorix, observing the rapid progress of the

* Afterwards Augustodunum, now Autun.

† Langres.

‡ Sens.

§ Orleans.

|| Now Berri.

¶ Bourges.

Romans, and knowing that the Gauls, being without order or discipline, could not withstand them in battle, declined an engagement, but endeavoured to distress the enemy by delays and want of provisions. He had authority enough with his own people to persuade them to lay their country waste every where within many miles of Cesar's route. Twenty towns of the Bituriges were burned in one day. Avaricum alone, contrary to the opinion of Vercingetorix, and at the earnest request of its inhabitants, who undertook to defend it to the last extremity, was spared.

The place was covered on two sides by a river and a morass, and was accessible only on the third. The walls of the town were ingeniously constructed with double frames of wood, having compartments or pannels filled up with masonry and large blocks of stone. The masonry secured the timber from fire, and the frames preserved the masonry against the effects of the battering ram, which could act only on the stones contained within a single pannel or division of the frame, without ruining at once any considerable part of the wall, or effecting a breach. The Roman army approached to this wall by the most laborious and difficult methods which were practised; and notwithstanding many difficulties, by degrees brought forward and raised their mound of approach to the height of the battlements; so that by a single assault they might determine the fate of the town. And while both parties were preparing for a last effort, Cesar took the opportunity, as he frequently did, of a heavy rain to make his attack. The besieged, as he supposed, had taken shelter from the weather, and were in that instant put off their guard. He got possession of the battlements with little resistance, and drove the parties who manned them before him from the walls. The inhabitants formed in the streets, and the Romans who had entered, extending their line to right and left along the ramparts, were about to occupy the battlements over the whole circumference of the place, when the garrison, observing their danger, began to escape by the gates. In the confusion that followed, the town was sacked, and could make no resistance. Of forty thousand persons who had taken shelter in it, no more than eight hundred escaped. This massacre was joined to that lately performed at Genabum, under the pretence of completing the vengeance which was due for the murder of the Roman traders who were put to death at the breaking out of the present revolt.

The Gauls, as usual on every calamitous event, were greatly disheartened, and were about to despair of their cause, when their leader reminded them, that, contrary to

his judgment, they had reserved this place from the general devastation, and had themselves undertaken to defend it ; that what they suffered was the consequence of a mistake, and might be retrieved by abler conduct. His authority as usual rose on the ill success of counsels which he had not approved, and brought an accession of numbers to his standard.

Cesar, finding a considerable supply of stores and provisions at Avaricum, remained some days to relieve and to refresh his army. The country around him, however, being entirely laid waste, or occupied by parties of the enemy, he passed to the right of the Loire and made a demand on his allies of that side for ten thousand men on foot, and all the horses they could furnish.

He now had enemies on every quarter, and it was good policy to keep them divided, and to occupy them separately. For this purpose he sent four legions towards the Seine ; while he himself took the route of Noviodunum,* at the confluence of the Loire and Allier ; and there leaving his money, spare horses, and unnecessary baggage, he continued his march on the banks of the Allier, with intention to pass that river, and to invade the Arverni, from whom this revolt had originated, and whose chief was now at the head of it. This prince, knowing that the river Allier is never fordable till autumn, when the melting of the snows on the Cevennes begin to abate, ordered all the bridges upon it to be demolished, and hoped to prevent the Romans from passing it during the greater part of summer. As soon as Cesar marched from Noviodunum, he presented himself on the opposite bank of the river, and regulated his motions by that of the enemy.

It happened that one of the bridges of the Allier had been but imperfectly destroyed ; most of the piles were yet fast in the ground, and appeared above water ; so that a passage might be effected in a few hours. The country around was woody, and furnished cover, or a place of ambush, to any number of men. From these circumstances Cesar overreached the enemy, by putting his army in motion as usual, but himself remaining with a sufficient detachment in the neighbourhood of the ruined bridge, which he repaired. He then passed with a division of the army he had reserved for this purpose, and instantly fortified a post to cover them on the opposite bank. From thence he sent orders to recall the main body ; and before the enemy were apprised of his design, had reunited all his forces on the left of the river.

* Nevers.

Vercingetorix, as soon as he had intelligence that the Romans had passed the Allier, fell back to Gergovia,* the capital of his own principality, in order to take measures for the safety of that place. It being situated on a height, having an ascent of above a mile from the plain, and surrounded by other hills, which made part of the same ridge, he fortified it and encamped on the hill. Cesar pitched his camp at some distance from the foot of the hill, and foresaw that all the heights in his neighbourhood being in possession of the enemy, while he pressed upon the town, he himself might be hemmed in, and cut off from all the supplies necessary for the support of his army. To preserve his communication, therefore, with the Allier and the Loire, he ordered his allies from the opposite side of these rivers to advance with the forces he had formerly required of them, to occupy the country in his rear, and to cover his convoys. They accordingly took the field; but their leaders having been for some time inclined to favour the general cause of the Gauls, they thought this a favourable opportunity to declare their intentions. Being arrived within thirty miles of Cesar's army, they halted; and, upon a report which was industriously spread amongst them, that he had murdered some of their countrymen who were already in his camp, they put all the Romans in their company to death, and took measures to join their countrymen who were assembled for the defence of Gergovia. They had not yet moved to execute this resolution, when Cesar had notice of what was intended, and with his usual diligence arrived, after a march of thirty miles, with four legions, and all his cavalry, in time to prevent its effects. He presented himself as a friend; and thinking it safest for the present to disguise his resentment, he produced into public view all the persons who were said to have been killed by his orders, convinced such as had been deceived of their error, and brought them, with the seeming cordiality of allies, to his camp.

Cesar made a merit with the Ædui of this act of clemency towards their people; but found that the spirit of defection, had pervaded the nation; that the violence committed in the camp was an effect of the resolutions adopted by the whole people; that, in pursuance of the same measures, his purveyors and commissaries had been assaulted and pillaged even where they thought themselves secure, as in a friend's country; and that he could no longer rely on the affections of any nation in Gaul.

* Now supposed to be the neighbourhood of Clermont.

The leaders of the *Ædui*, however, on hearing of the lenity that was shown to such of their people as were in the power of Cesar, pretended to return to their duty ; and Cesar declared himself willing to rely on the wisdom of the state itself for the reparation of wrongs which a few ill-advised persons of their country had committed.

After retiring from Gergovia, the besiegers attempted to force a wall, which the Gauls had built on the ascent of the hill which led to the town ; and having made a feint on the opposite side with part of his horse, joined by the followers of the army mounted on horseback, who showed themselves at a distance like cavalry, Cesar drew the enemy from the place he meant to attack, actually passed the wall, and made himself master of part of their camp. A few of his men penetrated even into the town ; but not being supported were surrounded and slain ; even those who had succeeded at first under favour of the feint by which he had drawn off the enemy, were, upon the return of the Gauls to the defence of their camp, repulsed with considerable loss. In consequence of this defeat, it was no longer doubtful that Cesar would be under the necessity of raising the siege.

In order to begin his retreat without any appearance of fear, he formed his army two days successively on the plain before his entrenchment, and offered the enemy battle. On the third day he decamped ; and, with the credit he derived from this species of defiance or challenge, in three days he arrived at the Allier, repaired his bridge, and entered the country on the right of the Loire, now hostile. He was yet inclosed between these two rivers, having enemies on every side, and no magazines or stores for the supply of his army. He deliberated whether he should not fall back on the province of Narbonne ; but the danger to which he must expose Labienus, commanding a division of the Roman army on the Seine, the difficulty of passing the mountains of Auvergne, then occupied by his enemies, and the discredit which his arms must incur from such a retreat, prevented him. He determined therefore to advance ; passed the Loire by a ford above its confluence with the Allier ; found a considerable supply of provisions and forage in the country of the *Ædui*, and continued his march from thence to the Seine.

Labienus, with the troops he commanded in that quarter, had besieged Lutetia, the original germ from which the city of Paris has grown, then confined to a small island in the Seine, and had made some progress in the siege, when he heard of Cesar's retreat from Gergovia, of the defection

of the *Ædui*, and of preparations which were making by the nations on his right against himself. In these circumstances, he laid aside his design on *Lutetia*, and effected a junction with *Cesar*.

While the Romans were thus re-uniting their forces on the *Seine*, *Vercingetorix* had passed the *Loire*, and held a general convention of the Gaulish nations at *Bibracte*. He was attended by deputies of all the cantons from the *Moselle* to the *Loire*, except the *Treviri*, *Remi*, and *Lingones*.*

The leader of the Gaulish confederacy being at this meeting confirmed in his command, made a requisition for an augmentation of force, chiefly of cavalry, and accordingly increased this part of his army to fifteen thousand. To the end that he might give the Romans sufficient occupation in their own defence, he projected two separate invasions of the province of *Narbonne*: one to be executed by the nations which lay between the *Rhone* and *Garonne*, towards *Toulouse*; the other, from the *Saone* and the upper parts of the *Loire*, towards *Geneva* and the left of the *Rhone*. He himself, though still determined to avoid any general action, was to harass the enemy in their movements, and to cut off their supplies of provisions.

Cesar, on his part, wished to open his communication with the Roman province, that he might have access to cover it against the designs of the enemy, and to avail itself of its resources for the subsistence of his army. For this purpose, it was necessary for him to return, by the *Saone* and the *Rhone*, through a level country which was in possession of the enemy, to whom he was greatly inferior in cavalry. He sent into Germany for a reinforcement of horse; and two thousand of the natives joined him, when he began his march to the southward; and having passed the heights at the sources of the *Seine*, found the Gauls already posted in three separate divisions, contiguous to the different routes he might take. A sharp encounter ensued, in which the whole cavalry of both armies came to be engaged. The Gauls were routed chiefly by the valour and address of the Germans, to whom *Cesar* imputed his victory; and *Vercingetorix* instantly retired. *Cesar*, no longer apprehensive of the enemy's horse, resumed his confidence and followed the flying enemy.

Vercingetorix, with his very numerous army, took post at *Alesia*, a place raised on a hill at the confluence of two rivers; the point on which it stood being the termination

* Now *Treves*, *Rheims*, and *Langres*.

of a ridge which separated the channels by which these rivers descended to the plain. The fields on one side were level, on the other mountainous. The Gauls were crowded together on the declivity of the hill of Alesia, under the walls of the town, and in that position thought themselves secure from any attack. But Cesar immediately began to surround them, making a proper distribution of his army, and employing working parties at once on a chain of twenty-three posts and redoubts.

Vercingetorix, though too late, perceiving the enemy's design, dismissed his cavalry with instructions to make the best of their way to their several cantons, and there to represent the situation in which they had left the army, and the necessity of making a great and speedy effort from every quarter to relieve it. He had eighty thousand men under his command, and might be able to subsist them for thirty days, and no longer.

The Roman armies in general, and those which served under Cesar in particular, had learned to make war with the pickaxe and the shovel, no less than with the javelin and the sword, and were inured to prodigies of labour as well as of valour. In the present case they were made to execute lines of circumvallation and countervallation over an extent of twelve or fourteen miles.

As he had reason, at least after the distress of a blockade began to be felt, to expect from a garrison, which exceeded his own army in numbers, the most vigorous sallies from within; and, by the united exertions of all the Gaulish nations in behalf of their friends, every effort that could be made from without; and as his own army, consisting of no more than sixty thousand men, could not equally man, in every place, works of such extent, he covered his lines with every species of out-work then practised in the art of defence.

All these works, it appears, the Roman army completed, considerably within the thirty days for which Vercingetorix had computed that his provisions might last. Both parties concerned in this blockade, without any attempt to hasten the event, seemed to wait for the several circumstances on which they relied for the issue. Cesar trusted to the effects of famine, and the Gauls to the assistance of their friends, who were in reality assembling in great numbers from every quarter to effect their relief. They are said to have mustered at Bibracte* no less than two hundred and forty thousand foot, with eight thousand horse. The supreme command of this multitude was given to

* Autun.

Comius, a chieftain of one of the northern cantons, who having some time made war in conjunction with the Romans, owed the rank which he held in his own country to the favour of Cesar, but could not resist the contagion of that general ardour with which his countrymen now rose to recover their freedom.

While this great host was assembling, the unhappy garrison of Alesia received no tidings of relief. Their provisions being nearly exhausted, they began to despair of succour. A council was held to deliberate on their conduct, and to form some plan of escape. The result of this deliberation was a resolution to hold out, and in order to lessen the consumption of food, to turn out the women, children, and unarmed inhabitants of the town to the mercy of the enemy. The latter resolution was immediately put in execution, when Cesar, in order to accumulate the sufferings of the besieged, would neither relieve nor suffer the destitute multitude to pass. From these circumstances we may presume, that they must have perished a spectacle of extreme anguish and suffering in the presence of both armies.

In the midst of these extremities, Comius, with the united force of the Gaulish nations, at last appeared for the relief of Alesia, and advanced within less than half a mile of Cesar's lines. On the following day an action took place which turned out unfavourably for the Gauls. Nothing passed for two days between the hostile armies; but at the end of that time a general midnight assault was made from without on the works of Cesar. It also proved a failure.

From this disappointment the Gauls, both within and without the blockade, were sensible of their error in having made an attack before they had examined the enemy's works. In correcting this mistake, they observed, in a particular place, that the exterior line was interrupted by a hill which it could not embrace without making a great circuit; that Cesar, to avoid so great an addition to his labour, and so much outline to defend, had encamped two legions in that place with their usual entrenchment, which formed a kind of fortress on the summit of the hill, trusting to this camp as a redoubt that would connect his defences on that side.

This place was chosen by the Gauls for a second and better concerted attempt than the first. Five-and-fifty thousand men were selected for this service; and they began their march early in the night, arrived at their ground before break of day, and lay concealed under a ridge of hills till noon. At this time they came forward, furnished not only with grappling irons to tear down the palisade, which was

formed on the parapet, but with hurdles and fagots to fill up the ditch, and to smother the stimuli from which they had suffered so much in their former attacks.

Cesar ordered Labienus instantly, with six cohorts, to support the legions that were posted in that station ; with instructions, in case he found that the lines could not be defended, to sally forth, and to bring the action to an issue, in which the Romans were generally found to have an advantage by mixing with the enemy sword in hand. He observed the Gauls, who were shut up on the heights of Alesia, begin the action on their part nearly about the same time ; and finding Labienus much pressed where the Gauls made their principal effort, he detached two several parties from his reserve to sustain him. At length, upon receiving information that Labienus meant, with all the troops who had joined him from different stations, amounting to nine-and-thirty cohorts, to make a general sally according to his instructions, he himself instantly moved to support him.

He had, in this critical moment, with his usual genius and presence of mind, ordered his cavalry to get out of the lines ; and, while the foot were engaged in front, to take the enemy in flank or in the rear. The Gauls, although in the attack they had acted with ardour ; yet lost courage when pushed to defend themselves ; and, upon the appearance of Cesar's cavalry in their rear, took to flight, and were pursued with great slaughter.

This flight at once decided the fate of both attacks ; of the Gauls who were shut up in Alesia, and of their countrymen who had come to their relief. During the night, those in the field, discomfited by their repulse, were separating, leaving their chieftains, and dispersing in different directions. Many fell a prey to the parties who were sent in pursuit of them. Those from within the lines, who had suffered so long a blockade, determined to surrender ; and Vercingetorix suffered himself to be delivered up to the Romans. With respect to the treatment he received, Cesar is silent ; but it is probable, that, like other captive chiefs, on such occasions, he was destined to grace the future triumph of his conqueror.

The other prisoners also, except those who belonged to the cantons of the *Ædui* and *Arverni*, underwent the ordinary fate of captives ; and, in this capacity, were exposed to sale, or divided as plunder among the troops.

CHAP. IV.

Cesar remains in Gaul — Pompey assumes Piso into the Office of Consul — Succession of Servius Sulpicius and M. Claudius Marcellus — Arrangement for the Provinces — Motion to recall Cesar — Continued Debates in the Senate — Operations of Cesar in Gaul — intrigues in the City — Affairs in the other Provinces — Campaign of Cicero — Succession of Consuls — State of Parties in the City and in the Senate — Cesar makes a Circuit through his Province — Parts with two Legions to Pompey and the Senate — Alarm of Cesar's March — The Consul Marcellus commits his sword to Pompey.

THE seventh and the most difficult campaign of the war in Gaul being now at an end, Cesar sent Labienus, with two legions beyond the Saone; Caius Fabius, with two more, to the heads of the Marne and the Meuse; other officers with separate bodies, amounting in all to three legions, into different stations beyond the Loire and towards the Garonne; Quintus Tullius Cicero, with some other officers, to a station allotted them on the Saone, to superintend the formation of magazines.

Cesar himself determined to pass the winter on this side of the Alps. He resolved, by remaining at a distance, as much as possible to shun the notice of such parties at Rome as were known to observe his proceedings, and to state them as matter of general alarm. He nevertheless did not suffer any thing of moment to pass in the city without taking some part by means of his agents and partisans.

Pompey had now, for some months, exercised the office of sole consul. In that time he had, in some measure, restored the authority of government, and had exercised it with moderation. Having enjoyed his present dignity from the first of March to the beginning of August, he took for colleague his father-in-law Metellus Scipio. The newly elected colleague of Pompey, desirous to signalize his administration by some act of reformation, moved and obtained the repeal of the act in which Clodius had so greatly circumscribed the power of the censors; and he attempted to revive the authority of this magistracy, but in vain.

Disorders arising from the weakness of government had come to that extreme at which states must either correct themselves, or undergo some fatal change. The correctives lately applied by law to repress the unbridled desire of office were now found to have taken effect.

At the elections for the ensuing year only three candidates appeared; M. Marcellus, Servius Sulpicius, and M.

Cato: all of them supposed to be of the senatorian party; but very differently considered by those who now endeavoured to rule the state. Marcellus had, in fact, recommended himself to Pompey; and Sulpicius, as afterwards appeared, had been gained by Cesar; and both were warmly espoused by these powerful patrons in the present contest.

It is observed of this competition, that it was carried on without bribery or tumult.* As the competitors were supposed to be all of the senatorian party, the senators divided upon the occasion, and the influence of Cesar and Pompey easily cast the balance on the side of Sulpicius and Marcellus.

When the new consuls were received into office,* their immediate predecessors being by the late act precluded for five years from holding any provincial government, it became necessary to fill stations of this sort with those who had formerly been in office, and who hitherto had not been appointed to any command in the provinces. Accordingly Bibulus, who had been the colleague of Cesar in his consulate, was appointed to the government of Syria, vacant by the death of Crassus. Cicero was named to succeed Appius Claudius in Cilicia and Cyprus, Attius Varus was appointed pretor in Africa, and P. Cornelius Spinther in Achaia. Pompey, who had hitherto enjoyed a dispensation from the law, in continuing to hold by his lieutenants the government and command of the army in Spain, while he filled the office of consul in the city, now professed an intention to take possession of his province in person, and he actually set out from Rome for this purpose; but was induced to suspend his journey by a motion, which was made in the senate by Marcellus, soon after his accession to the office of consul.

While the senate was deliberating on the other removes and appointments in the provincial governments, Marcellus proposed that, the war in Gaul being finished, Cesar should be recalled; or, if his friends insisted on his being continued in his command, that he should not be admitted on the list of candidates for the consulate, until he presented himself personally for this purpose. This motion gave rise in the senate to warm debates, which were frequently adjourned, and as often resumed. At length the late consul Cornelius Scipio, the father-in-law to Pompey, proposed, that on the first of March, when the persons destined to succeed the present consuls must have entered on office, a day should

* U. C. 702.

be fixed to consider of the province of Gaul, and moved that this question should be resumed in preference to every other business. Marcellus accordingly prepared, and laid before the senate, a decree for this purpose on the last of September. By the first clause of this decree, the consuls elected for the following year were required, on the first of March, to move in the senate the consideration of the consular provinces, to admit no other business to precede or to be joined with this, and to suffer no interruption in the meetings of the senate, even on account of the assemblies of the people.

By a second clause, it was resolved, that whoever should put a negative on this decree, should be declared an enemy to his country.

In Gaul, Cesar kept up an appearance of war, and his operations led on to the spring, when a more real service took place on the frontiers of the low countries. From that quarter, the people of the Remi* had given information, that the Bellovaci, or inhabitants of what is now called the Beauvais, with other cantons on the right of the Oise, were actually arming, and meant to make war on the Romans and their allies.

On this intimation, Cesar with five legions advanced rapidly into the neighbourhood of the Bellovaci, passed the Oise; but arrived too late to surprise his enemy. The Bellovaci,† with some of their neighbours, had retired with all their effects to a strong post. They had a hill in their front, beyond which there lay a morass, and in that situation they thought themselves sufficiently secure without any artificial work. Cesar posted himself in their neighbourhood; and supposing that the superiority of their numbers would inspire them with confidence, took measures to augment their presumption.

The enemy, however, continued to avoid any general action, and were satisfied with the successful war they were suffered to make on the foraging parties which were sent from the Roman camp. Being joined by five hundred German horse, they attacked and destroyed the cavalry, which had come to the assistance of Cesar from the cantons of the Remi and Lingones,‡ and on which he chiefly relied for covering the avenues to his camp. On this loss he ordered Trebonius, with the two legions at Genabum,§ and a third from Avaricum,|| to join him without delay.

The Gauls, on hearing of this great accession of strength

* Rheims.

† The Beauvais.

‡ Rheims and Langrea.

§ Orleans.

|| Bourges.

to their enemy, and recollecting the fatal blockade and ruin of their countrymen at Alesia, changed their ground. They afterwards succeeded in most of their attempts on the parties that were sent abroad by Cesar to procure him provisions; and having reduced him to the necessity of depending entirely for the subsistence of his army on what a particular district could supply, they formed a design, with the choice of their army, to surround and cut off the parties which they expected he must employ on that service. Cesar had intelligence of their design, and placed his army in a proper position to surprise the great detachment they had made; and having thus taken or destroyed the flower of their army, obliged the remainder, who were thrown into despair by so great a loss, to surrender themselves at discretion; in consequence of this surrender, he got possession of all the cantons in that neighbourhood.

The Belgic nations being thus finally subdued, and Cesar having no longer any enemy to oppose him in the field, except a few desperate bands from different parts of the country, who, either from fear of his severity, or aversion to his government, had deserted their settlements, he began to act against them in different quarters at once, and to cut off the retreats, which, in case of distress, this remnant of the nations who lately opposed him mutually gave to each other.

In the following out of these measures, C. Fabius being arrived at the place of his destination, between the lower parts of the Loire and the Garonne, found a considerable force in arms against Caninius Rebilus, the Roman officer, who was stationed in that quarter. The natives had laid siege to a fortress that was in possession of the Romans; but alarmed by the approach of Fabius, they withdrew, and endeavoured to pass the Loire to the northward. In this attempt, being intercepted in their march, and obliged to fight the Roman detachment, they were defeated with great slaughter.

Fabius received the submission of all the nations from the Loire to the Seine, and quite down to the sea coast; and this victory being followed by the surrender of Uxellodunum, a place of strength where the scattered parties of the enemy had taken refuge, the war in Gaul, one of the bloodiest in the annals of the world, was brought to a close.

Cesar now distributed his army in the conquered country so as to form a kind of chain from the frontier of his original province, quite through the heart of his new acquisitions to the Meuse and the Scheldt. And by his seeming anxiety for the safety of the northern extremities of his province,

and still more by his own distance from Italy, he probably lulled for a while the vigilance or jealousy of his principal opponents at Rome. His own attention, however, to the state of politics was never less remitted.

Mark Antony, a person profligate and dissipated, but when the occasion required exertion, daring and eloquent, destined to be frequently mentioned in the sequel of this history, now began to be employed by Cesar in the affairs of the city ; and, under pretence of standing for the priesthood, was sent from Gaul, where he had recently served in the army, to bear a principal part among the agents and emissaries of his general. These agents were continually busied in magnifying his services, and in gaining to his interest every person of consideration who could in any degree advance or obstruct his designs. They took care at the same time, in his name and by his directions, under the pious pretence of celebrating the memory of his daughter, the late wife of Pompey, to cajole the people with public entertainments and feasts ; and proceeded to execute, at a great expense, certain splendid works which Cesar had formerly ordered.

He himself, at the same time, was careful to secure the affections of the army ; doubled their pay, and was lavish in all the other articles which were derived from his bounty. Besides his occasional liberality to the legions in time of the war, he gave, or engaged himself to pay, to each particular soldier, what to persons of that condition was a considerable object.

While Cesar was thus extending his influence, he had amused Pompey by assigning to him, in all their arrangements, what was apparently the place of honour and of importance at the head of affairs at Rome. It was impossible for Pompey, however, now to remain any longer insensible to the superiority which Cesar had acquired, or to those still more important objects at which he was aiming ; so he no longer contented himself with employing others in ill-concerted and ineffectual attacks, which he sometimes disowned, and always feebly supported, but in the prosecution of the measures of which we have observed the beginning in the senate, hazarded the whole authority of that body against Cesar, without having provided any military power to enforce their commands.

The principal attention of all parties, during this summer and autumn, as has been mentioned, had been turned to the affairs of Cesar, and the dangerous tendency of the course he pursued : and they were but for a little while diverted from this object by an alarm on the side of Syria. The

Parthians, encouraged by their late success against Crassus passed the Euphrates with a great army, commanded by Pacorus, son to Orodes, under the direction of Osaces, a veteran and experienced leader. Before measures could be determined, or before any reinforcement could be ready, to join the army in Syria, the people were relieved of their fears by Caius Cassius, the general then commanding in that province, who had obliged the Parthians to withdraw from Antioch; in their retreat attacked them, and made great slaughter.

The province of Cilicia had been for some years subject to the Romans; but the inhabitants of the mountainous parts had never acknowledged their authority, nor even that of their own national sovereigns. Cicero, on his arrival in the neighbourhood of their country, finding that the people had retired to their strongholds, and were still determined to oppose his authority, formed a design to surprise them. In this design he was successful, cutting them off separately, pursuing such as fled, forcing their strongholds, and in about sixty days reducing some towns and a considerable tract of country, which had never before acknowledged the Roman government.

Whilst these provincial affairs were managed by the commanders to whom they were intrusted, the usual time of elections at Rome being arrived, L. Æmilius Paulus, and C. Claudius Marcellus were elected to succeed to the consulate for the following year. Caius Marcellus, as well as his relation and immediate predecessor Marcus Marcellus, was understood to be in the interest of Pompey. Æmilius Paulus, a senator of rank, and of course interested in the preservation of the republic, the honours of which he was so well entitled to share, was expected to support the measures of the senate, and adhere to the established forms. Together with internal tranquillity, the government seemed to recover its ancient severity. Appius Claudius, late proconsul of Cilicia, and Calpurnius Piso were chosen censors to the general satisfaction, and the hopes of the senate were likewise considerably raised by the unexpected nomination of Caius Scribonius Curio to be one of the tribunes.

The new magistrates accordingly entered on office with high expectations that the dangerous pretensions of ambitious citizens, particularly those of Cesar, would be effectually checked.* The consuls were possessed of a resolution of the senate, requiring them to proceed to the business of

* U. C. 708.

Cesar's province by the first of March. This resolution wanted only the consent of the tribunes to render it a formal act of the executive power, of which this branch was by the constitution lodged in the senate. But one of the tribunes having forbid the decree, M. Marcellus, late consul, moved that application might be made to this officer to withdraw the negative, which prevented the effect of what the senate had resolved. But the motion was rejected by a majority of the senate itself; and many other symptoms of Cesar's great influence, even over this order of men, soon after appeared.

This able politician, probably that he might not seem to have any views upon Italy, had fixed his quarters, and that of his army, in the low countries, and at the extremity of his recent conquests. But instead of seizing every pretence, as formerly, for making war on the natives of Gaul, he endeavoured to quiet their fears, and to conciliate their affections; and while he kept the whole province in a state of profound tranquillity, collected money, provided arms, and completed his legions, as if preparing for a dangerous and important war.

There were probably now three parties in the state; one devoted to Cesar, another to Pompey, and a third that meant to support the republic against the intrigues or violence of either. The latter must have been few, and could not hope to be of much consequence, except by joining such of the other two, as appeared by the character of its leader least dangerous to the commonwealth. Cesar had shown himself in his political course, a dangerous subject, and an arbitrary magistrate. The description of his adherents, and the character of persons that crowded to his standard, justified the general fear and distrust which was entertained of his designs. All who had fallen under sentence of the law, all who dreaded this fate, all who had suffered any disgrace, or were conscious they deserved it; young men who were impatient of government; the populace, who had an aversion to order; the bankrupt, to whom law and property itself were enemies; all these looked for his approach with impatience, and joined in every cry that was raised in his favour.

Pompey, the leader of the opposite party, had never ceased to embroil the state with his intrigues, and even invaded the laws by his impatience for extraordinary and unprecedented honours; yet, when possessed of power, he had employed it with moderation, and seemed to delight in receiving these singular trusts by the free choice of his country; not in extorting them, not in making any illegal

use of them, nor in retaining them beyond the terms prescribed by his commission. It appeared, that in nothing he had ever injured the commonwealth so deeply, as in caballing with Cesar while he rose to his present elevation.

This comparison of the parties which were now to contend for power at the hazard of the republic, made it easy for good citizens to choose their side. But they nevertheless naturally wished to prevent the contest from coming to extremities; as in the event of the war, which they dreaded, it was scarcely possible to avoid a military government. They considered a proposal to order both Pompey and Cesar to quit their commands, and return to a private station, as a mere pretence to justify Cesar in keeping possession of his army; but they saw that there was no force in the republic sufficient to resist him. They wished to arm Pompey for this purpose; but were prevented, either by the confidence which he still gave them of his own superiority, or by their fear of precipitating the state into a civil war, by seeming to take any precautions against it.

Cesar would have considered every attempt to arm the republic as a declaration against himself; and was ready to commence hostilities before any such measure could be carried into execution. The proposal for disarming at once both Cesar and Pompey, in the mean time, was extremely acceptable to the popular party, who perpetually sounded the cry of liberty against the senate, and lately too against Pompey himself, who, on account of the spirit of his administration when last in office, and the severity of his prosecutions against bribery and other offences, which are not odious to the vulgar, was become in a considerable degree unpopular, and supposed to aim at a tyranny.

Pompey, for the most part, chose to dissemble his sentiments, and advanced to his purpose by indirect means; he was therefore, like most artful men, easily overreached by persons who perceived his designs; and probably, on the present occasion, was the only dupe of his own artifices, or of those that were employed against him. Curio, in the senate, openly attacked this part of his character, insisting that actions, and not professions, were now to be regarded: that the army of Cesar was, to the republic, a necessary defence against that of Pompey; that nevertheless, both should be ordered to disband, under pain of being declared, in case of disobedience, enemies to their country; and that an army should be instantly levied to enforce these orders. The friends of Cesar, in the senate, offered to compromise the dispute; and provided Pompey retired to his province, and Cesar was allowed to retain the Cisalpine Gaul with

two legions, they proposed, in his name, to disband the remainder of his army, and to resign the other part of his provinces.

In the result of these debates, the senate, upon the motion of the consul Marcellus, came to a vote on the following questions, which were separately stated, relating to the appointments both of Cesar and of Pompey. On the first question, Whether Cesar should disband his army? the *Ayes* were general throughout the house. On the second, relating to Pompey, the *Noes* greatly prevailed. Whether these proceedings of the senate were annulled by any informality, or were deprived of effect by any other circumstance, does not appear. The only immediate consequence they seem to have produced, was an order to Pompey and Cesar, requiring each of them to march a legion to reinforce the army in Syria, where the Parthians, threatened to repeat their invasion in the present spring and summer.

While the subject of Cesar's appointments occupied all parties at Rome, he himself, with his army, passed a quiet winter in Gaul; and at the end of it, or early in the spring, set out for Italy,

On his return to Cisalpine Gaul, he was met in all the provincial towns and colonies with more than a kingly reception, with sacrifices and processions everywhere made by innumerable crowds, which were assembled to see and admire him. Having made the circuit of this province, and sounded the dispositions of the people, he returned with great despatch to his quarters at Nemetocenna,* in the low countries, where he likewise wished to know the disposition as well as the state of his army.

About the same time, Cesar received the famous order of the senate to detach a legion from his army to be transported into Syria, and employed in the Parthian war; and likewise to restore that legion which he had borrowed from Pompey. In compliance with the senate's order, he sent the fifteenth legion, then upon the Po, and relieved it by one from his present camp. In dismissing the soldiers of Pompey, he was, under pretence of gratitude for past services, most lavish of his caresses and thanks; and as an earnest of future favour, ordered each private man a gratuity of two hundred and fifty denarii.†

The officers, who were sent to make these demands, and to conduct the troops into Italy, brought to their employers a very flattering report of the state and dispositions of Cesar's army: that they longed to change their commander; and a high opinion of Pompey; and, if marched into Italy

* Arras.

† About 5*l*.

would surely desert to him : that Cesar was become odious on account of the hard service in which he had so long employed them, without any adequate reward, and on account of the suspicion that he aimed at the monarchy. It is in the highest degree probable, that their crafty leader employed proper persons to hold this language to the commissioners of the senate, and to the officers of Pompey ; and to utter complaints of their commander, and of the service, on purpose that they might be repeated in Italy.

On the approach of winter he conducted his army back to their quarters in the low countries, and the interior parts of Gaul. He himself intended to winter within the Alps, but had no troops on that side of the mountains that could occasion any suspicion. Upon his arrival in Italy he affected surprise upon hearing that the two legions lately demanded from him had not been sent into Asia, but were kept in Italy, and put under the command of Pompey. He complained, that he was betrayed ; that his enemies meant to disarm and circumvent him. " But while the republic is safe, and matters can be made up on amicable terms, I will bear," he said, " with any indignities, rather than involve the state in a civil war."

While the factions that were likely to divide the empire were in this situation, C. Marcellus, now third of this name in the succession of consuls, together with Publius Lentulus, were chosen for the following year. Before they entered on office a rumour arose, that Cesar, with his whole army, was actually in motion to pass the Alps. Marcellus, consul of the present year, assembled the senate ; laid before them this report, and moved, that the troops then in Italy should be prepared to act, and new levies should be ordered. A debate ensued, in which Curio contradicted the report, and, by his Tribunitian authority, forbade the senate to proceed in any resolution upon this subject.

On this interposition of the tribune, the consul dismissed the assembly, using, together with other expressions of impatience, the words following : That if he were not supported by the senate, in the measures which were necessary for the preservation of the commonwealth, he should put the exercise of his power into hands more likely to make the state be respected : then, together with Lentulus, one of the consuls elected for the ensuing year, he repaired to the gardens where Pompey resided ; this officer being obliged, on account of his military commands, to remain without the city ; and presenting his sword, bid him employ it for the defence of his country, and with it to assume the command of the forces then in Italy.

CHAP. V.

Decree of the Senate to supersede Cesar—Commission to the Consuls and to Pompey—Their Resolutions—Flight of the Tribunes Antony and Quintus Cassius—March of Cesar—Flight of Pompey and the senate, &c.—Approach of Cesar—Embarkation and Departure of Pompey from Brundisium—Return of Cesar to Rome—Passes by Marseilles into Spain—Campaign on the Segra—Legions of Pompey in Spain conducted to the Var.

IN the present situation of affairs, every resolution which the friends of the republic could take was fraught with danger, and every day increased their perplexity. To leave Cesar in possession of his army, and to admit him with such a force to the head of the commonwealth, was to submit, without a struggle, to the dominion he meant to assume. To persist in confining him to one or other of these advantages, was to furnish him with a pretence to make war on the republic. The powers which were necessary to enable Pompey to resist Cesar, might be equally dangerous to the republic in the possession of the one, as they were in that of the other. This person, on whom the state was now to rely, even while his own consideration, with that of every other senator, was at stake, did not seem disposed to act, until all the powers that were wanting to gratify his ambition should be put into his hands. With an appearance of ease and negligence, he went upon parties of pleasure through Italy, while every one else apprehended that Rome itself, as well as Italy, must soon become a scene of blood.

To justify this security, or presumption on the part of Pompey, it must be remembered that while Cesar was forming an army in Gaul, Pompey, by means of his lieutenants, likewise formed a great army of six complete legions, and many auxiliaries, in Spain. It ought likewise to be considered, that although few troops were then actually formed in Italy, yet this was the great nursery of soldiers for the whole empire, and multitudes could, on any sudden emergency, be embodied in every part of that country.

Pompey, with these securities in his hands for the final success of his views against Cesar, suffered this rival to run his career, leaving the senate exposed to the dangers which threatened them. He continued with votes and resolutions of the senate to combat Cesar, who was at the head of a numerous army, ready on the first plausible pretence to fall upon Italy, to seize the seats of government, and avail himself of that name and authority of the republic, on which Pompey himself so greatly relied.

Meantime, the new year commenced, and C. Claudius Marcellus with L. Cornelius Lentulus, entered on their office as consuls.* Both parties were prepared for a decisive resolution on the subject of Cesar's claims. He himself for some years had wintered near to the northern extremity of his provinces. He was now at Ravenna, the nearest station of his army to Rome; but without any troops, besides what appear to have been the usual establishment of the Cisalpine province; that is, one legion, and three hundred horse, making in the whole between five and six thousand men. Soon after his arrival at Ravenna, he had been visited by Curio, who, at the expiration of his tribunate, made this journey to receive his directions in respect to the future operations of the party; and after their conference, returned to Rome with a letter from Cesar, addressed to the senate, which was presented on the first of January, at the admission of the new consuls into office.

The consul Lentulus moved, that prior to any other business, the state of the republic, and that of the provinces, should be taken under consideration; and alluding to the resolutions which were already on record, relating to Cesar's province, said, that if the senate stood firm on this occasion to their former decrees, his services should not be wanting to the commonwealth. He was seconded by Scipio, and was applauded by the general voice of the senate; but Cesar had procured the admission of Mark Antony and of Quintus Cassius, two of his most noted and determined partisans, into the college of tribunes. They began with threatening to stop all proceedings of the senate, until Cesar's letter was read; and prevailed on this meeting to begin with that paper. It was expressed, according to Cicero, in terms menacing and harsh, and contained in substance a repetition of the proposals, which Cesar had been all along making through Curio, and his other adherents at Rome, "That he should be allowed to retain the honours, which the Roman people had bestowed upon him; that he should be left upon a footing of equality with other officers, who were allowed to join civil office at Rome with military establishments in the provinces; and that he should not be singled out as the sole object of their distrust and severity."

This letter was considered as an attempt to prescribe to the senate, and unbecoming the respect due to their authority. It was by many treated as an actual declaration

* U. C. 704.

of war. The debates were terminated by the passing of a resolution, ordering Cesar to dismiss his army, and by a certain day to retire from his provinces, or in case of disobedience, declaring him an enemy to his country. It was determined also to give to the consuls and other magistrates, together with Pompey, in the character of proconsul, the charge usual in the most dangerous conjunctures; to preserve the commonwealth by such means as to their discretion should appear to be necessary. The tribunes, Mark Antony and Quintus Cassius, affected to apprehend immediate danger to their own persons: they disguised themselves in the habit of slaves, and, together with Curio, in the night fled from Rome in hired carriages.

When Cesar received accounts of the senate's resolution, he drew forth the troops then at Ravenna, and in a harangue enumerated the wrongs which he alleged had been done to himself; and exhorted the army to maintain the honour of an officer, under whom they had now, for nine years, faithfully served the republic. He was answered with a shout of applause, and a general acclamation from the ranks, that they were ready to avenge the injuries done to their general, and to the tribunes of the people.

On receiving these assurances from the troops then present, Cesar immediately despatched an express to the quarters of the twelfth legion, which, from the time at which it afterwards joined him, appears to have been already within the Alps, with orders to march.

On the very day that he delivered the harangue just mentioned to the legion that was quartered at Ravenna, he ordered a chosen body of men, in the manner of stragglers roving for pleasure through the country, and armed only with swords, to take the road separately, and without any appearance of concert, to Ariminum, the first fortified place in Italy beyond the Rubicon, the limit of his province, there to remain, and at a certain time of the night to seize upon one of the gates. He likewise ordered a party of horse to parade at some distance from Ravenna, and there to wait for an officer who was to deliver them orders. He himself, at night, joined this party of horse; and, marching about thirty miles before break of day, entered Ariminum by a gate which the party he had sent before him kept open, and thus without any resistance took possession of the place.

Lucius Cesar and the pretor Roscius were now come without any public commission, probably to hinder their friend from taking any desperate resolution. They brought, at the same time, a private message from Pompey, with

some expressions of civility, and an apology, taken from the necessity of the public service, for the hardship which he supposed himself to have put upon Cesar. Cesar returned an answer to it, containing his former complaints and proposals. From this time forward he continually repeated his proposals of peace, while he urged his military operations with uncommon rapidity. He ordered new levies at Ariminum, and sent Antony to occupy Arretium, a pass in one of the branches of the Flaminian Way through the Apennines; and as fast as the troops could march he seized Pisaurum, Faunum, Auximum, with the town of Ancona, and all the places necessary to give him the command of that district, or to open his way to Rome.

A general consternation spread over all the country before him; the people fled from their habitations, and communicated the alarm, with every sort of exaggeration, to the city. Orders had gone forth to raise troops in every part of Italy; but no great progress in so short a time could yet have been made in that service. Besides the two legions which had served so long under Cesar himself, there were not any forces embodied in the country. These were justly suspected of inclining to their former general; and, instead of enabling Pompey to meet the danger which threatened the commonwealth, furnished him, at the head of such troops, with particular reasons for his keeping at a distance from the enemy.

Domitius Ahenobarbus had been appointed to succeed Cesar in the government of Gaul; and, with some other officers in the Picenum,* had made some progress in raising troops. Their numbers, perhaps, surpassed those of Cesar. If Pompey, therefore, had thought it possible to defend the city, he must have hastened to that quarter, and have put himself at the head of those troops. But he was timorous in hazarding his own reputation, and, instead of acting in the field, assembled the senate, and informed them that it was necessary to abandon Rome; that he would meet them again at Capua, where he proposed to assemble his forces; that he should consider all those who remained in the capital to countenance or to witness the violences of Cesar as equally guilty with those who should be found in his camp.

The preparations for dislodging the government, together with the actual flight of Pompey, damped all the courage that remained in any order or class of the people. The consuls, and most of the other officers of state, set out with their ensigns of power. All night the gates were crowded

* March of Ancona.

with senators and other persons of rank who fled on this occasion; some with their families and most valuable effects, others alone, and distracted by the general panic, without knowing whether they were to retire, or to what fate they were leaving their families.

Cesar, in the mean time, making a rapid march through Umbria, or what is now the duchy of Urbino, and the Picenum, or March of Ancona, not only took possession of every place as he passed, but gained daily accessions of strength by the junction of the new levies that had been raised to oppose him. Soldiers are averse to the losing side; and Pompey's flight put an end to his military power in Italy. At Cingulum, in the Picenum, Cesar was joined by the twelfth legion, to which, on his first motion from Ravenna, he had sent orders to march. With this accession of force, he advanced to Asculum * on the Fronto; and having dislodged from thence Lentulus Spinther, who commanded ten cohorts, the greater part of these troops deserted to him.

Pompey by this time had moved from Capua to Luceria, and seemed to have taken the resolution not only of abandoning the posts that covered the access to Rome, but even all Italy, to Cesar. The consuls, the greater part of the magistracy, and the senate, had followed him to Capua. Here was received the message which Cesar had given to Roscius and to L. Cesar. It contained several reflections and insinuations in the highest degree provoking to Pompey; and to this circumstance Cesar probably trusted, that he should not be bound by any of the offers he had made, and that the odium of rejecting the peace would fall upon his enemies. But the friends of the commonwealth, deeply impressed with the necessity of their own affairs, gladly listened to any terms of accommodation. It was agreed accordingly that he should repair to Spain, and that, his province being in profound peace, he should reduce his military establishment. Cesar, on his part, besides the conditions he himself had offered, was required to evacuate all the towns which he had lately seized in Italy; and it was proposed that the consuls, magistrates, and senators, should return to the city, and from the usual seat of government give all the sanction of public authority to these arrangements. From such appearances it was not doubted that an accommodation must follow.

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Cesar therefore was likely to be caught in the snare he laid for his enemies, or obliged to lay aside the disguise

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which he had assumed in affecting such desires for peace. To avoid either of these inconveniences, he objected to some of the conditions which the opposite party had subjoined to his proposals, and complained of the silence which they kept on others, as proceeding from a deliberate purpose to circumvent and betray him. "Pompey will repair to Spain," he said, "but when? I am required to evacuate all the towns of Italy, while Pompey and the whole senate continue in arms against me, and while my enemies not only make new levies, but employ for my destruction legions which they have actually taken away from my own army. If Pompey be sincere in desiring a peace, why does he decline the personal interview which has been proposed for that purpose?"

Cesar had, by this time, advanced with hasty marches to Corfinium, sat down under the walls, and employed three days in fortifying his camp, and in filling the magazines with corn from the neighbouring country. When his works began to appear against the place, Domitius despatched letters to Pompey, and got for answer, that Pompey disapproved of his having allowed himself to be invested by Cesar, had foretold him the bad consequences of this measure, and now earnestly exhorted him, if possible, to extricate himself.

This answer Domitius endeavoured to conceal from his army; and took measures to get off in person, without any hopes of preserving the forces he had assembled for the commonwealth. This design being suspected, the troops surrounded his quarters in the night, took him prisoner, and to pay their court, while they delivered up their general and surrendered the town, made offer of their own services to Cesar.

Upon this surrender, Cesar took possession of the gates, manned the walls, and gave orders that no person whatever from his army should enter the place before it was day. He knew, that besides Domitius and Vibullius, there were many senators and Roman knights now shut up in the town. These he ordered in the morning to be brought before him, expostulated with them on the subject of their enmity to himself, and their precipitation in hurrying the state into this unnatural war. He then dismissed them with the respect that was due to Roman citizens of their rank; and being told that a considerable sum of money, amassed at Corfinium for the support of the troops, had been seized by his people, to complete this scene of unexpected moderation, by an exhibition of disinterestedness as well as of clemency, he ordered this money to be restored to Domitius.

Rome was now open to Cesar; but he thought the possession of it of no moment, until he had suppressed the military arrangements that were making in the country, and had decided who was to have the possession of Italy. He therefore on the very day on which he became master of Corfinium, detached to Sicily, under the command of Curio, the troops that deserted to him in making this conquest. He himself set out for Apulia, and, before sunset, accomplished a considerable march; but while he thus urged the war with the greatest rapidity, he sent messengers before him to the leaders of the opposite party, with professions of friendship and overtures of peace; hoping to amuse his enemies, and to relax the diligence of their military preparations. He however, continued his march, and advanced with so much rapidity, that, in order to avoid him, they had no more than the time that was necessary to cross the mountains from Capua to Luceria, to fall back from thence to Canusium, and from this last place, without a halt, to Brundisium. Pompey, soon after his arrival at this port, embarked a great part of his army with the consuls, while he himself, not having sufficient shipping to transport the whole, remained with a second division to wait for the return of his ships. In this posture stood his affairs, when Cesar, with six legions, four of veteran troops, and two newly raised or completed from those who came over to him on the march, arrived at the gates of Brundisium. Even here, he sent a message to Pompey, containing a request, that he would admit Cesar to an interview; and observing, that differences are soon made up at a conference which otherwise might occasion many journeys and messages to no purpose.

This pacific message, as in other instances, only constituted a part in the military plan of Cesar, and was accompanied with effectual preparations for a blockade and a siege. After certain works at the mouth of the harbour of Brundisium had been continued three days, by the army of Cesar, and had made considerable progress, the transports which had carried the first division of Pompey's army returned from Dyrrachium, and, as the passage at the mouth of the harbour was still open, he prepared to embark with the remainder of his forces. When the legions began to move towards the harbour, the rearguard still endeavoured to present the usual appearances on the ramparts, by occupying every post with archers, slingers, and other light troops. These being to remain in their post while the main body was embarking, had orders, at a signal given, to abandon the walls, and to repair on board the transports

which were ready to receive them. The troops in Brundisium thus began to embark in the night, and so effectually was their embarkation secured, that they had time to put off from the mole, and get under sail. They, along with the greater part of the senate, attended by the officers of state and the ensigns of magistracy, proceeded in their passage to Epirus ; thus leaving Cesar in possession of Italy and of the seats of government, from which the world could scarcely disjoin, in their idea, the right to command.

Cesar having, in this manner, surprised the republic, and in sixty days obliged all his opponents to evacuate Italy, and to leave him sole master of the forces which began to be mustered against him, it is probable, notwithstanding the question he states relating to the expedience of following his enemy into Epirus, that he had already taken his resolution to consider the reduction of Spain, as the next object of consequence to that of Italy. In that province, which was full of resources, a regular army of seven or eight legions had been for some time formed, with an evident purpose to keep him in awe. He was threatened therefore with the most immediate danger from thence. Some arrangements too were yet wanting for the security of Italy. The professions which he had made of pacific dispositions, and of zeal for the republic, were to be confirmed by showing a proper respect to the forms of the constitution, and by endeavouring to restore a government which he had actually overthrown.

For these reasons, Cesar contented himself, for the present, with having ordered shipping to be provided at the port of Brundisium, that he might amuse the enemy with appearances of his intending to continue the war on that side. Notwithstanding his pacific declarations, and his ostentation of clemency on every occasion, the people still trembled when they saw almost every citizen of reputation and honour obliged to fly from the seats of government, and, in their place, collected from different quarters of Italy, every bankrupt, every outlaw, and every person of infamous character. These being at variance with the laws of their country, had flocked to Cesar, and were received by him under the denomination of the injured and the oppressed citizens, whose wrongs he was come to redress.

With this company, still multiplying around him, having given orders to secure Brundisium from the sea, and posted there, and at Sipontum and Tarentum, each a legion ; and having ordered ships from every part of the coasts of Italy and Gaul, he set out for Spain, intending, while the troops,

with whom he had overrun Italy, took some repose in quarters, and while those who were destined for the service in Spain were on the march, that he himself should visit Rome, and observe the aspect of his party.

Upon the arrival of Cesar in the suburbs of the metropolis, such of the senators as were in the city, or in the neighbourhood, assembled at his summons. He opened the meeting by enumerating the wrongs he had received, and by loading his opponents with the guilt of the present war. "He exhorted the senate not to desert the commonwealth, nor to oppose such as, in concert with him, might endeavour to restore the government; but if they should shrink in this arduous task, he should not press it upon them. He knew how to act for himself. If his opinion were followed, deputies should be now sent from the senate to Pompey, with intreaties, that he would spare the republic. He knew that Pompey had formerly objected to his having any such deputation sent to himself, considering such advances as a concession of right in him to whom they were made, or of fear in those who made them. These," he said, "were the reflections of a narrow mind; for his own part, as he wished to overcome his enemies in the field, so he wished to excel them in acts of generosity and candour."

Such were the colours in which this artful man endeavoured to disguise his cause; and while he took effectual measures to maintain it by force, employed likewise an insinuation, and an eloquence not less dangerous than his sword. This policy was the reverse of that pursued by Pompey, who, supposing himself entrusted with the powers and severities of the law, had threatened to employ those powers and severities to the utmost extent against every person who staid behind him at Rome. Proscription, indeed, and massacre of those who abandoned the commonwealth were the ordinary language at his quarters.

Cesar, however, meant to make this remnant of a legal assembly the tools of every ungracious or improper measure he had occasion to execute, and, in particular, to avail himself of their authority in seizing the public money; and now moved that the doors of the public repositories should be opened: and that the public money should be issued from thence to defray the expense of the war. To this motion the tribune Metellus Celer opposed his negative; and Cesar, disdaining any longer to wear a mask which subjected him to the observance of insignificant forms, proceeded to the treasury. and forced the doors.

After this act of violence, it appears that Cesar distrusted

the affections of the people. He declined to harangue them in a public audience; he even avoided the public view altogether, and having passed but a few days at Rome, set out for Spain sullen and displeased. Marcus Emilius Lepidus, who, as has been observed, was at this time pretor, and the officer of highest rank then at Rome, was left to govern the city. Mark Antony had the command of Cesar's forces in Italy; and by the use which he made of his power, increased the dismal apprehensions of the public.

Soon after hostilities had commenced, Cotta had been sent to command for the republic in Sardinia, and Cato to command in Sicily. Cesar, when about to carry the war into Spain, thought it necessary to get the possession of these islands, and ordered Valerius, with a proper force, into Sardinia, and Curio, with three legions, to attack Cato in Sicily. The Sardinians, hearing that one of Cesar's officers was appointed, in his name, to take possession of their island, declared for his interest; and as for Cato he despaired of being able to preserve his station, discontinued his military preparations, and withdrew from it. This officer had often disapproved of Pompey's conduct; and on this occasion, complained particularly of the defenceless state in which he had suffered the republic to be surprised in all its possessions.

The antagonists of Cesar, without any apprehension of the disposition of his forces, and perfectly secure before hostilities commenced, were thus completely surprised, overwhelmed, and routed in every quarter on which they attempted to make any defence. Armies indeed had been formed in Italy, according to a saying of Pompey, *at the stamp of his foot*; but they were armies that served the purpose of his enemies, not that of the republic, or his own; and while Cesar himself, with the strength of the veteran legions with which he had conquered Gaul, hastened into Spain to reduce what was the most formidable part of his rival's power, his officers were detached with separate bodies of these newly acquired troops, into Sardinia, Sicily, and Africa.

Pompey, although he had never visited his government in person, nor sought for occasions of war, as Cesar, in order to form his army and inure them to service, had done in Gaul, had nevertheless formed a great military establishment, consisting of seven Roman legions, with five thousand horse, and eighty cohorts of provincial infantry, equal in number to eight legions more. They were commanded by three lieutenants, Varro, Petreius, and Afranius. The first commanded, from the river Guadiana west-

ward to the extremities of Lusitania* and Gallicia; the second, from the Guadiana eastward to the mountains of Murcia; and the third, from thence to the Pyrennees. Varro affected indifference in the quarrel, or an equal regard to the opposite parties concerned in it. The other two engaged with more zeal in the cause. They determined, in concert with Vibullius, to leave Varro in the western province, while they themselves drew the principal part of their force towards the eastern frontier; Afranius with three legions, Petreius with two more, together with five thousand horse, and eighty cohorts of provincial infantry.

Such were the dispositions that were making in Spain, when Cesar, having expelled his rival from Italy, set out for his army now in the province of Narbonne. Being to pass by Marseilles, he intended to take possession of that city; but the inhabitants were already disposed to favour his antagonists, and shut their gates against him. This ancient Greek colony, after having long defended their settlement against the rude tribes in their neighbourhood, had placed themselves at last under the protection of the Romans; but with a reserve of all their immunities, and an exemption from all the burdens of a Roman province. Cesar proposed to have entered their city as a neutral place; but they rejected his proposal, assigning as their reason, that in every case where the Romans were divided among themselves, every ally in their situation must so far preserve their neutrality, as not to receive the forces of either party within their walls.

However, in a few days after this answer was given to Cesar, a squadron in the interest of Pompey were received into the harbour of the place. Upon its arrival, the people of this republic called in to their assistance the force of some neighbouring cantons from the mountains; and took every other precaution that was necessary, in case they should be attacked, to enable them to make a vigorous defence.

Cesar being greatly provoked, invested the town with an army of three legions; and having ordered some ships to be built on the Rhone, prepared to assail it at once by sea and by land. He committed the attack by land to Trebonius; and that from the sea to Decimus Brutus. But, while he was making these preparations, a report prevailed that Pompey was passing into Africa, and intended, with the troops which were in that province, and a body of Numidian cavalry, to reinforce, and to take the

* Portugal.

command of his army in Spain. Cesar, appearing to credit the report, ordered Fabius, who commanded his forces at Narbonne, to advance into the Pyrennees, and penetrate into Spain. This officer accordingly, having forced the passes of the Pyrennees, penetrated to the Segra, and took post on the right of this river, in front of the united armies of Afranius and Petreius, who were encamped near the town of Ilerda.

In a few weeks Cesar himself arrived in the camp of Fabius, and proceeded, as usual, to act on the offensive. He advanced with his army in three divisions to the foot of a hill on which the Spanish army was encamped, and while they continued to observe, and endeavoured to penetrate his intentions, he broke ground, and made a lodgment for himself in that place. There he fortified his camp. Being now in possession of a post within four hundred paces, or less than half a mile of the enemy's lines; and having a view of the ground which lay between their camp and the town of Ilerda, extending about three hundred paces, and mostly plain, with a small height in the middle of it, he endeavoured to seize this height; and knowing that the enemy lodged their magazines and stores in Ilerda, proposed to cut off their communication with the town. In this attempt a detachment of his army was repulsed and beat back to certain heights in their rear. And while the leaders of the Spanish army probably committed an error in not redoubling their blow, or remained in suspense, Cesar issued from his camp with a fresh legion to support the flying division of his army, obliged the enemy to retire in their turn, and having overtaken them before they could reach their camp, obliged them to take refuge under the walls of the town. Thither the troops, with whom Cesar had renewed the action, flushed with victory, had followed the enemy, and got into a situation in which they could not gain any advantage; and after some hours of serious skirmishing were obliged to retire with loss. In a few days after this miscarriage, the army of Cesar suffered a worse and more alarming calamity. The summer being far advanced, and the snow on the Pyrennees melting, all the rivers which are supplied from thence, rose on a sudden to their greatest height. The Segra carried off two bridges erected by Fabius, and baffled all the endeavours that were used to restore them. As often as any attempt was made for this purpose, the work was interrupted by the enemy from the opposite bank, or the materials were swept away by the flood. Neither the Segra nor the Cinca were passable, and the country between them, though extending in

breadth about thirty miles, being exhausted, could no longer furnish any supply of provisions to Cesar's camp. About the time that the army began to feel their distress, a large convoy which arrived from Gaul, was attacked by Afranius, and with great loss obliged to take refuge in the neighbouring mountains.

In consequence of this disaster, corn sold in Cesar's camp at the rate of thirty shillings a peck. All their attempts to procure a supply were frustrated by the difficulties of their situation, or by the vigilance of the enemy. Cesar had no immediate prospect of relief. The Spanish army triumphed in their good fortune, and sent exaggerated accounts of their advantage to all parts of Spain, to Italy, and to Macedonia. Many persons, who had hitherto hesitated in the choice of their party, were now determined.

The triumphs, however, which anticipate events are often deceitful; and, by the overweening security and confidence which they inspire, give an able enemy great advantage. Afranius and Petreius, while they trusted to the ordinary course of the seasons, were not sufficiently upon their guard against the superior resources of so able an adversary. They suffered him to make a lodgment on the opposite bank, and to reinforce this party, until, having an entire legion intrenched on that side, he ventured to employ his carpenters openly in constructing a bridge, which was begun at once from both sides of the river. This work again gave him access to the left of the Segra, where he surprised some of the enemy's parties, and procured immediate relief by a supply of provisions to his own camp. At this time, too, news was received of a naval fight on the coast of Gaul, in which his fleet, under Decimus Brutus, had defeated that of the enemy, and given a speedy prospect of the reduction of Marseilles. The report, together with the disappointment he had recently given to the hopes of his enemies, had at once all the effects of victory, and made him appear more formidable than he was supposed to be, even before the distresses which he had lately experienced.

In conjunction with the natives, who were now become his allies, Cesar again found himself in condition to act on the offensive. The enemy resolved to abandon their present station, and retired beyond the Ebro, where the people, either from fear or affection, were still in their interest. They proceeded to the execution of this purpose with much seeming precaution and foresight. On the first day, they filed off by a bridge they had laid over the Segra; and fixed on a post at which they might halt on the left bank, and

make the proper dispositions to continue their march. This post they sent two legions before them to occupy and to secure.

Having taken these preparatory steps, they decamped, defiled without molestation through the town of Ilerda, and came to the ground on which they had taken care to secure their reception ; here they halted until the middle of the night, when they again were in motion. They had a plain of some miles before them, bounded by a ridge of hills, which they were to pass in their way to the Ebro. They were exposed to Cesar's light troops in crossing this plain ; and endeavoured to reach the mountains, where they could, by securing the passes in their rear, effectually prevent any further attack from the enemy. At break of day the Spanish army, in consequence of the frequent interruptions they had received, were still to be seen from Cesar's camp. The army of Cesar being spectators of this scene became extremely impatient, and with the greatest ardour pressed to be led against the enemy. Cesar instantly made his dispositions to pass the river. By placing lines of horse in the river above and below the ford, to break the force of the stream, and to save those who might be overpowered by the strength of the current, he passed his infantry without the loss of a man. They had a circuit of six miles to make, in order to avoid the town of Ilerda ; but notwithstanding this delay, and the advantage which Afranius and Petreius had gained by beginning their march at midnight, and by their not being discovered until it was day, such were the interruptions given by the cavalry, and the speed with which the legions of Cesar advanced, that they overtook the enemy's rear about three in the afternoon, and occasioned at once a general halt in every part of their column.

Petreius and Afranius, stunned by the unexpected arrival of Cesar at the head of his whole army, formed on a rising ground to receive him ; but Cesar did not think it necessary to attack them when in order of battle. He took his ground, however, so near them, that he could profit by every advantage they gave him, and in every attempt they should make to change their situation, could push them into all the disorders of a general rout.

In this position of the two armies, the Spaniards determined to halt and wait for the return of night. They had now no more than five miles to pass on the plain, and hoped, by a rapid motion in the night, to traverse this space before Cesar could overtake them, or before he could oblige them to halt any where short of the mountains,

both parties appeared to be fixed on their ground for the

night, when Cesar got information that the enemy were in motion, and ordered every trumpet to sound, as if he were actually in motion. This feint, however slight, had its effect; the enemy halted, and remained on this ground all night and the following day, perplexed with irresolution and various counsels. They then determined, that before so vigilant an enemy it was safer to march by day than by night; and in this mind they remained yet a second night in the present position.

In this interval Cesar, having leisure to visit the country over which they were to pass, found it practicable to turn their flank and get to the hills before them. He accordingly moved in the night, and at break of day was in full march to reach the mountains. On observing the movement which Cesar was making, Afranius advanced rapidly in the same direction, and sent a considerable party to try the ascent of the mountains at a different place, and to gain the summits behind Cesar; in hopes that, if this way was practicable, he might follow with his whole army, and descend from thence to the Ebro. But the party he employed on this service was, in presence of both armies, surrounded by Cesar's horse, and put to the sword. The rest of the army, without making any attempt to rescue their friends, beheld this scene with a kind of torpid dejection. They dropped their arms, and staggered in their ranks. Their leaders also were discouraged, and led them back to the camp which they had left in the morning, and to the melancholy possession of tents and of baggage, which they had been willing to abandon, in order to effect their escape.

Cesar having left proper guards to secure the passes of the mountains, followed the enemy, and took post, as before, so near them, that they could not move without being exposed to his insults. Afranius and Petreius entered therefore into anxious deliberation on the choice of a retreat, by which they might soonest get beyond reach of an enemy who pressed them with unremitted alarms. They hesitated whether they should return to Ilerda, where they still had some magazines, or should attempt to reach Tarraco* on their left, at the distance of about fifty miles. They chose the first, as promising the nearest and most immediate relief from their present distresses. They accordingly, without any precaution, decamped, and directed their march to Ilerda. The Spanish infantry were now more exposed than they had been on any of their former marches; for their cavalry had been so often discomfited.

* Tarragona.

and had lost courage so much, that they could not be kept to their place in the column, and were now actually received for safety into the centre of the infantry; the rear was therefore cruelly annoyed by Cesar's horse, supported by the whole force of his legions. Cesar had more than once a fair opportunity to attack them, and, with little doubt of the event, to terminate the war by a battle; but he persisted in his purpose of forcing this unfortunate army to surrender without any loss or hazard to himself. In this mind he continued to observe them with a degree of insulting indifference, till at length he formed a design to cut off all their hopes at once by a line of circumvallation. In conducting or covering this work, his legions were commonly under arms. And the enemy, sensible of the extremity to which they were soon likely to be reduced, advanced in front of their camp to interrupt him; and there might have decided their fate by an action upon equal terms. But they had no courage left, and retired again within their intrenchment.

But in that situation their distresses in a little time became insufferable. After four days had passed in their camp without water or sustenance of any sort, their leaders desired an interview with Cesar, and came to an accommodation with him. He declared that "he demanded no more than peace; his antagonists should go unhurt, provided they left the province, and became bound not to serve his enemies for the future against him; that no one should be forced to take any active part on his side; that all who committed no injury against him should be considered as his friends; and that every man now in his power should be at liberty, without any other conditions than these." His speech was received by the late partisans of his rival with evident signs of pleasure. To be discharged after a certain period of the most faithful services was all that a Roman soldier, in the ordinary times of the republic, could claim. To receive this favour at the hands of a victorious enemy, by whom they expected to be treated as captives, gave sudden and unexpected joy.

Varro yet remained in the western province of Spain; but he, on the report of what had happened to Afranius and Petreius, agreed to surrender the forces he commanded, both by sea and by land, and was received at Corduba. Here Cesar held a general convention of the province; and having thanked the people for the favours they had shown to his cause, he remitted the contributions, and withdrew all the burdens which Varro, acting under the authority of Pompey, had imposed upon them.

CHAP. VI.

The surrender of Marseilles—Cesar named Dictator—Quells a mutiny at Placentia—Cesar with Servilius Itauricus Consuls—Forces and Disposition of Pompey—Departure of Cesar to Brundisium—Transports the first division of his army to Acroceranus—Message to Pompey, and their several Operations—The lines of Dyrrachium—Cesar baffled in his attempt to invest Pompey—Action and defeat of Cesar—His Retreat—March of both Armies into Thessaly—Battle of Pharsalia.

THE city of Marseilles had not surrendered to the forces which Cesar had left under the command of Trebonius and Decimus Brutus to besiege it. The victory already mentioned, and which contributed so much to the reputation of Cesar's arms, while he lay before Ilerda, was the result of a severely contested naval engagement, in which the Marseillians lost nine of their ships. By this event they lost the superiority at sea, and turned their whole attention to the defence of their city. After some vigorous sallies, and the exertion of much ingenuity and perseverance, the inhabitants perceived the progress of the besiegers, and despaired of success. They accordingly made signals of truce, and sent to beseech Trebonius that he would suspend his operations, and wait for the arrival of Cesar, in whose clemency they hoped to find some protection against the fury of troops, who had already threatened the inhabitants with a massacre.

Such was the state of affairs when Cesar arrived from Spain, and expecting, in the present contest for empire, to profit as much by the reputation of his clemency, as by the terror of his arms, listened to the supplications of the people of Marseilles, and took possession of the town without any act of resentment or severity whatever. While he was yet at this place, he had accounts from Rome, that his party in the city had procured an act of the people to vest him with the power of dictator. The ceremony of his nomination had, in the absence of both consuls, been performed by Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, then pretor in office.

Cesar being thus raised, though by an irregular step, to a legal place in the commonwealth, hastened to Rome, in order to be invested, for the first time, with the character of dictator. In his way he was stopped at Placentia by some disorders which threatened a mutiny among the troops who were assembled at that place. The legions, elated by victory, and filled with a sense of their own importance in a contest for the sovereignty of the empire,

were become impatient of discipline, and in haste to avail themselves of that military government they were employed to establish. In entering Italy they treated Roman citizens as their subjects, and the country as their property. Being restrained, they resented the severities which were practised against them, entered into cabals, and even talked of abandoning Cesar, and of declaring for Pompey. Here, however, the usual courage and ability of this singular man supported him. He affected to believe, that the ninth legion were the principal authors of this mutiny. He ordered a few of them for immediate execution, and boldly dismissed the whole of the legion from his service. The remainder of the army, having thus obtained an implied exculpation, in token of their own innocence, vied with each other in applauding the justice of their general.

With a considerable accession of authority, acquired by his success in quelling this mutiny, Cesar proceeded to Rome, where he assumed the title and ensigns of dictator, being the first example of any person, since the abdication of Sylla, entrusted with this alarming power. It was said to be conferred upon him, however, merely in compliance with form; and that there might be a proper officer, in the absence of both the consuls, to preside at the elections. In the interval that followed, before their installation, he continued to assemble the people in the character of dictator, and obtained some laws respecting the times, and the distracted state of public affairs. Credit and trade were at an alarming stand; he procured an act to facilitate the recovery of debts, by delivering the effects of the debtor to be divided among his creditors, upon an estimate of what the different subjects might have been sold for at the time that the war broke out.

Many being supposed to hoard great sums of money, as the only means of preserving it from the violence of the times, or being unwilling to lend on such securities as were then to be had, Cesar procured another act, by which any person was forbid to have in his possession, at once, above sixty thousand Roman money.

He obtained a general act of indemnity, from which Milo alone was excepted, restoring persons of every denomination, who, at the breaking out of the war, lay under the censure of the law, and were in exile for corrupt practices in the state. He opened the city at once to all the inhabitants of the Cisalpine Gaul, and by a single vote gave them a title to be enrolled with the people of Rome as members of the republic. In these, and in other affairs of less moment, while his troops were in motion through Italy, he

employed a few days in the city, and being ready to depart, resigned the power of dictator. He was now about to assume the office of legal magistrate, and to appear in the character of Roman consul against those who, lately trusting to the name and authority of the republic with which they were vested, had treated himself and his adherents as rebels.

The competitors in the famous contest now at issue were in or but a little past the prime of life : Pompey was fifty-seven, and Cesar fifty. The first had been early distinguished as an officer, and for many years had enjoyed a degree of consideration, with which that of any other Roman citizen was not allowed to compare. His reputation, however, in some measure, had sunk, and that of Cesar risen on the first shocks of the present war ; but the balance was not yet absolutely settled, and the minds of many were held in anxious suspense. Cesar, wherever he had acted in person, had always prevailed ; but where he was not present, his affairs wore a less promising aspect.

His forces under Curio had acquired an easy possession of Sicily ; and this officer, encouraged by his first success, transported two legions into Africa, found Varus encamped near Utica, obliged him to retire into the town, and was preparing to besiege it, when he received intelligence that Juba, king of Numidia, was advancing to its relief with all the powers of his kingdom.

He afterwards, however, was informed by some deserters from the Numidian camp that Juba, with the main body of his army, had been recalled to defend his own dominions ; and that only Sabura, one of his generals, with a small division, was come to give what support he could to the party of Pompey in Africa. Upon this information, Curio formed a design to intercept the Numidian general before he could be joined by Varus ; and marched in the night to attack the enemy, where he was informed that they lay on the banks of the Bagrada. His cavalry being advanced, fell in with the Numidian horse, and put them to flight. Encouraged by this advantage, he hastened his march to complete the victory ; and Sabura, by whose art the last intelligence had been conveyed to him, likewise, after a little resistance, fled before him. By this means, Curio was gradually ensnared into the midst of Juba's forces, was surrounded, and attacked on every side. He attempted, in vain, to take refuge on a height which he had in view, and, with the greater part of his army, was put to the sword.

About the same time, Dolabella, to whom Cesar had given the command both of his sea and land forces on the

coast of Illyricum, was, by Marcus Octavius and Scribonius Libo, expelled from thence; and Caius Antonius, attempting to support Dolabella, was shut up in a small island, and, with his party, made prisoners.

The principal storm, however, with which the new government was threatened, appeared on the side of Macedonia. In this country, Pompey himself was now at the head of a force amounting to fifty-five thousand legionary troops, eight thousand irregular infantry, and ten thousand six hundred horse. In all seventy-three thousand six hundred. He had likewise assembled a fleet amounting to above eight hundred galleys, of which Bibulus had the chief command, with orders to guard the passage from Italy to Greece, and to obstruct the communications of the enemy by the Ionian sea.

Pompey had likewise formed large magazines of corn from Thessaly, Asia, Egypt, Crete, and Cyrene. The principal resort of his land forces was at Berrhoea, on the fertile plains between the Axios and Haliacmon, that run into the bay of Thermæ. The Roman senate was represented at Thessalonica by two hundred of that body, who, together with the two consuls, held their assemblies, and assumed at first all the functions of the Roman state. Afterwards, however, they somewhat modified their ideas on this subject, and suffered the usual time of the elections to elapse, not attempting to preserve in their retreat the succession of officers, in opposition to the elections that were made at Rome. Claudius Marcellus and L. Cornelius Lentulus, at the expiration of their year in office, took the several commands allotted to them, as usual, under the title of proconsul.

The general had been extremely active in forming, as well as in assembling this powerful armament. He intended, early in the spring, to take possession of Dyrrachium, Apollonia, and the other towns on the coast, probably with a view to fall upon Italy, with a weight which now appeared sufficient to ensure the high reputation as a commander, which his successes, on other occasions, had procured him.

Cesar, on his part, had drawn all his army to the coast in the neighbourhood of Brundisium; and he himself, having obtained his election as consul, without waiting for his admission into office, set out from Rome in December for the same place. Here twelve legions and all his cavalry were already, by his order, assembled. He embarked seven legions in the first division, and with these he himself sailed on the fourth of February. He turned from the usual

course, and steering unobserved to the right, arrived next day, where the enemy, if they had really been apprised of his embarkation, were least likely to expect him on what was reputed a very dangerous part of the coast, under a high and rocky promontory, that was called the *Acroceranus*.*

As soon as the fleet had come to an anchor, Cesar having *Vibullius Rufus*, one of *Pompey's* officers who was taken in Spain, till now detained as a prisoner, he dismissed him with a message to his general in the following terms : " That both parties had already carried their obstinacy too far, and might learn, from experience, to distrust their fortunes. But since all former endeavours to procure a conference, or to bring on a treaty between the leaders themselves, had failed, he proposed, that all their differences should now be referred to the senate and people ; that, in the mean time, each of them should solemnly swear, at the head of their respective armies, that, in three days, they should disband all their forces, in order that, being disarmed, they might severally be under a necessity to submit to the legal government of their country ; that he himself, to remove all difficulties on the part of *Pompey*, should begin with dismissing all the troops that were under his command, whether in garrison or in the field." As he usually accompanied such overtures of peace with the most rapid movements and the boldest resolutions, the moment *Vibullius* set out, he disembarked his troops, and in the night despatched the transports on their return to *Brundisium* to bring the remainder of his army.

His landing on the coast was the first intimation received by the enemy of his intention to pass a sea, which they supposed sufficiently guarded by their fleets, and of his purpose to carry the war into a country, in which they thought themselves secure by the superiority of their numbers, and of their other resources. Cesar marched directly to *Oricum*, where the garrison deserted their commander, and surrendered the place. Without stopping here, he proceeded to *Apollonia*, was received in the same manner by the inhabitants, in opposition to the officer who commanded for *Pompey*. In consequence of these examples he was acknowledged by all the towns of *Epirus*, and continued his march with the greatest despatch towards *Dyrrachium*, where *Pompey* had collected his stores, and formed his principal magazines.

Pompey, in execution of the plan he had formed, was on

his march from Macedonia towards the coast of Epirus, when he was met by Vibullius, and received from him the first intelligence of Cesar's landing. He was not amused with the message which this officer brought him, and, without returning any answer, detached some parties towards the coast where the enemy was landed, with orders to lay waste the country, break down the bridges, destroy the woods, and block up the highways with the felled timber. He himself advanced with great diligence, arrived in time to prevent the designs of Cesar on Dyrrachium; encamped under the walls, sent a squadron of ships immediately to retake or block up the harbour at Oricum, and ordered such a disposition of the fleet as was most likely to prevent the passage of a second embarkation from Italy.

Cesar, finding himself prevented at Dyrrachium, halted on the Apsus; and, in order to cover Epirus and wait for the second division of his troops from Italy, prepared to intrench himself on the banks of that river.

Thither Pompey advanced from Dyrrachium, and took post on the opposite bank of that river. The armies continued to observe each other, and the troops, separated only by a narrow river, had frequent conferences from the opposite banks. It was understood that in these interviews no hostilities should be offered. Of the two parties, that of Cesar was the more engaging to soldiers; notwithstanding his own affectation of regard to the civil constitution of the republic, his military retainers still hoped to remain in possession of the government. He therefore encouraged the communication of his men with those of the opposite party. In these interviews, renewed offers of reconciliation on the part of Cesar appearing to make a deep impression on both armies, an answer was given by the direction of Pompey, that on the following day A. Varro should be sent to any place that should be agreed upon as safe between the two armies, and there receive the propositions that should be made to him. The parties accordingly met at a place appointed, and multitudes from both armies crowded around them. Soon after the officers met, some darts, probably by Pompey's directions, were thrown from the crowd. Both sides being alarmed by this circumstance, they instantly parted, and withdrew under a shower of missiles, in which numbers were wounded.

The fate of the war seemed to depend on the vigilance of the fleet, and on the difficulties with which Cesar had to contend in bringing any reinforcements or supplies from Italy. Bibulus, from the effect of fatigue, was taken dangerously ill; but could not be persuaded to leave his station, and died

on shipboard. There being nobody appointed to succeed him in the command at sea, the leader of each of the separate squadrons acted for himself without any concert. Scribonius Libo, with fifty galleys, steered towards Brundisium, where he surprised and burned some trading vessels, one in particular laden with corn for Cesar's camp. Encouraged by these successes, he anchored under the island which covered the mouth of the harbour, and threatened to cut off from Cesar all reinforcements and further supplies. But in this he presumed too much on the first effects of his own operations. Antony, who commanded the troops of Cesar in the town of Brundisium, effectually excluded the squadron of Libo from any supply of wood or water, and reduced them to such distress for want of these articles, that they were obliged to abandon their station, and to leave the harbour again open.

In the mean time pressing orders arrived from Cesar to hasten the embarkation of the troops. It is related that he himself being impatient of delay, embarked alone in disguise on board of a barge, with intention to pass to Brundisium; that, after he had been some time at sea, the weather became so bad, as to determine the master of the vessel to put back; and that the mariners being likely to faint, the passenger at last discovered himself, and encouraged them to persist, by telling them that they carried Cesar and his fortunes; but that nevertheless he was forced to give way, and to intrust his orders to a messenger.

Upon these orders, the troops with great ardour began to embark. They consisted of four legions and eight hundred horse, under the command of Mark Antony and Calenus. The wind being at south, and no enemy appearing in the channel, they set sail, and steered for the coast of Epirus. They met with rough weather, and were chased by one of Pompey's squadrons. They made for the nearest harbour, and most of them landed safely in the bay of Nympheus, about three miles beyond Lissus, on the coast of Dalmatia. Such of the transports as got safe into the bay of Nympheus landed three veteran legions, with one of the new levies, and eight hundred horse. Two of them mistook their way, came to an anchor before Lissus, and surrendered to the enemy, though a part of them fought their way, with the loss of a few men, to Nympheus, where they joined the main body of their army that was landed with Antony.

Cesar having obtained this great reinforcement, was no longer so anxious as he had hitherto been for the preservation of his possessions upon the coast. Having his vessels secured, he sent numerous detachments in different direc-

tions: L. Cassius Longinus, with a legion of new levies, into Thessaly; C. Calvisius Sabinus, with five cohorts and a party of horse, into Ætolia; Cn. Domitius Calvinus, with two legions, into Macedonia; giving strict charge to each of these officers, that they should collect all the forage and provisions which those or the neighbouring countries could furnish.

As Pompey had extorted services from the provinces, neglecting the necessary attention to conciliate their affections, the detachments which now appeared on the part of Cesar were everywhere favourably received. Scipio being the father-in-law of Pompey, had been employed in assembling the forces of Asia, and had, by severe exactions, availed himself of the resources of that opulent province. He was still occupied in this service at Ephesus, when he received from Pompey an account of Cesar's arrival in Epirus, and an order without delay to transport his army into Europe. He accordingly, soon after the arrival of Cesar's detachments at their several places of destination, penetrated into Macedonia, directing his march towards the quarters of the two legions under the command of Domitius Calvinus, on the Haliacmon, a river which separates Macedonia from Thessaly. The armies continued to occupy the opposite banks of the river; and as Scipio was master of all Thessaly, Calvinus continued in possession of Macedonia, and from thence secured a considerable source of supply to Cesar's army.

While so many large bodies, detached from the principal armies, were thus contending in Thessaly for the possession of the country, Pompey remained to cover the ground, which was of greater importance to him, in the neighbourhood of the sea, and the port of Dyrrachium. Having, at the distance of about a day's march in his rear, this town and harbour as a place of arms, at which he had deposited his magazines and stores, and from which he received his ordinary supply of provisions, he had taken his measures to protract the war; and trusting to his own superior resources, both by sea and by land, did not doubt that by waiting until the countries which Cesar had occupied should be exhausted, he might force him to retire from the contest without the risk of a battle. To hasten this event, he endeavoured everywhere to straiten his quarters in the country, and to block up or destroy all the harbours he had on the coast.

Cesar, on the opposite part, sensible of the interest which he had in bringing the war to a speedy decision, advanced upon Pompey, forced a place of some strength that covered his front, and encamped in his presence. The day

after he arrived in this position, either to bring on a general action, or to gain the reputation of braving his antagonist, he formed his army on the plain between the two camps; but as Pompey continued firm or unmoved by this insult, he projected a movement, by which he proposed either to force an engagement, or to preclude the enemy from all his resources in the town and harbour of Dyrrachium. For this purpose, he decamped in the day, and having a large circuit to make, directed his march at first from Dyrrachium, and was thought to retire for want of provisions; but in the night he changed his direction, and with great diligence advanced upon and gained the neighbourhood of the town.

Pompey thus shut out from Dyrrachium, where he had placed his magazines and stores, and from the only harbour he had on the coast, fortified Petra, a small promontory which covered a little creek or bay not far from the town, and there procured supplies in boats from his magazines and stores in the town; and in this manner was still in condition to avoid any immediate risk of his fortunes in a single action. Cesar, on the other hand, being disappointed in the design he had formed to exclude the enemy from their magazines in the town of Dyrrachium, and seeing no likelihood of being able to bring the war to a speedy decision, his own communication with Italy being entirely cut off, and the fleets he had ordered from thence, from Sicily, and from Gaul, having met with unexpected delays, sent an officer, named L. Canuleius, into Epirus, with a commission to draw into magazines all the corn that could be found in that or the neighbouring districts, and to secure them at proper places for the use of his army. On hearing, too, of Scipio's arrival in Europe, affecting to have despaired of obtaining peace by any farther direct applications to Pompey himself, and willing to appeal to the reason of the father-in-law against the obstinacy of the son, he sent Clodius, their common friend, with letters and instructions, to inform Scipio of the great pains he had taken to obtain an equitable accommodation, "all which, he presumed, had hitherto failed through the unhappy timidity of those he intrusted with his messages. But subjoined that, through the mediation of Scipio, who could deliver himself with so much freedom, who could advise with so much authority; and who, being at the head of a great army attached to his person, could even enforce what was just, he might expect a different issue to propositions so fair and so reasonable." Clodius was received with respect; but on delivering his message, it appears that all farther communication was refused him. Cesar indeed, was himself, as usual, so far from trusting to

the effect of these propositions, or so far from remitting his own operations in order to confirm his pacific professions, that he even redoubled his efforts in that very quarter which was intrusted to Scipio; and as he had already possessed himself of Epirus, Acarnania, and Ætolia, he carried his views still farther on that side, and sent Fusius Calenus to penetrate into Achaïa. He himself at the same time engaged in a project to invest Pompey in his camp, though at the head of an army superior to his own, and oblige him to recede from the coast, or submit to be invested with lines, and completely shut out from the country. For this purpose he occupied several hills in the neighbourhood of Pompey's camp, strengthened them with forts, joined those forts by lines of communication across the valleys, and soon appeared to have projected a complete chain of redoubts, and a line of circumvallation.

Pompey, to counteract this daring project, took possession of some heights in his turn, fortified and joined them in the same manner, and while the one endeavoured to contract, the other endeavoured to enlarge, the compass of his works. The archers and slingers on both sides, as in the operations of a siege, were employed to annoy the workmen. The armies lay under arms, and fought in detail for the possession of advantageous grounds. When forced from one height which they attempted to occupy, they seized upon another that was contiguous, and still continued their line, though obliged to change its direction.

In these operations, a campaign that began in January with the landing of Cesar on the coast of Epirus, already drew on to the middle of summer, and both parties had undergone great labour, and were exposed to peculiar distress. During that period it appears that the armies changed the ground of their principal encampments as well as the disposition of some separate posts, and mutually harassed each other with frequent surprises and alarms. And Cesar mentions no less than six capital actions which happened in one day at the lines of circumvallation, or under the walls of Dyrrachium; and in most of them it is probable that Pompey had the advantage, as he acted on the string, or smaller circumference, while his antagonists moved on the bow, or the wider circle.

The extremities of both their works terminated on the shore; and Cesar having no boats or ships sought merely for occasions of action, and was contented with the hopes of finding them even under such disadvantages. While he was obliged to remain with the strength of his army at that end of his line which was nearest the town of Dyrra-

chium, in order to prevent the access of Pompey to his magazines, he began to fortify the other extremity of it with double works.

Before this work was completed, Pompey made a disposition to force him at this extremity of his lines, and of consequence to open a way to his rear over the whole extent of his works. For this purpose, he brought in the night six entire legions, or sixty cohorts, to that part of his own works which faced this place. He embarked a numerous body of archers, slingers, and other light troops, in the night; and the officer who commanded it had orders to land part of the troops in the rear of both Cesar's intrenchments, and another part between them where the work was still incomplete, in order to co-operate with the whole force of the legions in front, who were to take advantage of any effect which the missiles from their boats might produce on the flank or the rear of the enemy.

These attacks were accordingly made at daybreak, in three different places at once, and had all the consequences of a complete surprise. They fell with the greatest effect upon the station of one legion, of which the pickets and other guards being instantly routed, the whole legion was put under arms to support them; but, being soon infected with the panic, was carried off in the flight. The alarm was conveyed to Cesar by fires lighted on all the hills, and he hastened to the ground with as many cohorts as could be spared from the posts in his way; but he came too late. Pompey had already forced the intrenchments, had burst from his confinement, and was beginning to encamp in a new position, where, without losing his communication with the sea, he rendered abortive for a long time Cesar's purpose of excluding him from the supplies of necessities or conveniences which were to be derived from the land, and was now in a posture to command a free access to water and forage, from the want of which he had been much distressed in his late situation.

An action speedily followed, by which it appears that both armies changed the ground which they had taken immediately after the last action, and that in this remove Pompey had taken possession of the camp which Cesar had left.

Pompey however thought proper to send back a legion, or large detachment of his army, to resume the possession of the camp he had formerly occupied; and Cesar, on his part, observing this detachment sent off from the enemy, thought it gave him a favourable opportunity, by cutting it off, to recover part of the credit he had lost in the late

action. While, to amuse the enemy, he ordered his men to continue the work in which they were engaged, he himself marched with twenty-three cohorts, in two divisions, under cover of the wood, came to the ground unobserved, and with the division which was led by himself, mixed with the enemy, who had already taken possession of the exterior lines and drove them from thence to the interior intrenchment with great slaughter. The other, division being in the mean time to attack the same works at a different place, mistook the line of communication which covered the access from the camp to the river for the intrenchment of the camp itself, and gave Pompey an opportunity to come to the relief of his detachment. As soon as he appeared, Cesar's troops, imagining that they were about to be surrounded, or shut up within the enemy's works, betook them to flight, crowded back to the ditch, and in attempting to re-pass it, were killed in such heaps, or were trodden under foot in such numbers, that the slain filled up the ditch, and made a passage for those that followed.

In this state of general confusion and terror, the presence and authority of Cesar, which, on other occasions, used to be of so great effect, were entirely disregarded. The bearer of a standard, on Cesar's catching it, and endeavouring to stop him, quitted his hold, and continued to run without it; a rider, whose horse he had seized by the bridle, dismounted, and ran off on foot. The rout was complete; Cesar lost about a thousand men, with above thirty standards or colours, and owed the preservation of his army to the excessive caution or incapacity of Pompey. He himself acted indeed like a person defeated, instantly abandoned all his famous lines of Dyrrachium, and all his outposts; and to make head against the victor, brought all the scattered parts of his army together.

This victory, although it had not been perceived in the precise moment in which a signal advantage could have been made of it, was presently afterwards greatly exaggerated. Pompey had from his own army the usual acclamations of triumph, or received the title of Imperator, which he continued to assume, and sent his accounts of the action, by expresses, to every part of the empire; but had the moderation to abstain from the practice that was usual in the case of victories obtained over foreign enemies, that of binding his fasces and his despatches with laurel. Some time before this event, and while the minds of men were yet in suspense, Cato, in one of the councils which had been summoned by Pompey, observed that Cesar had acquired much popular favour by his ostentation of mercy, and

moved, that a proclamation should be issued, containing assurances, that every town not actually in arms should be protected, and that no blood be shed but in the field of battle. A resolution to this purpose had been accordingly published; but in the present exultation of victory was forgotten. The times were said to require exemplary justice, and to justify executions and forfeitures, not only of those who were actually in arms against their country, but of those likewise who had betrayed its cause by a mean and profligate neutrality.

The shock which Cesar had received in so critical a time and situation, was, not without reason, supposed to be decisive, but he himself was not overwhelmed by these appearances; he knew what was the force of an army which had been taught, by the experience of many years, to repose the utmost confidence in themselves and in their general, and which was not likely to sink, without hopes of recovery, under any single event. He however prepared, without loss of time, to decamp and to retreat to Apollonia, being a march of about thirty miles.

Having with some difficulty accomplished this, he proposed, without delay, to penetrate into Thessaly, and to occupy, for the subsistence of his army, as much as he could of that fertile country. He flattered himself, that if Pompey should follow him thither, to a distance from his magazines and his supplies by sea, the war might be continued between them upon equal terms. If he attempted to retake Oricum and the towns on the coast, he must expose Scipio and the body under his command, in the eastern parts of Macedonia, to be separately attacked; or, if he wished to preserve Scipio and his army, he would be obliged to quit his design upon Oricum in order to support them. If he should pass into Italy, it was proposed to follow him by the coasts of Dalmatia. And this last alternative of carrying the war into Italy, from the difficulties, the delays, and the discredit to which it might have exposed Cesar's cause, appears to have been the preferable choice for Pompey. It was accordingly debated in council, but the war appeared to be so near its conclusion, that it was reckoned improper to leave any part of it unfinished.

Upon these motives both armies, having their several detachments in Thessaly, and separate bodies to support or to rescue from the dangers which threatened them; the generals determined to march into that country, and calculated their respective movements, so as to cut off the enemy's parties, or to sustain their own. Cesar passed the mountains into Thessaly, and continued his march to Gom-

phi. The people of this place having refused to admit him, he scaled the walls, gave the town to be pillaged, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. When he arrived at Metropolis, the people, terrified by the fate of Gomphi, threw open their gates; and Cesar, to contrast this with the former example, gave them protection. From thence to Larissa, where Scipio, having fallen back from the Aliacmon, then lay with a considerable army, the country was open, and Cesar, or his parties, were everywhere received without opposition. Having passed all the lesser rivers which fall into the Peneus, he took post on the Enipeus, which runs through the district of Pharsalia. Here he commanded extensive plains, covered with forage and with ripening corn; had a very fertile country to a great distance in his rear; and being joined not only by Domitius, but probably likewise by the legion which Longinus commanded in Etolia, in all amounting to ten legions, he was in condition to renew his offensive operations.

Pompey directed his motions likewise towards the same quarter; but although he had the more direct route, and was everywhere received as victor in the late action, was still on his march. Scipio advanced from Larissa to receive him; and being joined, they took post together on a height near Pharsalus, and in sight of Cesar's station, at the distance of thirty stadia, or about three miles. The armies being some time fixed in this position, Cesar drew forth, in the front of his intrenchment, to provoke his antagonist. As this was a defiance, and had some effect on the minds of the soldiers, it was proper to return it; and both sides, during many days, continued to turn out in the front of their respective lines. Cesar advanced, on each successive day, still nearer to Pompey's ground; but there were some difficulties in the way of his further approach, in which he did not choose to engage himself in the presence of an enemy, nor did Pompey choose to quit the eminence on which he had hitherto formed his line of battle.

The summer being far spent, and all the forage and corn of the neighbouring plains being consumed, Cesar began again to suffer for want of provisions, and was about to retreat to some situation in which he could more easily subsist his own army. Having appointed a day on which the armies should move, the tents being already struck, and the signal to march given, while the van was passing through the rear-gate of the camp, it was observed, that Pompey's army, being formed according to their daily practice, had advanced farther than usual before their lines,

Cesar immediately gave orders to halt, saying to those who were near him, "The time we have so earnestly wished for is come; let us see how we are to acquit ourselves." He immediately ordered, as a signal of battle, a purple ensign to be hoisted on a lance in the centre of the camp.

Pompey thought himself under a necessity to come to a speedy decision, and had prepared for battle on the morning of that very day on which Cesar was about to decamp. Having the Enipeus, a small river with steep banks, on his right, which sufficiently covered that flank, he drew all the cavalry, amounting to seven thousand, with the archers and slingers, to his left, expecting that the event of the battle would be determined on this wing. He himself, therefore, took post to second the operations of the cavalry, at the head of the two famous legions which he had called off from Cesar at the beginning of the war. Scipio was posted in the centre, with the legions from Syria, having the great body of the infantry divided on his right and his left. The right of the whole was covered by a Cilician legion, and the remains of the Spanish army which had joined Pompey under Afranius. The whole amounted to one hundred cohorts, or about forty-five thousand foot, drawn up in a line of ten men deep.

Cesar, observing this disposition, formed his army in three divisions; the left was commanded by Antony, the right by Sylla, and the centre by Cneius Domitius. The tenth legion was posted on the right, and the ninth on the left of the whole. He had eighty cohorts in the field; but these so incomplete, as not to exceed above twenty-two thousand men. He saw the disparity of his horse and irregulars on the right, having no more than a thousand horse to oppose to seven thousand of the enemy. In order to reinforce and sustain them, he draughted a cohort from each of the legions in the right to form a reserve, which he placed in the rear of his cavalry with orders to sustain them, or to repel the enemy's horse, when they should attempt, as he expected, to turn his flank. This body formed a fourth division of his army, not placed in the same line with the other divisions; but facing obliquely to the right, in order to receive the cavalry that was expected to turn the flank, and to fall obliquely on the rear. He himself passed along the front of the right wing, and earnestly entreated them not to engage till they got the signal from himself. He reminded them of his continual attention to the welfare of the army, desiring them to recollect with what solicitude he had endeavoured to bring on a treaty, in order to save both armies to the republic; and how far

he had always been from any disposition wantonly to shed the soldiers' blood. He was answered with shouts that expressed an impatience to begin the action. Pompey had directed the cavalry and archers assembled on his left to begin the attack ; and instructed them, as soon as they had driven Cesar's horse from the plain, to fall upon the flank and the rear of his infantry.

These dispositions being completed, a solemn pause, and an interval of silence ensued. The same arms, and the same appearances presented themselves on the opposite sides. When the trumpets gave the signal to advance, the sounds were the same. Cesar's army began to rush forward, and they were received with perfect order, but not with that resistance and equal force which motion alone could give. The action became general near about the same time over the whole front. Pompey's horse, as was expected, in the first charge, put Cesar's cavalry to rout, and, together with the archers and slingers, were hastening to turn the flank of the enemy. But as soon as they opened their view to the rear, being surprised at the sight of a body of infantry which was drawn up to oppose them, and being, probably, from their confidence of victory, negligent of order ; in their attempts to recover it they were thrown into the utmost confusion, and, although there was not an enemy in condition to pursue them, fled to the heights. The archers and slingers, being thus deserted by the horse, were put to the sword. And Pompey's left, on which he expected the enemy could not resist him, being flanked by the cohorts who had defeated his cavalry, began to give way. Cesar, in order to increase the impression he had made, brought forward fresh troops to the front of his own line ; and while his reserve turned upon the flank, made a general charge, which the enemy no longer endeavoured to withstand.

Pompey, on seeing the flight of his cavalry, an event he so little expected, either thought himself betrayed, or despairing of the day, put spurs to his horse, and returned into camp. As he entered the pretorian gate, he called to the guards to stand to their arms, and to provide for the worst. He retired to his tent in the greatest dejection, and yet awaited the issue. His army in the mean time, being routed, fled in confusion through the lanes of their own encampment. It was noon, and the victors, as well as the vanquished, were greatly fatigued ; but Cesar seldom left any refuge to a flying enemy, not even behind their intrenchments. He ordered Pompey's lines to be stormed, met with some little resistance from the guards that were

placed on the parapet, but soon prevailed. The rout and the carnage continued through the streets and the alleys of the camp, to the rear-gate and passages through which the vanquished crowded to recover the fields, and from which, without any attempt to rally, they continued their flight to the neighbouring hills.

When Pompey's army drew forth to battle, their tents were left standing, as in full confidence of victory; and the plate, furniture, and equipage of the officers were still displayed, as if intended for show. Notwithstanding this circumstance, Cesar had authority enough to restrain his troops from plunder, and continued the pursuit. Seeing crowds of the vanquished had occupied a hill in the rear of their camp, he made haste, surrounded them, and cut off their farther retreat. When overwhelmed with fatigue and distress, these remains of the vanquished army offered to capitulate; and while the treaty was in dependence many among them, who were senators and persons of rank, withdrew in the night, and made their escape; the rest surrendered at discretion. Persons of distinction, who had been formerly prisoners, and who had been set at liberty, were now put to death. As for the private men, they took oaths of fidelity to the victor, and were enlisted in his army.

CHAP. VII.

Comparative Loss on the different Sides in the late Action - Pompey's Flight His Death - Arrival of Cesar at Alexandria - Cato, with the Fleet and remains of the Army from Pharsalia, steers for Africa - State of Italy and of the Republican Party - Adventures of Cesar in Egypt - Victory over Pharnaces - Arrival in Italy - Passage into Africa - His Operations and Action with the Horse and Irregulars of the Enemy - Battle of Thapsus - Death of Cato.

IN the famous battle of Pharsalia, Cesar, by his own account, lost no more than two hundred men, among whom were thirty centurions, officers of distinguished merit. He killed of the enemy fifteen thousand, took twenty-four thousand prisoners, with a hundred and eighty stand of colours, and nineteen Roman eagles and legionary standards; and on this occasion he cut off many senators and many of the equestrian order, the flower of the Roman nobility, who were the most likely to bear up the sinking fortunes of the commonwealth.

Pompey, when he was told that Cesar's troops had already

forced his intrenchments, changed his dress, mounted on horseback, and made his escape at Larissa. From thence he passed by the valley of Tempé to the coast, and put off from the shore in a small boat with a few of his attendants, and coming in sight of a trading vessel, was taken on board, and arrived at Amphipolis. His wife Cornelia, and Sextus the youngest of his sons, were at Mitylené, in the island of Lesbos; thither he sailed, and, having taken them on board, and being joined by some galleys of the fleet, continued his voyage to the coast of Cilicia, and from thence to Cyprus. He meant to have landed in Syria; but being informed that the people of Antioch, upon the news of his defeat, had published a resolution to admit none of his party, he dropt that intention, and contented himself with what aid and reinforcements he obtained on the coasts of Cilicia and Cyprus, and continued his voyage to Egypt.

The late king, Ptolemy Auletes, had been indebted to the Romans and the patronage of Pompey; and the kingdom being now on a respectable footing, having a considerable military force in the field; this Roman leader, though of a vanquished party, flattered himself, that in the gratitude of the Egyptian court he might find some means to reinstate his affairs.

On the death of Ptolemy, who had been restored to his throne by Gabinius, Ptolemy the eldest of his sons, together with Cleopatra the eldest daughter were left joint heirs of the crown. This brother and sister being by the laws permitted to marry, were in the capacity of husband and wife associated on the throne. But the council of the young king excluded Cleopatra, and had taken post with a great army at Pelusium to prevent her return, she being said to have assembled a numerous force in Asia for that purpose. Pompey observing this army upon the shore, concluded that the king was present, came to anchor, and sent a message with intimation of his arrival. The council of Ptolemy knowing that the Romans had been named executors of the late king's will, and in this capacity might restore Cleopatra to her share in the throne, and that Pompey, in name of the republic, might assume the supreme direction in Egypt, were greatly alarmed upon receiving his message, and came to a resolution to put him to death.

With this intention Achilles, with a few of his attendants, came on board in a small boat, delivered a message from Ptolemy, inviting Pompey to land. In the mean time some Egyptian galleys, with an intention to secure him, drew near to his ship; and the whole army, with the king at their head, were drawn out on the shore to receive him.

The size of the boat, and the appearance of the equipage which came on this errand, seemed disproportioned to the rank of Pompey; and Achilles made an apology, alleging, that deeper vessels could not go near enough to land him on that shallow part of the coast. Two of his servants went before him into the boat to receive their master; and with his attendance he put off from the ship. His wife Cornelia, and Sextus the youngest of his sons, with some other friends, remained upon deck, when, soon after the barge had left the ship, Achilles beckoned to the other soldiers, who understood the signal, and put the Roman general to death. He sank without making any struggle, or uttering one word. This was done in the presence of the king of Egypt and of his army, who were ranged in a kind of amphitheatre formed by the shore. The vessel in which the unhappy Cornelia with her family was left, and the little squadron which attended it, as if they had received a signal to depart, cut their cables and fled. Thus died Pompey, who for above thirty years enjoyed the reputation of the first captain of his age. He attained to more consideration, and enjoyed it longer than any other Roman citizen; and was supplanted at last, because, for many years of his life, he thought himself too high to be rivalled, and too secure to be shaken in his place.

The accounts which Cesar received at Larissa made him believe that Pompey must have passed into Asia; and he accordingly, on the third day after the battle of Pharsalia, set out in pursuit of him, and having gained the coast, set sail for Alexandria, and arrived, after a very quick passage. Here he learned the catastrophe of Pompey's life; and had presented to him, by the courtiers of Ptolemy, the head of the deceased severed from the body. He was detained at first by the usual periodical winds of the season, and became entangled in difficulties, or engaged in pleasures, which occasioned a very unaccountable stay, suspended the expectations of the whole empire, and gave to those of the opposite party leisure to consult their safety in different ways.

Cato, upon the march of Pompey into Thessaly, had been left to command on the coast of Epirus; and his quarters, after the battle of Pharsalia, became a place of retreat to many who escaped from the field, or who, at the time of the action, had been detached on different services. He assembled great part of the fleet at Corcyra; and, with his sea and land forces united, still preserved the aspect of a vigorous party. Cicero, Cneius the eldest son of Pompey, Afranius, Labienus, and other persons of distinction had

joined him. Having staid a sufficient time at Coreyra, to receive on board such of the vanquished army as chose to take refuge in the fleet; and having afterwards put into Patræ, near the mouth of the Gulf of Corinth, for the same purpose, he still gave every one his option to continue in arms, or to retire. He seems to have supposed that Pompey was gone into Egypt, and he determined to follow him. Being, in pursuance of this design, arrived in the African seas, but west of the frontier of Egypt, he met the unhappy Cornelia, with the young Sextus Pompeius, who had recently beheld the death of the husband and the father near the shore at Pelusium. The account which he received of this event determined him to return towards the Roman province of Africa, where the friends of the republic under Varus, lately received an accession of strength by the junction of Scipio and of Labienus, who had escaped from Pharsalia.

Cesar, when he passed into Macedonia, had left Italy and the western provinces in a state not likely, in his absence, to create any trouble. At Rome, it is probable that few had remained besides those who were inclined to Cesar's party, and any appearance of opposition to the party of Cesar, was easily suppressed upon the news of his victory at Pharsalia. There was either no senate, and no assembly of the people to resist the torrent with which fortune now ran on the side of military government. Cesar was, by a new and unheard-of resolution, made consul for five years, dictator for twelve months, and vested with the sacred character of tribune for life. He alone was appointed to preside in all public assemblies, except those of the tribes, in which the other tribunes bore an equal part with himself.

When these decrees were presented to Cesar, then in Egypt, he assumed the ensigns and power of dictator, and appointed Antony, who commanded in Italy, general of the horse, or second to himself in the empire. The reputation of Cesar's clemency had encouraged many, who had recently opposed him, to lay down their arms, and to return to their habitations, trusting to this character of him, or to considerations more particularly applicable to themselves. On the arrival of the victor in Cilicia, Cassius made his submission, and delivered up his fleet. Quintus Cicero went to Asia, to make his peace with Cesar; and many, expecting him in Italy, resorted thither on the same errand.*

Such was the state of affairs at the end of the year of Rome 795, and beginning of the following year, which is dated in the dictatorship of Caius Cesar. While he himself

still remained in Egypt, the government of Italy continued in the hands of Antony. All orders of men vied, in demonstrations of joy, for the success of the victor, and for the ascendant which his party had gained. All government centred in the person of Antony, and the administration was altogether military. He himself, immersed in debauch, was ungracious and arrogant to citizens of the highest rank, and deaf to all the complaints that were made of the violence and rapine of the army.

The daily expectation of Cesar's arrival, for some time, suspended all the usual factions in the city, and suppressed the hopes and designs of his opponents in all parts of the empire: but his unexpected stay at Alexandria, and the unfavourable reports of his situation, began to turn the tide of popularity at Rome, and encouraged the remains of the late republican party, now forced to take refuge in Africa, again to lift up its head. Dolabella, a young man of patrician extraction, observing the road which others had taken, to arrive at power in the commonwealth, procured himself, to be adopted into a plebeian family, to the end that he might be legally qualified to hold the office of tribune; and having succeeded in this design, revived the wild projects by which the worst of his predecessors had endeavoured to debauch the lower ranks of the people. The troops about the same time became mutinous in their quarters; and these disorders rose or fell according to the reports that were propagated from Asia or Egypt relating to the state of Cesar's affairs. The spirits and hopes of the late republican party, which yet had some footing in Africa and Spain, likewise fluctuated in the same manner.

Cato who with the remains of the republican party from Epirus, had arrived on the coast of Africa, being informed that Varus still held the Roman province on this continent in the name of the republic, that Scipio was there, and that the king of Numidia persisted in his alliance against Cesar, immediately joined them. The spirit of the republic began to revive in Africa, and the party being in condition to receive all who fled to them for protection, and having the alliance of Juba, the most powerful prince of that continent, soon became formidable both by sea and by land: and if they had chosen to invade Italy in the absence of Cesar, were in condition to have regained the capital of the empire. Young Pompey having, at the same time, passed into Spain, was favourably received by his father's adherents and clients in that province, and profiting by the misconduct of Quintus Cassius in those parts, was likely to assemble a considerable force.

Gabinus, who commanded for Cesar on the coast of Illyricum, attempting to penetrate by land into Macedonia, was cut off by Octavius, who had assembled a remnant of Pompey's army on the confines of that kingdom. Domitius Calvinus, whom Cesar had appointed to command in Bithynia, had received a defeat from Pharnaces the son of Mithridates ; and, in general, the state of his affairs in other parts of the empire was unfavourable.

The imperfect accounts which remain of what passed in Egypt during this interval, are as follows : Cesar, at his arrival, had found the young king under the direction of Pothinus and Ganimedes, two eunuchs, who had the care of his education. The party of Cleopatra applied to Cesar for his protection ; she herself passed into Egypt, and was introduced to his presence. This celebrated woman was then in the bloom of youth, and possessed of those allurements by which she made different conquerors of the world, in their turns, for a while renounce the pursuits of ambition for those of pleasure. She is supposed at this time to have become the mistress of Cesar, and to have made him, though turned of fifty years, to forget the empire, the republic, the factions at Rome, and the armies which in Africa and Spain were assembling against him. Under the dominion of his passion for Cleopatra, he took a resolution to carry into execution the destination made by the late king, and in the quality of Roman consul and representative of the Roman people, to whom this office had been intrusted by the will, he commanded both parties to lay down their arms, and to submit their claims to his own arbitration. Pothinus, fearing the total exclusion of the young king, his pupil, in favour of Cleopatra, called Achilles with the army to Alexandria, in order to defeat Cesar's purpose, and obliged him to leave the kingdom. This army consisted of twenty thousand men of the army with which Gabinus had reinstated the late king, inured to bloodshed and violence, though long divested of the order and discipline of Roman troops. Cesar, hearing of their approach, and not being in condition to meet them in the field, seized and fortified a quarter of the town, in which he proposed to defend himself. Achilles being arrived at Alexandria, entered the city, and endeavoured to force Cesar's quarters ; but being repulsed, took possession of that part of the town which was open to him, and blocked up the remainder both by sea and land. The city being thus divided, the Egyptians and Romans fought in the streets, and from the houses which they severally occupied. Cesar, as he despaired of being able to receive any succours by land, endeavoured to keep open his communica-

tion by sea, and sent pressing orders to Syria, Cilicia, Rhodes, and Crete, for reinforcements of men and of ships.

The scene was frequently changing by the intrigues and the treachery of different parties in the court. Ganimedes supplanted Achilles, and took on himself the command of the army. His abilities as an officer, which were very considerable, and his bounty, secured to him the affection of the soldiers. He continued the attack on Cesar's quarter, in all the ways which were already begun by his predecessor. While Cesar counteracted the arts which were employed to distress him, the eighteenth legion, with a considerable supply of provisions, military stores, and engines of war, being arrived on the coast, but unable to reach Alexandria on account of the winds, he thought proper to embark and put to sea, in order to cover this reinforcement, while they made for the port. On this occasion he was attacked by the Egyptian fleet; but gained a victory, destroyed a great part of the enemy's ships, and brought his own reinforcement safe into harbour. Afterwards, in an attack on the Pharos, Cesar succeeded in dislodging the enemy; but in rashly pursuing his advantage, the Egyptians rallied, mounted the mole, threw those who were upon it into confusion, and forced them over the quay into the water, or into their boats. Cesar himself endeavoured to escape in a boat, but finally threw himself into the water and swam to a ship. In this tumult he lost four hundred men of the legions, and an equal number of the fleet. The Egyptians recovered all the ground they had lost, got possession again of the tower at the head of the mole, and of the island which secured their ships.

In such operations with various events, the parties in Egypt had passed the winter and spring, when accounts were brought that Mithridates of Pergamus, whom Cesar had sent to procure succours from Asia, was actually arrived at Pelusium with a considerable force; on this Cesar put his army on board in the harbour, and having an open course by the coast, arrived at Pelusium, and on joining Mithridates, attacked and defeated the Egyptian army. Immediately after this action, Cesar returned to Alexandria, and having received the submission of the inhabitants, made such arrangements as he thought proper in the succession to the throne and the settlement of the kingdom. He left great part of the army to support this new establishment in Egypt, and he himself, after this singular interlude, in the midst of the conquest of the Roman empire, marched with a legion by land into Syria. At Antioch, he received such reports of the state of affairs, as required his presence

in different quarters. Nine months were elapsed, since any orders or directions had been received from him. During this time, the factions of the city, the relaxation of discipline in the army, and the threats of invasion from Africa, had placed his affairs in such a state of hazard, as to urge his immediate appearance in Italy and at Rome ; but he thought it of consequence to his authority to leave no enemy behind him in the field, nor to suffer the remains of disorder in any of the provinces through which he was to pass. At Tarsus Cesar held a convention of the principal inhabitants of Cilicia, and from thence continued his route to the frontiers of Galatia and Pontus. Hither Dejotarus, who had espoused the cause of Pompey, who had fought under his banners in Pharsalia, and who by the gift of that unfortunate officer, still retained the sovereignty of Galatia, came and made his submission.

Being joined by a legion which Dejotarus had lately formed in the Roman manner, Cesar advanced towards Pontus and Armenia, from which Pharnaces, the son of Mithridates, had ejected that prince. Upon the victor's approach, Pharnaces sent forward a messenger to present him, in honour of his late victories, with a crown of gold, and made offers of submission. Cesar demanded the instant surrender of the kingdom of Pontus, and full reparation of all the damages sustained by any Roman citizens settled in that province. Pharnaces professed an intention to comply with these demands ; but under various pretences delayed the performance of his promise. He had fixed on a hill in the neighbourhood of Ziecla, a place that became famous by the victory which his father Mithridates had there obtained over a Roman army under the command of Triarius : and in order to secure himself, repaired his father's lines. Cesar advanced to an eminence separated from the camp of Pharnaces only by a narrow valley sunk between steep banks. He came upon this ground in the night, and began to intrench himself when Pharnaces began to form for an attack. Cesar, imagining that he only meant to give an alarm, and to interrupt his workmen, even after he was in motion did not order the legions to desist from their work, till the enemy had passed both banks of the valley to attack him. The troops of Pharnaces began the action with an ardour that was suited to the boldness with which they had advanced ; and Cesar's contempt of their designs had nearly exposed him to a defeat. But the action, which was doubtful everywhere else, was decided by the veterans of the sixth legion, before whom the enemy gave way, hurried with precipitation down the declivity, and fell into a

general rout. Pharnaces fled with a few attendants, and narrowly escaped being taken. This victory gave Cesar an opportunity to compare his own glories with those of Sylla, of Lucullus, and of Pompey; and in the triumphs which he afterwards led in the sequel of these wars, the trophies of this particular victory were distinguished by labels, containing these words, "I came, I saw, I vanquished."*

Cesar, having appointed Domitius Calvinus to the command in Asia, set out by Galatia and Bithynia towards Greece, in his way to Italy; he landed at Tarentum, having been near two years absent from Rome. Many citizens had waited near twelve months at Brundisium, in anxious expectation of his coming, and under great uncertainty of the reception they were to meet with. Cicero, being of this number, set out for Tarentum as soon as he heard of Cesar's arrival, and met him on the road. When he presented himself, Cesar alighted from his carriage, received him with marks of respect, and continued to walk and to discourse with him aside for some time. This distinguished orator and upright statesman, though courted by Cesar, who wished to have the credit of his name in support of the measures now to be taken at Rome, chose to withdraw to a life of retirement, and devoted his time to literary amusements and studies. At this time he probably composed most of his writings on the subject of eloquence, as he did some time afterwards those which are termed his philosophical works.

Cesar arrived at Rome in the end of the year seven hundred and six of the Roman era, in which he had been named a second time dictator.† Being elected, together with M. Emilius, consul for the following year, he applied himself, for a little time, in the capacity of civil magistrate, to the affairs of state; endeavoured to restore the tranquillity of the city, and stifle the unreasonable hopes of a general abolition of debts, with which Dolabella had flattered the more profligate part of the community.

While, however, he appeared to be intent on these particulars, his thoughts were chiefly occupied in preparing to meet the war which the remains of the ancient senate and of the republican army were resuming against him in Africa. This province, in which Varus, supported by the king of Numidia, had been hitherto able to keep his station as an officer of the commonwealth, was now become the sole or the principal refuge of the republican party. At

* The famous words, *Veni, vidi, vici.* † U. C. 706.

Utica, many officers of name and of rank, Labienus, Afranius, Petreius, as well as Scipio and Cato, with all the remains they had saved from the wreck at Pharsalia, were now ready to renew the war. These leaders of the republican party having a considerable force at sea, and having access to all the ports, not only of Africa, but likewise of Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain, had furnished themselves plentifully with all the necessaries for war. They had mustered ten legions, which, according to the establishment of that time, may have amounted to fifty thousand Roman foot. They had twenty thousand African horse, a great body of archers and slingers, with a hundred and twenty elephants. They expected to be joined by the king of Numidia, who, to the established character of his countrymen for stratagem and valour, joined the glory of his late victory over Curio; and was supposed to muster, at this time, besides numerous bodies of horse, of archers, of slingers, and a great troop of elephants, thirty thousand foot, armed and marshalled, for the most part, in the manner of the Roman legion. Such was the state of affairs in Africa when Cesar, who, with all his military character and authority, now again experienced the difficulty of commanding mere soldiers of fortune, taught to divest themselves of civil principle, or regard to public duty, was likely to perish in a mutiny of his own army, and to end his career by the swords which he himself had whetted against the republic. The legions, which after the defeat of Pompey had been ordered into Italy, being stationed in the neighbourhood of Capua, from whence it was expected they should embark for Africa, broke out in open mutiny, decamped without orders, and marched towards Rome, where they were quelled with some difficulty.

Cesar having ordered troops and shipping from different quarters of Italy to assemble at Lillybæum, from whence he had the shortest passage to Africa; he himself arrived there on the thirtieth of September, found no more of his army arrived than one legion, and remained some weeks wind-bound. But while he continued thus situated, he was joined successively by a number of legions, which he ordered to embark as fast as they arrived. Being in this state of readiness with six legions, or about thirty thousand foot, together with two thousand horse; and the wind coming fair, he set sail for the nearest land in Africa. Soon after he got to sea a storm arose, which dispersed the fleet; he himself, with the ships that still kept him company, after being tossed four days in a passage of no more than twenty leagues, got under the land of the promontory of Mercury,

and from thence, to avoid the forces of the enemy, which were stationed near Utica and round the bay of Carthage, steered to the southward.

The coast of Africa, from this cape about two hundred miles, extending directly to the south, abounds with considerable towns, which, on account of their commerce, were anciently called the *Emporiæ*. *Adrumetum* lay on one side of a spacious bay, bounded by the head of *Clupea* on the north, and that of *Vada* on the south. The southern coast of this bay contained, besides *Adrumetum*, the following sea-ports: *Ruspina*, *Leptis*, and *Thapsus*; the bay itself extending from the first of these places to the last, about thirty-six miles. *Scipio* had secured *Adrumetum* and *Thapsus*, being the extremity of this line, with considerable forces. In order to render the province unfit for the reception of an enemy, he had laid waste the country and had collected all the provisions and forage into these and other places of strength for the use of his own army.

Considius being stationed at *Adrumetum* with two legions, and *Virgilius* with a proper force at *Thapsus*, the ports of *Ruspina* and *Leptis*, as well as many of the inland towns, were intrusted to the keeping of their own inhabitants. *Cato* was stationed at *Utica* as the last retreat of the Roman senate, the centre of all their resources, and the seat of their councils. *Scipio* had collected the main body of his army near to the same place, supposed to be the principal object of any attempt that might be made from Italy. *Labienu*s and *Petreius* had separate bodies, at proper stations, to guard the inlets of the coast round the bay of Carthage. *Varus* had the direction of the fleet. He had kept the sea during summer and on the approach of autumn, but had then withdrawn to *Utica*, and laid up his ships for the stormy season.

Cæsar seems to have had no information to direct him on his approach to the coast, besides the general report that the enemy were strongest in the bay of Carthage. In this belief he passed the headlands of *Clupea* and *Neapolis*, and stood in to the bay of *Adrumetum*, where he was received by *Considius*, with a force greatly superior to that which he himself had brought to the coast. But so little had he attended to the strength of the enemy, or so much was he determined to brave it, that he landed near *Adrumetum* on the nominal first of January, or about the middle of October, with three thousand foot and a hundred and fifty horse.* *Considius*, instead of taking measures to crush so

inferior an enemy before he should receive any reinforcement, thought of nothing but how to secure himself from surprise; and Cesar, to confirm him in this disposition, sent him a summons to surrender at discretion, endeavouring to corrupt or gain him by an insinuating message; but this officer, being more a man of integrity than he had shown himself to be an able general, ordered the bearer of the message to be put to death, and sent the letter unopened to Scipio.

Cesar having received no return to his message, determined, on the day after he landed, to remove to some place of greater security. With this view he marched to the southward, and though harassed in his rear by the enemy's horse, continued his march without any considerable interruption or loss. As he advanced to Leptis, he was received by the inhabitants, and found it a convenient post for the reception of his transports; and a few of them accordingly, having some cohorts of foot and troops of horse on board, put in to the harbour. By the report of persons who came in these ships he learned, that numbers of the fleet, after parting company, appeared to be steering for Utica.

In a state of anxious suspense, occasioned by these circumstances, Cesar determined to keep his footing in Africa, he landed his cavalry, and took the necessary measures to procure supplies of provisions by sea. He sent back the empty transports to receive any troops that might be arrived at Lilybæum, and ordered ten galleys from the harbour at Leptis to cruise for the missing ships of his last embarkation. He despatched expresses to Sardinia and other maritime provinces, with orders to hasten the reinforcements of troops and the supplies of provisions which were expected from thence; and having intelligence that the enemy had some magazines in the island of Cercina, near the coast of Africa, he sent thither Crispus Sallust, the celebrated historian, now serving in his army, to endeavour to secure those magazines for his use. Being unprovided of every necessary for the support of a garrison, he determined to try what provisions could be found in the neighbourhood to subsist his troops till they could be otherwise supplied, or enabled to penetrate farther into the country. As soon as he had effected this service, he went in person in search of the transports, on board of which the greater part of his army was dispersed. Having past the night on board, and at break of day being about to weigh, some vessels came in sight, and were known to be a part of the fleet which he so anxiously looked for, with the greater part of six legions with which he had originally sailed from Lilybæum.

In the mean time it appears, that Labienus and Petreius, commanding the horse and light troops of Scipio's army, having intelligence that Cesar was landed, with the utmost diligence assembled their forces, and marched towards the coast from which they had received the alarm. Cesar had taken a defensive station behind the town of Ruspina, the place which he chose for the resort and safe reception of his convoys and reinforcements by sea, but had left his camp on some excursion, when the republican forces made their appearance. An action began in front by a scattered charge of the Numidian horse, who pressed Cesar's infantry from the flanks to the centre, so that they were forced into a circle, without any distinction of front or rear, and were galled with a continual discharge of missiles, which did great execution. Cesar, in this difficult situation, making a front in both directions, charged the enemy on the opposite sides, and drove them in both ways to a distance from the ground. Without attempting, however, to improve his advantage, or to urge the pursuit, he took the opportunity of the enemy's flight to effect his own retreat, and fell back to the camp behind Ruspina, from which he had moved in the morning.

While Cesar remained in this post, Scipio arrived at Adrumetum, and having halted there a few days, joined Labienus and Petreius in the station they had chosen, about three miles from the town of Ruspina. Their cavalry immediately overran the country, and interrupted the supplies which Cesar derived from thence. The space he had inclosed with his entrenchments being about six square miles, was soon exhausted even of forage or pasture, and his horses reduced to feed on sea weed. Scipio, though disappointed of the great accession of force which he expected to receive by the junction of Juba, and though even somewhat reduced in his former numbers, continued to act on the offensive; and to form his army on the plain between the two camps. Cesar could not resent this insult, but found a consolation in having frequent deserters from the African army, and deputations from different parts of the country, with professions of attachment to himself as the relation of Marius, whose memory was still recent and popular in that province.

He had an additional cause of satisfaction in the circumstance that Sallust had succeeded in the design upon which he had been sent to the island of Cercina, and was able to furnish a considerable supply of provisions from thence. There arrived at the same time a large convoy and fleet of transports, having on board two entire legions, together with

cavalry, archers and slingers, and a large supply of provisions. These supplies and reinforcements at once relieved Cesar's army from the distress which they suffered; and by so great an accession of strength, amounting to twelve thousand men, put him in condition to break from the confinement in which he had some time remained, and to act on the offensive.

The first object upon this change in his affairs, was to seize upon some rising grounds in the neighbourhood which Scipio had neglected to occupy, and to connect them as a chain of fortified posts. This was part of a ridge, which runs parallel to the coast, at a few miles' distance from the shore, and which, on the north of Ruspina, turns in the form of an amphitheatre round a plain of about fifteen miles' extent. Near the middle of this plain stood the town of Uzita, on the brink of a deep marshy tract, which is formed by the water of some rivulets that fall from the mountains, and spread upon the plain in that place. Scipio had posted a garrison in the town, and had occupied the ridge on one side of the amphitheatre beyond the marsh, but had neglected the heights, of which Cesar now took possession. As soon as this work was finished, he formed in order of battle, to return the defiance which the enemy had so often given him, while he lay in the lines of Ruspina; and observing that Scipio remained in his camp, he marched on to the town of Uzita, which lay between the two armies. Scipio being alarmed for the safety of this place, at which he had deposited some part of his magazines, advanced to sustain the troops he had posted in the town; and both armies having remained in this posture till sunset, returned at night to their respective camps.

Cesar still persisting in his design to oblige the enemy to hazard a battle in defence of Uzita, commenced to make double lines of approach from his present camp to the town. As soon as this lane was effected to within the necessary distance of the walls, he threw up in front a breast work opposite to the ramparts of the town, and from thence began to construct the works that were usually employed in the reduction of fortified places.

During the dependance of this siege, both parties received great reinforcements. Scipio was joined by the king of Numidia, with three bodies of regular infantry, formed in the manner of the Roman legion, eight hundred heavy armed or bridled cavalry, with a great multitude of light or irregular troops. Cesar's army, on the appearance of this new enemy, were much discouraged, but were themselves soon after reinforced by the arrival of two more legions,

who had suffered many days from sickness, want of provisions, and of water.

The other incidents which are dated by historians during the dependance of the siege of Uzita, do not serve to make us acquainted with its progress, or with the detail of its operations. The season we are told was stormy, and Cesar's army were now without any covering, besides their shields, exposed to heavy rains and hail, accompanied with thunder and fire. Cesar, nevertheless, persisted in the attack of Uzita, and seemed still to flatter himself that the defence of this place would lay the enemy under some disadvantage, which might furnish him with an opportunity to decide the war. The armies were accordingly often drawn out in order of battle, and were present at partial engagements of their cavalry or irregular troops, but without any general action. Being greatly circumscribed by the superiority of the enemy's light troops, he suffered considerably in his camp from scarcity of provisions; and being in his present operations against Uzita, to fight with a numerous army, in detail, behind the walls of a fortified town, without being able to engage them upon equal terms in any decisive action, he took his resolution to discontinue the siege.

The retreat of Cesar was sufficient to confirm the leaders of the republican party, in the hopes they had formed of being able to wear him out by a dilatory war. For some time after this, of course, there were many skirmishes and partial engagements, but no general action.

In these Cesar's cavalry generally gave way to that of the Africans. Even the legions stood greatly in awe of the Numidian irregulars, by whom they were, on many occasions, surprised with some new feat of agility or cunning; and they were considerably intimidated by the number and formidable appearance of the elephants, which they knew not how to withstand. The campaign drew on to the middle of February, and had lasted about five months, before any thing very important took place; during this time Cesar had surmounted very great difficulties, arising from the dispersion of his fleet, the uncertainty of his communication with Italy, and the scarcity of provisions in a country laid waste or possessed by his enemies. He was now become master of many towns on the coast, and of a considerable extent of territory; but from the many objects which required his attention in different parts of the empire, he remained under great disadvantage in supporting a dilatory war, in which it appeared that Scipio and Labienus were resolved to persist. In order, if possible, to break

their measures, he formed a design upon Thapsus, their principal garrison and seaport on the southern boundaries of the province. With this view he directed his march to the southward, arrived before Thapsus on the following day, seized all the avenues which led to the town, and invested it completely from the land.

Scipio and Juba, greatly interested to preserve a place of so much consequence, put their armies in motion, and, to counteract the design of Cesar, followed him by another route. Seeing him invest Thapsus, they took post on two separate heights, about eight miles from the town. Cesar, with his usual industry and despatch, executed lines both of circumvallation and of countervallation. By these lines, which were in the form of a crescent, terminating at both ends in the sea, he embraced the town, and proposed to encamp his army between them.

Scipio remaining on the same ground all night, took his resolution to encamp, and at break of day appeared to be forming the usual intrenchments. Cesar had then probably completed his own works; and thinking the opportunity fair, or being determined not to suffer the enemy to effect a lodgment in his presence, he made the usual signal to prepare for action; and leaving a proper force to man his intrenchments against the town, drew out the remainder of his army to the field, ordered part of his fleet to get under sail, to turn a headland in the rear of the enemy; and as soon as the action began in front, to alarm them with shouts, or a feint to land and to attack their rear. Having made these dispositions, he put his army in motion, and being come near enough to distinguish the posture of the enemy, observed, that their main body was already in order of battle, with the elephants disposed on the wings; and that numerous parties were still at work on the lines within which they meant to encamp. He halted, and made a disposition suitable to that of the enemy. His centre consisted of five legions, his wings each of four. Five cohorts, together with the cavalry, were selected to support the archers and slingers that were to begin the attack on the enemy's elephants. The battle began on the right, where the enemy's elephants being galled with a shower of arrows and stones, reeled back on the troops that were appointed to sustain them, trode part of the infantry under-foot, and broke over the unfinished intrenchments in their rear.

The left of Scipio's army being thus routed, the main body soon after gave way; and the whole fled to the camp, which they had formerly occupied; but, in their flight,

being thrown into the utmost confusion, and separated from their officers, they arrived at the place to which they fled, without any person of rank to rally or command them. In this state of consternation they threw down their arms, and attempted to take refuge in the camp of their Numidian ally. But this being already in possession of the enemy, they continued their flight to the nearest heights; and being without arms, awaited their fate in a state of helpless despair. When they saw the troops that pursued their advance, they made signs of submission, and saluted the victors with a shout; but in vain. They were instantly attacked by the victorious army of Cesar, who, though affecting clemency on former occasions, now seemed to be actuated with a paroxysm of rage and thirst of blood; contrary to the orders and entreaties of their general, they put the whole unarmed and defenceless multitude to the sword. They are said on this occasion, also to have seized the opportunity of satiating their revenge on some of their own officers who had offended them. One was actually murdered, another, being wounded, fled to Cesar for protection; and many persons of distinction, senators and Roman knights, observing their danger, thought proper to withdraw to some place of concealment, till the fury of the troops should abate.

When this memorable action was over, Cesar appointed Caius Rubellius, with three legions, to continue the siege of Thapsus, and Cneius Domitius, with two others, to reduce Tysdra; and having sent forward M. Messala, with a body of horse on the road to Utica, he himself followed with the remainder of the army. At Utica were assembled, from every part of the empire, all who were obnoxious to Cesar, or who, from a zeal for the republic, had refused to submit to his power. On the third day after the battle, towards night, a person who had escaped from the field of battle coming to Utica, this unhappy convention of citizens was struck with the greatest alarm. Most of the senators, who were in the town, took shipping and escaped. Lucius Cesar undertook to carry to his kinsman a petition from such of the Roman citizens as remained; and said to Cato, at parting, that he would gladly fall at the victor's feet to make *his* peace. To which Cato answered, "If I were disposed to make my peace with Cesar, I should repair to him in person; but I have done him no wrong, I am not an object of his pardon, and shall not request what it were insolence in him to offer me as a favour." Having passed the day in aiding his friends to procure the means of their escape, he went to the bath, and

sapped as usual, without any marks of dejection or affectation of ease ; and being retired to his chamber, after some time which he employed in reading, he killed himself. His attendants, upon hearing a noise which alarmed them burst open the door, and would have dressed the wound, but he tore it up with his hand, and expired in making this effort. On the first report of his death, multitudes crowded to the door of his quarters, and gave the most unfeigned demonstrations of dejection and sorrow.

Cato died in the vigour of life, under fifty ; he was naturally warm and affectionate in his temper ; comprehensive, impartial, and strongly possessed with the love of mankind, But, in his conduct, probably became independent of passion of any sort, and chose what was just on its own account. He professed to believe, with the sect whose tenets he embraced, that it might or might not, in particular circumstances, be expedient for a man to preserve or lay down his life : but that, while he kept it, the only good or evil competent to him consisted in the part which he took, as a friend or an enemy to mankind. He had long foreseen the dangers to which the republic was exposed, and determined to live only while he could counteract the designs that were formed against it. The leader of the successful party thought proper to apologise for himself, by decrying the virtues of Cato ; but the bulk of mankind, in his own and the subsequent ages, were equally pleased to extol them ; and he is a rare example of merit, which received its praise even amidst the adulation that was paid to his enemies ; and was thought by the impartial, equally above the reach of commendation or censure.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PROGRESS AND TERMINATION
OF THE
ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK V.

CHAP. I.

Wreck of the Republican Party - Servility of the Roman People - Magnificence and Administration of Cesar - His last Campaign in Spain - Death of the elder of Pompey's Sons - Cesar's Return, Triumphs, Honours, and Policy in the State - Spirit of the times - Source of the Conspiracy against Cesar - Its progress - Death of Cesar.

WHEN Cesar was informed, on his march from Thapsus, that of all the principal men of the opposite party, Cato alone remained at Utica to receive him, he was at a loss to interpret his conduct, and possibly might have found it difficult to determine how he should deal with an antagonist, whom he neither could reconcile to his usurpation, nor treat as a criminal.

He however advanced thither with all expedition. Having passed through Uzita and Adrumetum, which surrendered to him on his march, and being met by numbers who came to make their submission, he arrived at Utica in the evening, and continued all night without the gates. Marcus Messala had already taken possession of the town. Cesar entered on the following day. Apian says, that as many of the republicans as fell into his hands were by his order put to death. Hirtius relates, that he only confiscated their effects. From this general wreck of the republican party in Africa, the leaders continued their flight in different directions. Afranius and Faustus Sylla having joined a party of cavalry that fled by Utica from the field of battle were intercepted, taken prisoners, and put to death.

Scipio, with Damasippus, Torquatus, and Pletorius Rustianus, endeavoured to escape by sea into Spain; but were captured near Hippo, on the coast of Numidia, by a squadron of Cesar's fleet, when Scipio stabbed himself and fell headlong into the sea. Juba, with Petreius, having escaped from the field of battle at Thapsus, lay concealed by day, and continued their flight in the night towards Zama, a place which, at the breaking out of the war, the king of Numidia had fortified, and made the residence of his women and the repository of his treasure and most valuable effects. On reaching that town, the inhabitants shut their gates and refused them admittance, when they retired to one of Juba's country seats; and having ordered a splendid entertainment, at the close of it they fell together by their own swords. The kingdom of Numidia was converted into a Roman province, and the government of it was committed to Sallust the historian.

Cesar having, in this manner, closed a scene in which he had destroyed fifty thousand of his opponents, who might be supposed to be the most obstinate adherents of the republican party, embarked at Utica for Italy about the middle of summer. Before his departure from Africa he had made the necessary arrangements respecting the army, the greater part of it being ordered to proceed in the voyage to Spain, where he had still some resistance to apprehend from the sons of Pompey.

The news of Cesar's victory had been some time received, and nothing now remained, but that he should take possession of that sovereignty to which he aspired. Whatever distress the surviving members of the commonwealth may have suffered on the loss of their relations and friends, who had fallen in the late bloody transactions of this war, or whatever mortification they may have felt on the loss of their own political consequence, as partners in the empire of the world, no symptoms of aversion, or unwilling submission, appeared on the part of the people; all orders of men hastened to pay their court to the victor, and by their servile adulations, to anticipate the state of degradation into which they were soon to be reduced.

In the name of the senate and people a continual thanksgiving of forty days was decreed for the late victory at Thapsus. The power of dictator was conferred on Cesar for ten years, and that of censor, which gave the supreme disposal of honours and rank in the commonwealth, and which, on account of the abuse to which it was subject, had been some time abolished, was now under a new title, that of *Prefectus Morum*, restored in his person. At the same time the no-

mination of some of the officers of state, formerly elected by the people, was committed to him. It was likewise ordered, that he should have in the senate a gilded chair of state, placed next to that of the consul; and several other ridiculous honours were conferred on him. It is said that he refused many of the honours which were decreed to him; but in those which he favourably received, he sufficiently betrayed a vanity which but rarely accompanies such a distinguished superiority of understanding. He was one merely of the vulgar, and condescended to be vain of titles and honours, which he has shared with persons of the meanest capacity.

Cesar, soon after the distinctions now mentioned were bestowed upon him, addressed himself to the Roman senate and people, in a speech which, being supposed to proceed from a master, was full of condescension and lenity, but from a fellow citizen, was fraught with insult and contumely. It conveyed, not the indignant and menacing spirit of Sylla, who despised the very power of which he was possessed; but the conscious state and reflecting condescension of a prince who admired and wished to recommend his greatness. The Roman people, in former instances of usurpation, had experienced sanguinary and violent treatment, and they now seemed to bear with indifference the entire suppression of their political rights, when executed by hands, that refrained from cruel proscriptions.

The populace were gratified with shows, processions, and feasts, and with the gratuities that were given them in money. Cesar had four separate triumphs in one month. The first for his conquest of Gaul; the second for his victory in Egypt; a third for the defeat of Pharnaces; and the last for the overthrow of the king of Numidia. At the close of his triumphs, he walked in procession at the opening of magnificent edifices he had built, and in his return at night from this ceremony, attended by multitudes of the people, was lighted by torches borne on elephants. At the same time he erected theatres, and exhibited dramatic performances in different parts of the city, introducing not only gladiators to fight in single combat, but parties on foot and on horseback to engage in considerable numbers on opposite sides, and to exhibit a species of battles.

From this time forward, Cesar took upon himself all the functions of government, and while he suffered the forms of a senate and popular assemblies to remain, availed himself of their name and authority without consulting with either, affixing without scruple the superscription of particular senators to the decrees or edicts, which he sent abroad into

the provinces. "My name," says Cicero, "is often prefixed to public deeds which are sent abroad, as having been moved or drawn up by me, and which come back from Armenia or Syria as mine, before I have ever heard of them at Rome. Do not imagine I am in jest; for I have letters from persons, whose names I never heard of before, thanking me for the honour I have done them in bestowing the title of king."

Equally absolute in the city as in the provinces, Cesar placed whoever he thought proper on the rolls of the senate; and, in all the elections he named half the magistrates, or in a mandate, addressed to the tribes, took upon him to direct the people whom they were to choose. In the exercise of so much power, he became reserved and difficult of access, familiar only with persons whom he himself had raised, and who had talents amusing or serviceable, and without any pretensions to alarm his jealousy. Nevertheless, many of his acts were in themselves, as might have been expected from so able a personage, worthy of a great prince, and tending to reform abuses, as well as to facilitate the summary proceedings of the despotical power he had assumed.

Among the first acts of Cesar's reign, the law of Sylla, by which the children of the proscribed had been excluded from holding any office in the state, was repealed. The judiciary law, which had undergone so many alterations, and which in its latest form, admitted some of the inferior class of the people on the roll of the judges or jurymen, was now reformed, so as to limit the exercise of the judicature to the senators and knights. A scrutiny was made into the titles of those who had been in the practice to receive corn at the public granaries, and their numbers were greatly reduced. Of the corporations which had been multiplied for factious purposes, many were abolished, and the original companies of the city alone were permitted to remain. Many punishments, for the better restraining of crimes, were increased. To the ordinary punishment of murder, was joined the confiscation of the whole estate; to that of some other crimes, the confiscation of one half. The calendar was reformed upon the principles established by the Egyptian astronomers. To restore the festivals to their proper dates in the calendar, an intercalation of sixty-seven days, or above two months was required. This intercalation was made in the present year, between the months of November and December, so that the name of December was transferred from the time of the autumnal equinox, to that, where it still remains, of the winter solstice.

At the same time he extended the privilege of Romans to whole cities and provinces in different parts of the empire, and took measures to prevent danger to the government, such as that into which he had brought the late republic, limiting the duration of command in the provinces, if with the title of propretor to one year, or with that of proconsul to two years, he showed how well he understood the nature of the ladder by which he himself had mounted to his present elevation, and how much he desired to withhold the use of it from any one else who might be disposed to tread in his steps, or to dispute his continuance in the height he had gained.

While Cesar, on a supposition that he himself was to hold the reins of government, was providing for the security of the power he had established in the capital, and on a supposition that he had no enemy left in the field, or that the remains of the adverse party in the provinces might be extinguished by his officers, was betaking himself to civil affairs and to popular arts, he had reports from Spain which convinced him, that his own presence might still be necessary to repress a party, which began to resume its vigour under the sons of Pompey.

The two brothers, Cneius and Sextus, were joined together, and supported by the name of their father, which was still in high veneration; they had assembled thirteen legions. Among these, were two legions of native Spaniards, who had deserted from Trebenius; one that was raised from the Roman colonists; and a fourth which had arrived from Africa, with the elder of the two brothers.

Q. Fabius Maximus and Q. Pedius or Didius, the officers of Cesar, being unable to make head against this force, remained on the defensive, and by the reports which they made to their commander, represented the necessity of his own presence in the province. He accordingly ordered troops from Italy to reinforce those already employed in this service, and, in twenty-seven days after his departure from Rome, arrived at Saguntum.

Upon the news of Cesar's approach, Cneius Pompeius had assembled all his force on the Betis, posted his brother Sextus with a proper garrison at Corduba, and himself endeavoured to reduce Ulia, a town which still held out against him in that neighbourhood. Cesar's first object, upon his arrival in Spain, was to preserve this place from falling into the enemy's hands. For this purpose, he detached eleven cohorts under the command of L. Julius Paciaecus, with orders, if possible, to throw themselves into the town, and their object, through the carelessness of the enemy, they

accomplished. While Cesar thus reinforced the garrison of Ulia, he himself, to make a diversion in their favour, marched up to Corduba, cut off a party that had been sent from thence to observe his motions, and threatened the town with a siege. Sextus, who was in the place, being alarmed, sent pressing representations to his brother, who accordingly abandoned his lines before Ulia, and marched to his relief. Both armies encamped on the Guadalquivir. But the two brothers, being in possession of the principal stations, and in condition to protract the war, continued to act on the defensive. Cesar, on his part, after long seeking an opportunity of coming to action, and being disappointed, undertook the siege of Allegua, and on the twentieth of February, after an obstinate resistance, obliged that town to surrender.*

After a variety of different movements, which gave rise to frequent skirmishes, the armies in the month of March came to encamp in the plain of Munda, about five miles from each other. Cesar was about to leave his station, when in the morning of his intended departure, he had intelligence, that the enemy had been under arms from the middle of the preceding night, and were meditating some attempt on his camp. This intelligence was followed by the sudden appearance of their army on some elevated grounds near the town of Munda; but as they showed no disposition to come into the plain, Cesar, after some hesitation, advanced to attack them.

In the army of Pompey, together with the flower of a warlike people, the natives of Spain, were assembled many veterans of the Roman legions, inured to blood; many Roman citizens of rank, now pushed to despair, or warned, by the fate of their party at Thapsus, not to expect safety from the mercy of a victorious enemy, and not to have any hopes, but in their swords. Under these impressions, they waited for Cesar's approach with a proper countenance, and on the first onset repulsed and put to flight the troops by whom they were attacked. In this extremity, Cesar ran into the ranks of his own men; said, *they were delivering him over to boys*; laid hold of a sword and a shield, and calling out that *this then should be the last day of his life, and of their services*, took a place in the ranks as a mere legionary soldier. In this manner he renewed the action, and being reduced to the necessity of animating his men with the example of his own personal valour, committed his fortune and his life to the decision of a contest, in

* U. C. 708.

which his ability as an officer could no longer have any share; but while the event was still in suspense, Bogud, an African, commanding a body of horse in his service, having made an attempt to pierce into Pompey's camp, drew Labienus from his post in the field to cover it. This accident turned the fortune of the day. The troops, who till then valiantly sustained Cesar's attack, believing that Labienus deserted them, instantly fled in disorder. The slaughter thenceforward turned as usual entirely against those who fled. Thirty thousand fell upon the field, and among them three thousand Roman citizens of high condition, with Labienus and Attius Varus at their head. Seventeen officers of rank were taken, with thirteen Roman eagles or legionary standards.

Cesar had a thousand men killed, and five hundred wounded, before the enemy gave way. Part of the vanquished army retired into the town of Munda, part into the camp. Cesar, early in the morning of the following day, having left the town of Munda blocked up or invested, set out for Corduba, which Sextus, the younger of the two brothers, upon the news of the battle, had already abandoned. Cneius, on seeing the rout of his own army, fled with a small party of horse on the road to Carteia. He was pursued and overtaken; but continued to defend himself, until he was overpowered and slain.

The Spaniards, however, being mixed with the remains of Roman armies which had been broken and dispersed in the field, still maintained every place of defence against the conqueror; and, within the walls of cities to which they retired, defended themselves to the last extremity.

Cesar, having been employed part of the spring and the following summer in subduing this scattered enemy made a proper establishment for the government of the province, set out for Italy, and arrived at Rome in October. Although it was contrary to the practice of former ages to admit of triumphs where the vanquished were fellow citizens, he took a triumph for his late victory at Munda: but instead of the festivity which it was intended to inspire, it was attended with many signs of dejection. But none took upon him to censure, or was qualified to stem, the torrent of servility by which all orders of men were carried. The same succession of games and entertainments were ordered as in the former year, and a thanksgiving was appointed and decreed to continue for fifty days.

In the concessions which were made to Cesar, whether suggested by his friends or by his enemies, there was no attempt to preserve any appearance of the republic, or to

veil the present usurpation. The senate, in presenting their several decrees, waited upon him in a body as subjects to acknowledge their sovereign; were received by him on his chair of state, and in all the form of a royal ceremony, stretching forth his hand to each as they approached. The consulate was offered to him for ten years, but he declined it, as he destined this and the other offices of state for the gratification of his friends. He himself had assumed the title of consul in his late triumph, and immediately after resigned it to Q. Fabius Maximus.

Now, however, in the midst of appearances, which seemed to throw a ridicule on the ancient forms of the republic, as well as to substitute a military government in their stead, Cesar named himself, together with Mark Antony, as consuls for the following year. This compliment paid to the civil establishment, by condescending to bear the name of legal office, though very illegally assumed, flattered the citizens with hopes that he meant to govern under some form of a republic. Nothing, however, followed from these appearances; the state which he affected betrayed a mind which had not sufficient elevation to disdain the false appearances of superiority.

On the first day of the new year, Cesar, with all the powers and ensigns of dictator, took possession of the consulate in conjunction with Antony.* He himself passed the winter in assiduous application to civil affairs, and in forming projects to embellish the capital, and to aggrandize the empire. He made some regulations for the better government of the city. Under the ordinary pretence, that the laws were become too voluminous, he ordered them to be digested into a code, with a view to simplify and to reduce them into a narrower compass. His mind, at the same time, entertained projects of great variety and extent. To drain the great marshes which rendered the air so unhealthy, and so much land unserviceable in the neighbourhood of Rome; to cut across the isthmus of Corinth, to erect moles, and form harbours on the coast of Italy; to make highways across the Apennines; to build a new theatre that should exceed that of Pompey; to erect public libraries, and make a navigable canal from the Anio and the Tiber to the sea at Terracina; and to build a magnificent temple to Mars.

The measure which of all others contributed most to the honour of Cesar, did we suppose him entitled to the powers he assumed, was the general indemnity which he granted to

* U. C. 709.

all who had opposed him. Some he even employed in the administration of government, and promoted in the state. He placed Caius Cassius and Marcus Brutus, for this year, on the list of pretors, and entrusted them with the higher jurisdiction of the city. To the widows of many who died in opposition to himself, he restored their portions, and gave their children part of their patrimony. He likewise replaced the statues of Sylla and of Pompey, which the populace, in flattery to himself, had thrown down. He affected great clemency, and appeared desirous of contrasting his own conduct with that of Sylla. He also used to ridicule the resignation of Sylla as an act of imbecility, and was so unguarded in his expressions as to say, That the republic was but a name, that his words should be carefully observed, for that he meant every word should have the force of a law.

To so much arrogance and affectation of kingly state, joined to absolute power, nothing was wanting but the title of king. This Cesar himself evidently appeared to have the vanity to desire. His retainers and flatterers, on different occasions, endeavoured to surprise the people into a concession of it; but notwithstanding the powers of sovereignty, which he exercised without control, and the honours of divinity, which were decreed to him by general consent, his influence was not sufficient to reconcile the Roman people to the name of king. At the *Lupercalia* (a festival, which being continued down from barbarous ages, served as a monument of primeval simplicity and rudeness) a piece of flattery, in making tender of a crown, was practised by Antony, then in the office of consul, and the chief confidant of Cesar. In the ceremony now performed, Mark Antony bore his part as consul; and Cesar sat on his gilded chair of state in his triumphal robes to behold the spectacle. Antony stepped before him, and presented him with a royal crown, saying, "This crown the Roman people confer upon Cesar by my hands." A few of the spectators seemed to applaud; but Cesar, perceiving that the people in general, by their silence, gave signs of displeasure, pushed away the crown with his hand; and upon this action received from the people, by an universal shout of applause, an unquestionable explanation of their former silence.

To try the effect of a moderation which was so much applauded, Antony threw himself upon the ground at Cesar's feet, repeated his offer of the crown, and hoped that the people would join him in pressing the acceptance of what was so modestly refused; but with no better success than in the former attempt. That the merit of this refusal, however, might not be forgotten, or that the offer

might be held equal to the actual investiture of the crown, an entry was made of it in the Fasti or public records.

The Roman Republic had, for some time, subsisted in a very disorderly state. All who wished to preserve the republic, endeavoured to extend the prerogatives of the senate, and to prevent, as much as possible, these ill-formed assemblies of the people from deliberating on matters of state; and it might, no doubt, have been still better for the empire, if the spirit of legal monarchy could at once have been infused into every part of the commonwealth; or if, without further pangs or convulsions, the authority of a prince, tempered with that of a senate, had been firmly established. But men do not at once change their habits and opinions, nor yield their own pretensions upon speculative notions of what is suited to the state of their country. Ever since the expulsion of Tarquin, the name of king had been odious at Rome. The most popular citizens, as soon as they became suspected of aspiring to kingly power, became objects of aversion, and were marked out as a prey to the detestation of their country. Thus fell Manlius Capitolinus, the Gracchi, Apuleius, and others who were loaded with this imputation.

The Romans, accustomed to see vanquished kings the sport of popular insolence, led in triumph, put to death; or, if suffered to live, made to languish in poverty and neglect—accustomed to see kings, who were their own allies, submitting their cause to the judgment of the Roman people, or suing for favour, considered monarchy itself as an appurtenance of servility and barbarism; and the project to give a king to the Romans as an attempt to degrade them into barbarians and slaves.

Cesar, having attempted to join the title of king with the powers of perpetual dictator, had reason to distrust a people who were actuated by such conceptions. He was an object of private as well as of public resentment, having usurped the government over those whom he had cruelly injured; over the fathers, the brothers, and sons of those who had fallen by his sword. He accordingly, for some time, had the precaution to keep a military guard attending his person; but, grown familiar with those he had offended, and secure in personal courage, he dropped this precaution, and began to reign with the confidence of a lawful monarch. Misled, perhaps, by existing appearances, he conceived too mean an opinion of those who composed the commonwealth, greatly sunk indeed in their political characters, but not fallen into that state of personal weakness, which his security and contempt of them seemed to imply.

Above sixty citizens of noble extraction were found, who thought their late condition as members of the republic could still be recovered. Some had been stunned with their fall, but not quite overwhelmed ; others, who, on specious pretences, had assisted in obtaining the victories of Cesar, detested the monarchy which he was pleased to assume. In the first period of the civil war many imagined, that the contest was to end in substituting one party for another, not in the entire subversion of the republican government ; and they were inclined, as soon as fortune should declare in favour of either party, to be reconciled with those that prevailed. But when it evidently appeared, that Cesar, by suppressing the last remains of opposition to himself in every part of the empire, meant to establish a monarchy in his own person, a secret indignation filled the breasts of those who, upon a foot of family consequence, or personal ability, had any pretensions to political importance. To such persons the dominion of an equal appeared insufferable.

Many of Cesar's officers, and the nearest to his person, were as much in this mind as any other citizens ; and on this supposition, so familiar was the thought of proceeding to the last extremities against him, that, when Antony came to meet Cesar, on his return from Spain, Trebonius ventured to sound his inclinations respecting a design on Cesar's life. It is well known, that a conspiracy accordingly was, at this time, formed against the life of Cesar, although the first steps and the consultations of the parties are nowhere minutely recorded. The principal authors of it were Caius Cassius and Marcus Brutus, then pretors in the city ; Decimus Brutus and Trebonius, who had both served in high rank under Cesar himself, and of whom the first was destined by him to the command in Cisalpine Gaul, and to the consulate in the following year.

Caius Cassius was early noted for a high and impetuous spirit. He had distinguished himself in Syria, by collecting the remains of the unfortunate army of Crassus, with which he repelled the attempt of the Parthians on that province. He followed Pompey in the civil war, and commanded a squadron of the fleet on the coast of Sicily at the time of the battle of Pharsalia.

Marcus Brutus was the nephew of Cato by his sister Servilia ; and so much the favourite of Cesar, who was said to have had an intrigue with his mother, that he was by some supposed to be his son. Being taken prisoner at the battle of Pharsalia, he was not only protected by the victor, but sent into the province of Cisalpine Gaul with

the title of governor; where, during the war in Africa against Scipio and the king of Numidia, he remained, perhaps, rather under safe custody than in high confidence with Cesar.

Cassius is reputed to have been the prime mover in the design against Cesar's life; and to have been the author of anonymous calls to vindicate the freedom of Rome, which were posted up or dropped in public places; and which, from the prevailing spirit of discontent, found a ready acceptance. As many were concerned, and as they remained some time in suspense as to the proper time and place for the execution of their purpose, it is singular that the conspiracy should have come to such a height undiscovered. But Cesar did not encourage informers; his great courage preserved him from the jealousies by which others in less dangerous situations are guided. He trusted to his popularity, to his munificence, to the professions of submission which were made to him, and to the interest which he supposed many to have in the preservation of his life.

The thoughts of the usurper had become vacant and languid in the possession of a station to which he had struggled through so much blood; and his active mind still urged him to extensive projects of war and conquest. He accordingly planned a series of wars which were not likely to end but with his life. He was to begin with revenging the death of Crassus, and reducing the Parthians. He was next to pass by Hyrcania and the coasts of the Caspian Sea into Scythia; from thence, by the shores of the Euxine Sea, into Sarmatia, Dacia, and Germany; and from thence, by his own late conquests in Gaul, to return into Italy; for this purpose he had already sent forward into Macedonia seventeen legions and ten thousand horse.

The prospect of Cesar's approaching departure from Rome, which was fixed for the month of March, urged the speedy execution of their purpose. The report of a response or prediction, which some of the flatterers of Cesar had procured from the college of augurs, bearing that the Parthians were not to be subdued but by a king, appeared to be the prelude of a motion to vest him, in his intended expedition against the Parthians, with the title, and with the ensigns of royalty, to be borne, if not in the city, at least in the provinces.

A meeting of the senate in Pompey's theatre being summoned for the Ides, or fifteenth of March, the proposal to bestow on Cesar the title of king, as a qualification enjoined by the Sybils to make war on the Parthians, was to be the principal business of the assembly. This circumstance

determined the conspirators in the choice of a place for the execution of their design. It was at first proposed that Antony, being likely to carry on the same military usurpations which Cesar had begun, should be taken off at the same time; but this was overruled. "If we do anything more than is necessary to set the Romans at liberty," said Marcus Brutus, "we shall be thought to act from private resentment, and to intend restoring the party of Pompey, not the republic."

The morning of the Ides of March, the day on which this conspiracy was to be executed, arrived, and there was yet no suspicion. Cesar, at the persuasion of Decimus Brutus, though once determined to remain at home, had changed his mind, and was already in the streets, being carried to the senate in his litter. Some person, probably, had observed circumstances which led to a discovery of the plot, and the usurper had a billet to this effect given to him as he passed in the streets; he was intreated by the person who gave it instantly to read it; and he endeavoured to do so, but was prevented by the multitudes who crowded around him with numberless applications; and he still carried this paper in his hand when he entered the senate.

Cesar's chair of state had been placed near to the pedestal of Pompey's statue. Numbers of the conspirators had seated themselves around it. Trebonius, under pretence of business, had taken Antony aside at the entrance of the theatre. Cimber, who, with others of the conspirators, met Cesar in the portico, presented him with a petition in favour of his brother, who had been excepted from the late indemnity; and in urging the prayer of this petition, attended the usurper to his place. Having there received a denial from Cesar, uttered with some expressions of impatience at being so much importuned, he took hold of his robe, as if to press the intreaty. *Nay*, said Cesar, *this is violence*. While he spoke these words, Cimber flung back the gown from his shoulders; and this being the signal agreed upon, called out to strike. Casca aimed the first blow. Cesar started from his place, and in the first moment of surprise, pushed Cimber with one arm, and laid hold of Casca with the other. But he soon perceived that resistance was vain; and while the swords of the conspirators clashed with each other, in their way to his body, he wrapped himself up in his gown, and fell without any farther struggle. It was observed, in the superstition of the times, that in falling, the blood which sprang from his wounds sprinkled the pedestal of Pompey's statue. And thus having employed the greatest abilities to subdue his fellow

citizens, with whom it would have been a much greater honour to have been able to live on terms of equality, he fell, in the height of his security, a sacrifice to their just indignation; a striking example of what the arrogant have to fear in trifling with the feelings of a free people, and at the same time a lesson of jealousy and of cruelty to tyrants, or an admonition not to spare, in the exercise of their power, those whom they may have insulted by usurping it.

When the body lay breathless on the ground, Cassius called out, that there lay the worst of men. Brutus called upon the senate to judge of the transaction which had passed before them, and was proceeding to state the motives of those who were concerned in it, when the members, who had for a moment stood in silent amazement, rose on a sudden, and no man had presence of mind to give any account of what had happened, but repeated the cry that was usual on great alarms for all persons to withdraw, and to shut up their habitations and shops. This cry was communicated from one to another in the streets. The people, imagining that a general massacre was somewhere begun, shut up, and barred all their doors as in the dead of night, and every one prepared to defend his own habitation.

Antony, upon the first alarm, had changed his dress, and retired to a place of safety. He believed that the conspirators must have intended to take his life, together with that of Cesar; and he fled in the apprehension of being instantly pursued. Lepidus repaired to the suburbs, where the legion he commanded was quartered; and uncertain whether Cesar's death was the act of the whole senate, or of a private party, waited for an explanation, or an order from the surviving consul, to determine in what manner he should act. In these circumstances a general pause, and an interval of suspense and silence, took place over the whole city.

CHAP. II.

General Consternation on the Death of Cesar — Tumultuary Assembly of the People — Declarations of Cinna and Dolabella — Appearance of Brutus and Cassius in the Forum — Their return to the Capitol — Meeting and debate in the Senate — Act of Oblivion — Speech of Brutus to the People — Funeral of Cesar — Insurrection of the People — Policy of Antony — Appearance of Octavius — His difference with Antony — Both have recourse to Arms — Aspect of Things — Antony proceeds to expel Decimus Brutus from the Cisalpine Gaul.

IN the general consternation, occasioned by the death of Cesar, the authors of this important event appeared to be no less at a loss what to do, than the other members of the senate, on whom it was brought by surprise. The danger of executing the first part of their design had appeared so great, that they looked no farther, or they imagined that with Cesar's life every difficulty would be ended; and that the senate and people, restored to their authority and privileges, would naturally recur to their usual forms. Finding themselves deserted in the senate, the conspirators thus in a body, with their swords yet stained with blood, went forth to the streets proclaiming security and liberty, and inviting every one to concur with them in restoring the commonwealth. They were joined by many who, though not accessory to the conspiracy, chose to embark with them in the present state of their fortunes. But observing that the people in general did not show any hearty approbation of their cause; and knowing that, besides the legion which Lepidus commanded in the suburbs, there were in the city multitudes of veterans, who having received grants of land from Cesar, had not yet gone to take possession of them, they determined to take refuge in the capitol, and with the gladiators of Decimus Brutus, who had already taken possession of that fortress, to wait the issue of this general scene of suspense.

Multitudes of the people, observing that the persons who had occasioned this general alarm were themselves on the defensive, ventured forth into the streets, and many crowded together in the forum or ordinary place of resort. The first person that took any public part upon this occasion was Cinna, the son of him who had been a leader of the Marian party, brother-in-law of Cesar. This relation of the deceased, to the surprise of every one, tore the pretor's gown from his own shoulders; declared that in this act he then abdicated his office as having been unwarrantably ob-

tained by the nomination of an usurper; and he proceeded to make a harangue to the people, in which he represented Cesar as a tyrant, extolled the conspirators as the restorers of liberty to their country, and proposed that they should have the proper safeguards to their persons, and be invited to assist in the assembly of the people.

Dolabella, who had been nominated by Cesar to succeed in the office of consul, which he himself was about to vacate, but joined with the abdicated pretor in applauding the authors of Cesar's death, expressed his wish that he himself had been a partner in the glory of their action, joined with Cinna, in proposing that these restorers of liberty should be invited to the assembly of the people, and that the anniversary of the present day should be observed for ever, as a festival sacred to the restoration of the commonwealth.

The partisans of Cesar, yet unacquainted with the extent of their own danger, had absented themselves, and the assembly consisted chiefly of persons to whom these proposals were agreeable. The motions that were now made by the late pretor and the supposed consul accordingly prevailed, and the leaders of the conspiracy were invited to descend from the capitol. But of this invitation only Marcus Brutus and Cassius took the benefit. Having joined the assembly, they severally addressed themselves to the multitude with an air of dignity and consciousness of merit, as being the procurers of that liberty which the people were now to enjoy, and by which they were enabled to judge for themselves. They contrasted the late usurpation of Cesar with the free constitution of the republic; observed, that with respect to themselves, unsupported as they were by any military force, they could have no intention to supplant the usurper in the possession of his power, and could have no object besides the restoration of the laws and the freedom of their country. And they exhorted the audience, in terms rather popular, than really applicable to the present state of affairs, to make the same use of their deliverance from an usurped and violent domination which their ancestors, at the expulsion of Tarquin, had made of a similar event.

In these fond anticipations of freedom, the authors of this attempt to restore the republic, enjoyed for once the fruits of their labour, and spoke to a numerous assembly of the Roman people, seemingly unrestrained and unawed by military force. The city, however, had not yet recovered from the consternation with which the people was seized; the present assembly was not sufficiently attended by persons,

on whom the conspirators could rely for their safety. It was thought most prudent, therefore, that Brutus and Cassius should return to their friends in the capitol, and that from this place they should treat of an accommodation with Antony, and with the other leaders of the opposite party.

On the following day, Antony, seeing that the restorers of the commonwealth remained in the capitol, and abstained from violence against any of the supposed friends or adherents of Cesar, ventured abroad from his lurking place, and resumed the dress and ensigns of consul. In this capacity he received a message from the conspirators, desiring a conference with himself and with Lepidus. Antony, though, in times of relaxation and security, extravagant, dissipated, and in appearance incapable of serious affairs; yet in arduous situations he generally belied these appearances, was strenuous, cautious, and able. He did not yet perceive how far the party of Cesar was or was not extinguished with its leader. The only military force in Italy was at the disposal of Lepidus, of whom he was jealous. In his answer, therefore, he assumed an appearance of moderation and regard for the commonwealth, and referred every question to the senate, which he had already summoned to assemble.

In expectation of this meeting of the senate, all parties were busy in consultations, and in soliciting support to their interest. Lepidus marched into the city with the legion he commanded, and took possession of the forum. To the people who assembled around him he lamented the death of Cesar, and inveighed against the authors of this unexpected event. By this declaration, he encouraged the partisans and retainers of the late dictator to come abroad, and rendered the streets and passages exceedingly dangerous for those who were supposed to be of the opposite party. On the following day, being the eighteenth day of March, the senate assembled, as soon as it was light, in the temple of the Earth. The veterans beset the doors. Dolabella presented himself, ushered in by the lictors, and took possession of one of the consuls' chairs. Antony being seated in the other, moved the assembly to take into consideration the present state of the commonwealth. He himself professed great zeal for the republic, and a disposition to peace. The greater part of those who spoke after Antony justified or extolled the act of the conspirators, and moved that they should have public thanks and rewards for their services. This they supported by a charge of usurpation and tyranny against Cesar. Upon this point, however, Antony thought proper to interpose; reminded the senators how nearly

many of them were concerned in this question. "They who are to vote in it," he said, "will please to observe, that if Cesar shall be found to have acted with legal powers, his acts will remain in force; if otherwise, all the proceedings that took place during his administration must be erased from your records; and his body, as that of a traitor and a tyrant, made fast on a hook, must be dragged through the streets, and cast into the Tiber. This sentence would affect the remotest parts of the empire, or would extend, in its application, farther perhaps than we should be able to enforce it by our arms. Part indeed is in our power. Many of us hold offices, or are destined by Cesar's nomination to offices, either at home or abroad. Let us begin with divesting ourselves of what we now hold; and with renouncing our expectations for the future. After we have given this proof of our disinterestedness, our allies abroad will listen to us, when we speak of recalling the favours granted to them by the late dictator."

By this artful turn, which was given by Antony to the subject now under deliberation, many, who in the late arrangements made by Cesar, held places in the senate or magistracy, or who were by his appointment destined to succeed to high offices at home or abroad, were greatly disconcerted. Some of those who were actually in office, as retainers of the late usurpation, resigned their powers, and laid down the ensigns of magistracy on the steps where they sat; but Dolabella, who, in consequence of a destination made, though not fulfilled by Cesar, had recently assumed the consular robes, pleaded for the necessity of sustaining all the acts and decrees of that usurper.

After some opposite opinions on the question had been delivered, Antony concluded the debate by corroborating his former arguments with a tone of more authority than he had hitherto assumed.

As the issue of the deliberation, a decree was passed, by which all prosecutions, on account of Cesar's death, were prohibited; all his acts, for the sake of peace, were confirmed; all his plans ordered to be carried into execution; and all the grants of land, which had been made by him to the veterans, specially ratified.

This decree being to be carried to the people for their assent on the following day, and the accommodation of parties being so far advanced, the conspirators intimated an inclination to address themselves to the people; and were instantly attended by great numbers, who assembled to hear them on the ascent of the capitol. Brutus spoke from the steps. He enumerated the distresses which had afflicted the

commonwealth, from the time at which Cesar commenced hostilities to the present hour : " A period, during which the best blood of the republic," he said, " was continually shedding, in Spain, in Macedonia, and in Africa, to gratify the ambition or vanity of a single man. These things, however," continued he, " we consented to overlook, and in suffering Cesar to hold the higher offices of state, became bound, by our oath of fidelity, not to call any of his past actions in question. If we had likewise sworn to submit ourselves to perpetual servitude, our enemies might have some colour for the accusation of perjury, which we are told is now laid to our charge ; but the proposal of any such engagement we should have rejected with indignation, and we trust that every Roman citizen would have done so also. Sylla, after having gratified his revenge against many who were no doubt his own enemies, at the same time that they were enemies of the public, at last restored the commonwealth ; but Cesar, without any pretence, besides the gratification of his own ambition, continued, in the city and in the provinces, to usurp all the powers of the empire. The treasury he treated as his property, and the magistrates of Rome as his creatures, to be placed or displaced at his pleasure. One of the last acts of his life, in preparing for his departure from Rome, was to fix the succession of magistrates for several years ; in order that in his absence you might not, by choosing your own officers, recover the habit of exercising that freedom, and of enjoying those rights, of which he meant to deprive you for ever."

From this account of Cesar's usurpation, Brutus proceeded to speak of the grants which had been made to the veterans. " He acknowledged the long and faithful services which those men had performed against the enemies of the commonwealth in Gaul, in Germany, and in Britain ; approved of the provision which had been made for them, and assured them of his concurrence in carrying this provision into full execution. At the same time he lamented the sufferings of those who had been stripped of their ancient possessions, to make way for those new grants ; proposed that they should have a compensation from the treasury, and hoped that the justice of the commonwealth would be employed in equally protecting the rights of every citizen."

This speech was received with applause ; and on the following day the act of oblivion being confirmed by the people, and the children of Antony having been sent as hostages to the capitol, the conspirators came down from thence, and were received with loud acclamations. After parties had saluted each other with mutual congratulations

and expressions of friendship, Cassius retired to sup with Antony, and Brutus with Lepidus. The republic appeared to be thoroughly re-established. The nobles in general, and many of the people, expressed their satisfaction in the present situation of affairs, and extolled the authors of Cesar's death as the restorers of freedom to their country.

The senate however had weakly, under the show of moderation, resolved to confirm Cesar's will, and to ratify all his acts, both public and private ; they had decreed that the remains of Cesar should be honoured with a public funeral, which was to be conducted in the manner which his friends should think proper. Antony was prepared to take advantage of these circumstances, towards preserving the party of Cesar both in the army and in the city, not doubting that, while this party remained, he himself should remain at its head. For this purpose, he published Cesar's will, in which he knew that there were many clauses likely to gratify the people, and to inflame their minds against his assassins. Antony, in this manner having secured the public attention and favour, proceeded to celebrate the funeral with all the honours that were due to a public benefactor, and to a common parent of the people.

Cesar's body, in the general consternation, had been left for some hours on the spot where it fell. It was at last borne on a litter by a few slaves to his own house. On examining the body, there were found twenty-three wounds sufficiently ghastly, although no more than one or two were mortal. Antony determined to exhibit this spectacle to the people, accompanied with that of the robes, which were pierced and torn in the struggle with which Cesar fell, and all over stained with his blood. He likewise ordered a solemn dirge to be performed, with interludes of music, agreeable to the practice at Roman funerals, and suited to that particular occasion. He himself prepared to speak the oration ; and though it was intended that the body should be consumed on a pile in the Campus Martius, the funeral oration was to be spoken from the rostra in the forum, and a couch was placed there, adorned with ivory and gold, on which was laid the corpse with an effigy of the deceased, covered with purple, and over it a trophy, on which were to be hung the robes in which he was killed. The whole of this pageant was covered up, and adorned with a gilded canopy of state.

Antony began the funeral oration with stating the demand made on him by his station as consul to proceed with that duty. "But in this instance," said he, " the eulogium of the dead must proceed from a higher authority

than mine. The senate and the people of Rome have spoken, and they have left to me only the task of repeating what they have said." After these words, he read over the decrees of the senate and people, enumerating the titles, dignities, honours, and powers which had been conferred on Cesar. He spoke of the lustre of his family, the graces and accomplishments of his person, and of his singular abilities; gave a general account of the wars in which he had been engaged, his splendid successes and the accession of glory and of empire he had procured to the Roman state; and when he had gained so far on the attention of his audience, he addressed himself to the popular part in particular. "When you were oppressed," he said, "by a faction that engrossed all the powers and dignities of the commonwealth, Cesar generously interposed in your behalf. When this faction had withdrawn themselves from the allegiance that was due to the government of their country; and when they had actually armed first the provinces of Spain, afterwards Macedonia, Greece, Asia, Africa, and all the eastern parts of the empire against you, he braved the storms of winter and the superior force of the enemy, and dispersed the cloud which had gathered over your heads. On the subject of his administration in the state, I need not make any observation to you. You were witnesses of his conduct. Descended of your ancient kings, he had more glory in refusing a crown that was offered to him, than they had in wearing it with all its honours.—You loved him—you set him at the head of your priesthood—at the head of your army—at the head of the republic. But he is no more!—This sacred person is now breathless before you. The father of his country is dead: not alas! of disease—not of the decline of years—not by the hands of foreign enemies—not far from his own country—but here within your walls, and in the Roman senate, in the vigour of health, in the midst of all his designs for your prosperity and glory. He who often repelled the swords of his enemies, has fallen by the hands of treacherous friends, or by the hands of those whom his clemency had spared. His mangled body, and his grey hairs clotted with blood, are now exposed in that forum which he so often adorned with his triumphs; and near to that place of public debate, from which he so often captivated the people of Rome with his eloquence."

At this passage, it is said that Antony began to change the tone of lamentation into that of rage; that he raised his voice to indignation and threats, but that he was checked by a general murmur of the senators; and that he thought proper again to soften his expressions. Having

done so, he tucked up his robe, and disengaged his arms as for some vehement action ; and held up the torn and bloody garment to view, sank again into a sorrowful tone, and prayed that it were possible for him to redeem that precious life with his own. Being interrupted with a general cry of lamentation from the people, he made a pause to hear the interlude. At a passage of the song, in which Cesar was personated in the following words, " For this I spared, that they might murder me ;" a general cry of indignation burst from the multitude ; and, at the same time, the effigy of the dead, with all its wounds and stains of blood was raised to view. The people, at this, appeared to be seized with an epidemical frenzy ; they ran through the streets denouncing vengeance on his enemies, and proceeded to violence against every person who was represented as such. Being led by the retainers and dependants of Cesar's family, they snatched lighted brands from the funeral pile, and attacked the houses of Brutus, Cassius, and the other conspirators. They even attempted to demolish Pompey's theatre, in which Cesar had been killed, and lighting many fires at once in different parts of the city, threatened the whole with immediate destruction.

In these riots, though projected by Antony, the public disorder was carried to a greater height than he had wished or foreseen, and he found himself obliged, with the authority of magistrate, to interpose and put an end to tumults of so dangerous a nature. For this purpose, in concert with Dolabella, he issued an edict, prohibiting the populace to assemble in arms on any pretence whatever, and posted guards in different parts of the town to secure the observance of it. Having by these means restored the peace of the city, and dispersed all the crowds which had assembled, except that which still remained at the place of Cesar's funeral, where the populace continued for some time to feed the pile, he made a journey to the country, and remained in Campania great part of April and May. In his absence, one Ematius, who had formerly assumed the name of Marius, and under this popular designation had been busy in disturbing the public peace, affected to lead in the riotous honours which were paid to the memory of Cesar. On this occasion, Dolabella made a vigorous use of his power against this impostor, gave orders that Ematius should be put to death, and many of his accomplices thrown from the Tarpeian rock.

By these executions, the peace of the city seemed to be established, and even the commonwealth itself in some measure restored. Both the consuls affected the character

of ordinary magistrates, showed a proper deference to the senate, and in all things endeavoured to give satisfaction to the friends of the republic. Antony, upon his return to the city, referred the determination of every question to the free discussion of the senate; and in pursuance of a system of moderation, proposed that Sextus, the remaining son of Pompey, who under the authority of the late dictator had been declared an outlaw, should be restored to his country, and have a compensation in money for the losses which had been sustained by his family. At the same time, all the honorary votes which had passed in favour of Brutus and Cassius, and every act which had a tendency to mitigate the animosity of Cesar's party, to pacify the veterans, and to incline them, without any farther disturbance, to settle on the lands which had been allotted to them, had his concurrence.

These circumstances had a very favourable aspect, and the storm which threatened the city and the commonwealth appeared to be laid. All the conspirators, in the height of the late disorders which arose on account of Cesar's funeral, had withdrawn from the city, and, under different honourable pretences which were furnished them by the senate, continued to absent themselves from Rome. Under the present aspect of public affairs, and after the consuls had given such evident proofs of their respect for the commonwealth, it was supposed that the authors of the late revolution might now return in safety to the capital; and many were confident of the perfect restoration of peace to the republic. In this, however, they overrated the professions, and mistook the designs of Antony. This profligate adventurer was greatly awed by the abilities of Brutus and Cassius, by the respect which was paid them by the public, by their credit with the senate, and by their determined resolution to maintain its authority. In order, therefore, to fortify himself against them, he maintained a continual correspondence with the veterans of the late Cesar's army, courted their attachment, and stated himself as their protector and leader. In this capacity, he made his visit to their settlements in Campania, where, it has been observed, he passed the greater part of the months of April and May. At his return, he endeavoured to strengthen himself still more, by entering into a concert with Lepidus, who, in the quality of second in command to Cesar, or general of the horse to the dictator, remained at the head of all the military forces in Italy. He engaged himself to obtain for Lepidus the dignity of chief pontiff; and, in order to cement the union of their families, pro-

posed a marriage of his own daughter with the son of this officer. He also tried to gain Dolabella. Notwithstanding that Cassius was already appointed to the government of Syria, Antony, according to an agreement, undertook to support the pretensions of Dolabella, and to aid him in supplanting Cassius at the meeting of the senate, which was to be held on the first of June. Having formerly obtained a resolution of the senate to confirm all the acts, and to maintain the arrangements which had been devised by Cesar, and being master of the papers and memorials in which these were contained, he brought extracts and quotations from them in support of his several proposals, without producing the originals; and in this form commenced, in the name of the dead, a reign more arbitrary than that of the living Cesar had been. As he had never communicated to any one the papers or memorials from which these authorities were drawn, he expunged or he inserted whatever he thought proper, or even, without taking this trouble, framed his quotations on every subject to the purpose which he meant to serve. Relying on certain artifices, which procured him the support of the army, he rose every day in his presumption; and while he incited Dolabella to persist in supplanting Cassius in the province of Syria, he himself proposed to supplant Brutus in his nomination to the government of Macedonia. By this appointment, he meant to place himself at the head of the army, which Cesar, to be in readiness for his Asiatic or Parthian expedition, had transported into Macedonia. At a meeting of the senate, Antony obtained for himself, without opposition, the government of Macedonia, with the command of the army which had been destined for Asia, but which, from Cesar's death, had remained in that province. He at the same time obtained for Dolabella the province of Syria to the exclusion of Cassius; and by these several acts stated himself and his colleague as in open enmity with the leaders of the republican party, whom they had lately affected to court, but whom they now proceeded to strip of the preferments and honours which had been assigned to them by the commonwealth.

About this time, and alarmed by these appearances, Cicero, who had hitherto maintained some degree of neutrality or moderation between the parties, departed from Rome. On the twenty-sixth of June he arrived at Antium, where he found Brutus, with his wife Porcia, and mother Servilia, with other persons of distinction. While the company were yet deliberating on public affairs, they were joined by Cassius, who complained, that opportunities had

been lost of rendering effectual the first and principal step which had been taken to deliver the commonwealth, and was inclined to blame Decimus Brutus for some part of this neglect. Cicero censured the conduct of the whole party, for not having secured the completion of a business that was so successfully begun. "You ought," he said, "immediately upon the death of Cesar, to have assumed the government, to have called the senate by your own authority, and to have taken advantage of the spirit that was generally raised among the people for the recovery of 'heir legal constitution.'"

In the result of this conference, Brutus and Cassius, as well as Cicero, took their resolution to depart from Italy; and the two former, before their departure, wrote a joint letter to Antony, conveyed in expressions that were guarded and polite; but demanding an explanation of the terms in which they stood with him, and of the purposes for which he had assembled the veterans of Cesar in such numbers at Rome. Some time after this letter was sent, they drew up a joint edict or manifesto, setting forth the cause of their absence from the capital, and protesting against the violence which was daily offered to the constitution of the republic.

In answer to this letter, and to the paper with which it was followed, Antony issued a manifesto full of invective and contumely, and which he transmitted, under a formal address, to the pretors Brutus and Cassius, accompanied with a letter in the same style.

These altercations led to an open breach. The pretors wrote to Decimus Brutus, Trebonius, and Cimber, to put their several provinces in a state of defence, and to make what further provision they could of men and money as for a certain war. Cicero, on receiving the manifestoes of Brutus and Cassius, and pressing demands for his presence at Rome, discontinued his voyage to Greece, and returned to the capital.

On his arrival in the city, he found that the outrages Antony was likely to commit were such, as to make it extremely unsafe for any distinguished friend of the republic to come in his power. For this reason, Cicero, on the first meeting of senate, sent an excuse, pleading the ill state of his health, which obliged him to remain shut up in his own house. Antony considered his absence from the senate as an affront to himself, or as giving too much countenance to the suspicions which were entertained of his violent intentions. Under this impression he burst into rage, and sent an officer to require the attendance of Cicero. Being him-

self absent from the senate on the following day, Cicero ventured to take his seat, and, in the absence of the consul, delivered that oration which is entitled the first Philippic. In this speech he accounted for his late retirement from the capital, and for his present return, in terms strongly reflecting on the conduct and administration of the present consul. Antony, in his turn, greatly exasperated by the accounts he received of Cicero's speech, prepared to reply at a subsequent meeting of the senate; and delivered himself accordingly with great acrimony against his antagonist.

While this profligate consul was throwing off the mask of a legal magistrate, a new actor appeared on the stage of public affairs. This was Caius Octavius, the grand nephew of Julius Cesar, by his niece Attia, and the son of Octavius, who, in the course of state preferments, had arrived at the dignity of pretor; and in this rank, having governed the province of Macedonia, died suddenly on his return from thence. His widow, the mother of this young man, married Philippus, a citizen of moderate parts, but upright intentions. In the house of Philippus the young Octavius was brought up, and passed his early years, while his grand-uncle was engaged in forcing his way at the head of armies to the sovereignty of the Roman empire. Elevated by his connexion with this relation to a high situation and to higher views, he had followed him in the late campaign, against the sons of Pompey in Spain, and was intended, though a minor, to succeed Lepidus, under the dictator, as general of the horse.

After the assassination of Cesar, Octavius assumed his name and designation. The veterans, in general, who had grants of land, flocked to him: complained of the remissness of Antony in suffering the assassins of his own friend and benefactor to go unpunished, and declared their resolution to be revenged as soon as any person appeared to lead them. Octavius thanked them for their grateful respect to his father's memory, but exhorted them to moderation and submission. He wished to know the state of parties more exactly before he should declare himself.

One morning, attended by a numerous company of his friends, he repaired to the forum, and presented himself before the pretor C. Antonius, the brother of the consul, in order to declare in form his acceptance of the inheritance of his late uncle, and in order to be invested with the name of Cesar. From thence he went to Pompey's gardens, where Antony then resided; and after being made to wait, for some time, in a manner that sufficiently expressed, on the part of Antony, a dislike to his visit, he was admitted to a

conference. Having been educated as the nearest relation to Cesar, and destined to inherit his fortunes, he had conceived the extent of his own importance from the height of Cesar's power; he considered the sovereignty of the empire, in some measure, as his birthright, and his own interest as the central point to which all public transactions should tend. In this conference with Antony, he is said to have betrayed more of this character than suited his present condition, or than could be reconciled with the discretion with which he had acted on other occasions. Antony, being surprised and piqued at the arrogance of his language, and of his pretensions, endeavoured to check his ambition, by putting him in mind, that although he was named the heir of Cesar's estate, he must not pretend to inherit his dignities; that the Roman constitution acknowledged no hereditary powers; that he ought to remember in whose presence he stood; that the Roman consul must be equally indifferent to his approbation, or to his censure. "To me," he said, "it was owing that your uncle was not declared an usurper and a tyrant; consequently, to me it is owing that you have any other inheritance by him besides the disgrace of being related to a traitor.

Octavius and Antony parted on very ill terms, and were publicly known to have quarreled. Octavius, from an affected zeal to put the people in possession of the legacy bequeathed to them by his father, brought his own effects to sale. Antony, on his part, promoted the inquiry into the applications of public money, and gave out, that the heirs of the late dictator would have great sums to refund, and little reversion. These heirs, in return, pleaded the late decree of the senate and people, ratifying all Cesar's acts, and consequently precluding all inquiries into this, or any other part of his administration; but as Antony could fabricate acts of Cesar, when wanting to his purpose, so he could set aside or evade real acts when they stood in his way.

Although the senators in general promoted the claims of Octavius, and considered him as a zealous confederate against Antony, who was the principal object of their fears, the conspirators saw in him the representative of their late enemy and the leader of Cesar's army. They endeavoured to put their friends on their guard against him, and by all means in their power to counteract his popular arts. For this purpose the public entertainments, which were this year to have been given by Brutus in the quality of pretor, were provided and exhibited in his absence with great splendour.

The officers whom Antony had assembled as a guard to his person, ventured to expostulate with him on a breach

which was so likely to reduce their force, and they exhorted him to act in concert with Octavius, at least until they had obtained a just revenge against the assassins of Cesar. On this occasion Antony entered into the reasons of his past conduct, and accounted for the concessions which he had made to the senate, as necessary to obtain the conditions on which the present flourishing state of the party depended. In compliance, however, with the intreaties which were now made to him, he had an interview with Octavius, at which they were, in appearance, reconciled to each other; but their pretensions were far from being sufficiently adjusted to render the agreement of long continuance. Effects of their jealousies and animosities accordingly soon after appeared, such as rendered an open breach again unavoidable.

In the late interval of military usurpation, the senators in general, though willing to resume the government, were actually unable to bear the load which it was likely to lay on their shoulders. They rejoiced at the breach between Octavius and Antony; but if these adventurers should continue to quarrel about the spoils of the commonwealth, the greater part of those who had any interest in defending it were no more than a prey to the conqueror. Clouds hung over their councils on every side. The officers who had served under Cesar in the late civil war, were posted at the head of armies in the most advantageous situations. Asinius Pollio had the command in the further province of Spain, Lepidus in the nearer; Plancus commanded in Gaul, and Antony in Macedonia. The veterans remained in the neighbourhood of Rome with swords in their hands, anxious for the settlements which had been lately assigned to them by Cesar. These they did not believe to be secure, without the destruction of every law and of every form which could be cited to favour the claims of the former proprietors.

Antony made rapid advances to the military usurpation he had some time projected. Having availed himself so far of his nomination to the government of Macedonia, as to get possession of the numerous and respectable army which Cesar, on their way to the Parthian war, had transported thither, he proceeded to exchange that province for the Cisalpine Gaul; and, under pretence of expelling Decimus Brutus from thence, had ordered the army of Cesar to be transported back into Italy. He professed to employ this army merely in gaining possession of the province which had lately been decreed to him by the people. But in the desire of occupying, with an army, that very station from which Cesar had so successfully invaded the republic, he

sufficiently evinced the designs which he had formed against the republic.

Under these impressions, while Antony took the road to Brundisium, Octavius repaired to Campania, and, by large donations in money engaged the veterans who were settled at Calatia, Casilinum, and Capua, to declare for himself. With this powerful support, he published his intention to withstand the consul, and took measures to procure the authority of the senate against their common enemy. He professed great zeal for the cause of the republic, and affected to put himself entirely under the direction of Cicero, now the most respectable member of the senate that was left. By the advice of Cicero, Octavius having assembled ten thousand men, without waiting to array, or even to have them completely armed, advanced by hasty marches to prevent Antony, who about the same time had marched from Brundisium, and was hastening to advance in the same direction.

The city was thrown into a great alarm by this unexpected approach of two hostile armies. Some expressed their fears of Antony, others of Octavius, and some of both. Octavius, having the advantage of a shorter march, arrived before his antagonist; and being within two miles of the city, was received by Canutius, one of the tribunes, whom he soon after sent back into the city, with assurances, that he had assembled his party not to second, but to oppose the designs of Antony; and that his purpose was to employ all the force he could raise for the defence of the commonwealth. The tribune Canutius, in reporting what passed with Octavius, exhorted all who wished to preserve the republic to lend their assistance in execution of this design. Octavius conducted himself between the parties with great address; to the veterans he talked of avenging Cesar's death; to the friends of the republic he set forth the dangerous designs of Antony, affected to sacrifice all private resentment to his zeal for the commonwealth, even promoted the election of Casca into the college of tribunes, and affected in all things to be governed by the senate. What hopes, in the mean time, could be formed for the state? The senators stood in awe of Antony, and were afraid to provoke him by an open declaration. Octavius did not yet appear to be in condition to cope with the Roman consul; and if he were in condition to do so, would be likely to form designs equally dangerous to the commonwealth. Antony, with a numerous army, had all the authority of government in his hands. The dispositions of Pansa and Hirtius, the consuls named by Cesar for the ensuing year, were yet unknown.—Although many

things were transacted in name of the senate, this order of men scarcely ventured to resume their ordinary functions, and shook under the rod which Cesar had lifted over them, even while it hung in suspense between different divisions of his remaining party.

It was evident from every circumstance, that the fate of the empire was to be determined by the sword. The troops feeling their consequence, affected indifference to every interest but their own, and presumed to treat with equal contempt, in their turns, the different persons who assumed the command of them. Of the five legions which had been quartered in Macedonia, four were landed at Brundisium when Antony arrived at that place. They turned out on his coming, but did not receive him with the usual acclamations and shouts. They closed in profound silence round the platform from which he was to speak, as having suspended their judgment, until they should know what gratuities they were to receive in reward of their services. When he mentioned four hundred sestertii, or between three and four pounds a man. This being far short of the rewards that were expected for giving a new master to the commonwealth, he was answered with signs of derision. In return to this insolence, Antony assumed a tone which tended rather to exasperate than to overawe his audience. He reproached these legions with ingratitude for the favour he had recently done them, in changing their destination from Parthia to the Cisalpine Gaul; and with treachery, in having suffered to remain among them the emissaries, whom he knew that a presumptuous boy had employed to debauch them from their duty. "These," he said, "shall not escape me; in the mean time prepare yourselves to march into the province which is allotted for your station."

Antony, while he yet continued to speak, had the mortification to see entire cohorts, with their officers, withdraw from his presence, uttering words of contempt and of scorn. Seeing the desertion likely to become general, and being greatly provoked, he dismissed the audience, sentenced three hundred officers and private men to immediate death, and stood by while they perished under the hands of the executioners.

The offence that was taken by the soldiery at these cruelties induced their commander to bethink himself and change his tone. In a second address to the army, he made an apology for his late severities. They knew, he said, his character, that it was neither sordid nor severe; that the sums he had mentioned were no more than a present to signalize their meeting, and an earnest of his future muni-

ficence. He did not, however, at this time, make any addition to his former bounty, lest it should appear to be extorted from him by fear.

The soldiers, in appearance, satisfied with these declarations, accepted with respect the sum which had been offered to them; submitted to the changes which had been made among their officers, and marched off in divisions by the coast of the Adriatic towards Ariminum. Antony himself, with an escort of cavalry and infantry, composed of men the bravest and most attached to his person, whom he had selected from the whole army, set out for Rome. At his arrival, he summoned the senate to meet, and, in the proclamation or summons, declared, that if any senator absented himself on that day, he should be deemed an accessory to a plot against the consul's life, which had been lately discovered, and an accomplice in the other wicked designs known to be in agitation against the republic.

He intended to obtain a decree against Octavius; whom, in all his manifestos, he qualified with the name of Spartacus; as having, without any legal authority, presumed to levy war against the state: but, as he entered the porch of the senate-house, a messenger arrived with accounts that the legio Martia had deserted with its colours to Octavius. Before he had recovered this shock, another messenger came with a like account of the fourth legion. He entered the senate, but very much disconcerted, and unprepared to act in circumstances so different from those with which he laid his account. He avoided the mention of Octavius; and pretending to have called the assembly, without any particular business, he made a short speech and adjourned. From this meeting, hearing that one of the revolted legions had taken post at Alba, he instantly repaired to that place, in hopes of reclaiming them; but was received with a discharge of arrows and stones from the battlements, and obliged to retire. Fearing that the remainder of the army would follow this example, he ordered them an additional gratuity of five hundred sesterii, or about four pounds a man. And, to give them an immediate prospect of action, which is often the most effectual means of stifling dangerous humours in an army, he declared his intention to make war on Decimus Brutus, in order to dislodge him from the province of Gaul. In pursuance of this intention, he set up his standard at Tibur, to which place he expected that all his friends and adherents would repair.

Antony, being joined by the last of the troops from Macedonia, had in all four legions, besides the ordinary attendance of irregular troops, and the crowds of people that

flocked to his standard. With this formidable power, having for a few days overawed the city, and drawn around him the greatest part of the senate, and of the equestrian order, with many of the people who had so lately declared for his rival, he set out on his march to Ariminum, the last place of Italy on the frontier of Gaul.

Octavius, at the same time, had assembled his forces at Alba, consisting of the two legions who had lately come over to him from Antony, one legion of new levies together with two of the veterans lately embodied, which, not being full, were completed with the choice of his new-raised men. He made a report to the senate of the number and description of the troops he had thus assembled, and received their thanks and congratulations. It is nevertheless probable that his services were received by this body with great distrust of their own situation, and of his designs.

CHAP. III.

Situation and Address of Octavius—Meeting of the Senate—Progress of Antony—His March into Gaul—Message of Octavius to Decimus Brutus—New Consuls Hirtius and Pansa—Meeting of the Senate—Deputation to Antony—His Answer—Declared an enemy—Advance of Hirtius and Octavius to raise the siege of Mutina—Brutus and Cassius confirmed in the command of all the Eastern Provinces—Progress of the War in Gaul—Siege of Mutina raised—Junction of Antony and Lepidus—Consulate of Octavius.

WHEN Antony left Rome to take possession of the Cisalpine Gaul, Octavius was in arms at the gates of the city, and, though a mere youth under age, was furnished with every art which age itself could bestow, to qualify him for the part he was to act. He had gained upon the army by donations and promises; upon the senate by public professions of duty and of zeal for the republic; and on particular members by attentions and flattery. In this situation, it became necessary for the senate, either to authorize and to avail themselves of this ultroneous support; or, by refusing it, to drive the veterans, and all the military party which still revered the name of Cesar, into measures immediately fatal to the republic. At their first meeting Octavius was introduced by the tribune, and pronounced a panegyric on Brutus. Cicero, in a speech which is still extant, extolled the conduct of the young Cesar in arming the veterans, as

a generous effort made at the hazard of his own life, and of his private fortune, to defend the republic. He applauded the two legions who had lately deserted from Antony; and warmly urged the senate to support Decimus Brutus in his province. He moved, that thanks should be given to these officers, and to the troops who adhered to them; and that the consuls, on the first of January, should move the senate farther to consider of the rewards that were due to the army, for the faithful services which they had rendered to the commonwealth. These public propositions he blended with a continual and vehement invective against Antony. He obtained decrees of the senate to the several effects he had proposed.

In the mean time, Antony, being arrived on the frontier of Gaul, despatched an officer to Decimus Brutus, with an order to evacuate the province, and having exchanged repeated messages on this subject, continued his march into the province, and forced Brutus, with two legions and some new levies, that were under his command, to throw himself into Mutina, where he had formed some magazines from the stores and provisions he was able to collect in the neighbourhood.

Such was the posture of affairs in the end of December, about ten months after the death of Cesar.* On the first of January, the consuls Pansa and Hirtius, being to enter on the exercise of their office, proceeded to the senate from the temple, where they had offered the usual sacrifices; and agreeably to the order of the nineteenth of December, moved this assembly to take under consideration the present state of the republic. Pansa having stated the subject, called upon his father-in-law, Q. Fuscus Calenus to deliver his opinion. This senator advised, that they should not rashly take any violent resolution; that they should send a deputation to the late consul, with instructions from the senate to lay down his arms, and to return to his duty. This motion was vehemently opposed by Cicero, who in a speech still extant, insisted that Antony was already in effect declared an enemy, and ought to be reduced by force, not gained by negotiation and treaty. L. Piso, with a considerable party in the senate, inclined to moderate the resolutions that were proposed against Antony. He contended that no Roman citizen could be condemned unheard; that the senate could do no more than appoint him a day of trial, and cite him to answer for himself. The time of the first meeting being already spent in

* U. C. 710.

this debate, the senate adjourned; and the subject being resumed on the following day, it is said that Fusius Calenus, with a torrent of abuse and reproach, retorted on Cicero certain invectives, which, on the preceding day, he had pronounced against Antony.

The debates and deliberations occupied several days. On coming to the question, the majority took, as is common on such occasions, a middle course between the extremes which were pointed out to them. They so far treated Antony as a friend, as to order a deputation of their own members to attend him in his camp; but the message which they sent by this deputation, sounded more like a declaration of war, than an overture of reconciliation or of peace. They commanded him not to disturb in his government Decimus Brutus, whom they qualified with the appellation of consul-elect; not to lay siege to Mutina; not to lay waste the province; not to make any levies of forces, or to presume to continue in arms against the authority of the senate.

The commissioners were received with affected submission to the orders of the senate; Antony said he wished to evacuate the province, disband his army, and return to a private station: but he would forget the past, and agree to a sincere reconciliation, provided that the legions then under his command, with his cavalry and guards, were properly rewarded and accommodated with grants of land; that the acts taken from the will and memoirs of his late colleague should be ratified; that no account should be required of the money which he had taken from the temple of Ops; that a general indemnity should pass in favour of all his adherents; that his act relating to judicatures should not be repeated; that upon these conditions he would evacuate the Gallia Togata, but retain the Comata, with six legions, to be completed with draughts from the troops now under Decimus Brutus.

The deputies, who had been employed on this unsuccessful business, incurred much public censure. It was unworthy of them, it was said, to hold any intercourse with a rebel, who refused to comply with the orders that were sent to him. Under this sense of the matter, at a meeting of the senate, it was moved, that war should be declared against Antony, and that every senator should assume the military habit. This motion was agreed to even by Lucius Cesar, uncle to Antony; a decree was framed upon it, and passed without opposition, by which the army under his command were required by a certain day to lay down their arms.

Upon this resolution, obtained by those who strove for the preservation of the commonwealth, great rejoicing were made over all Italy, and it did not then appear from

whence any real danger could arise to the authority of laws which were so properly supported. The consuls, it was observed, acted with great vigour; the senate, the middling class, and the citizens in general, expressed great zeal. The people crowded to have their names enrolled in the levies that were ordered. The reputation which Cicero gained in bringing public affairs into this situation, set him at the head of the commonwealth.

The conduct of the war was committed to the consuls, and, jointly with them, to Octavius, in the capacity of propretor. Orders were likewise despatched to Lepidus and to Plancus, to co-operate with these officers. The first was yet on his march into Spain, through the province of Narbonne; the other was posted on the Rhone. In the mean time, Octavius, without waiting for the authority with which the senate had lately invested him, had followed Antony across the Apennines, and taken post with his army at the Forum Corneli, on the road from Ariminum to Mutina. The messages which passed between the senate and Antony, as well as the delays which the consuls, under the pretence of winter, made in advancing with their forces, gave him some degree of uneasiness. Pansa was employed at Rome in conducting the new levies. Hirtius, though destined to take the field, and to join Octavius, was still detained by indisposition. Antony continued the siege of Mutina without interruption.

Octavius, after having sent many pressing messages to hasten the march of the consul, was at last joined by him at the Forum Corneli, and they advanced together; forced posts which Antony had established at Claterna and Bononia, and encamped at the latter of these places. Here they were still separated by the Rhenus and Lavinus from the army of Antony, which covered the siege of Mutina, and were precluded from any communication with the town. They succeeded, however, to give notice of their approach to the besieged; upon which Brutus was confirmed in his resolution of defending the place to the last extremity.

The senate, notwithstanding that they considered the preservation of the republic as the common cause of all those who could hope to partake in its honours, and believed that the present consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, were sincerely embarked in its cause; and notwithstanding the confidence they placed in Octavius as opposed to Antony, they still relied chiefly on those who had taken an active part against the late usurpation of Cesar, and looked to Brutus and Cassius for a principal support against the remains of that military faction. On this account, they had annulled the

proceedings of Antony relating to the distribution of the eastern provinces, reinstated Marcus Brutus in the government of Macedonia, and Cassius in that of Syria; and by these appointments placed the whole resources of the commonwealth, from the Hadriatic to the utmost boundary of the empire, under their authority.

Marcus Brutus and Cassius had left Italy in the preceding autumn. Brutus, having embarked at Elea, sailed into Greece, where he was received with every mark of respect. And afterwards, on entering his province and presenting the order of the senate to put him in possession of it, the greater part of it, then under the command of Hortensius, acknowledged his authority. Cassius, at the same time, had gone with the utmost despatch into Syria, to prevent Dolabella, who was sent by the opposite party to take possession of that province.

At his arrival the forces of Syria were divided, and the opposite parties had actually committed hostilities against each other. There were in this province, engaged on opposite sides, no less than eight legions. Upon the arrival of Cassius, two legions, which favoured the republican party, declared for him; and soon after the other six, moved by the authority of his commission from the senate, or gained by his personal character and address, followed this example. Four more legions, who, intending to join Dolabella, were marching from Egypt through Palestine, were intercepted, and forced to receive his orders as governor of Syria. His army, by these different accessions, amounted to twelve legions.

Upon the first suspicion that Brutus and Cassius intended to possess themselves of these important provinces, Dolabella, to whom, by the influence of Antony, the command in Syria had been assigned, set out from Rome, and with all possible diligence continued his route to the east. In passing through the province of Asia, he had an interview at Smyrna with Trebonius, professed a friendship for him, and put him off his guard, surprised the city of Smyrna, seized on the person of the governor, and, with many insults, put him to the torture, and strangled him.

This murder, being committed on the person of a Roman officer, within the very province in which he was appointed to command, raised a general indignation. Dolabella was declared a public enemy by the senate, and the conduct of the war against him was committed to Caius Cassius.

Thus the flames of war, which were already lighted in Italy, began to extend, and were soon communicated to very part of the empire. The opposite armies before

Mutina continued during the winter to observe each other, and in their attempts to give or to withhold relief from the besieged, had frequent skirmishes and partial engagements. The chief direction of affairs at Rome, in the mean time, had devolved on Cicero, who incited the senate and the people, with all the powers of his eloquence, against Antony. The soldiers in general, with their officers, were notwithstanding inclined to favour this declared enemy of the commonwealth. Ventidius in particular, who professed to range himself under Octavius, was in reality warmly attached to his rival; and, in order to serve him, formed a design to surprise Cicero and the other heads of the republican party; but the persons against whom it was directed having taken the alarm, and withdrawn to places of safety, he turned aside to Picenum, and there waited the issue of the campaign.

The senate, during the dependance of these operations, as in full possession of the republic, devised laws, to prevent for the future those abuses which had given rise to the present disorders. They resolved that no extraordinary commission of any kind should be given to any single person, or any provincial appointment prolonged beyond a year. While they were thus employed, separate addresses were presented to them from Lepidus and from Plancus, warmly recommending an accommodation with Antony. The consul Pansa, too, proposed a fresh deputation to him with overtures of peace, and his party in the senate insidiously offered to devolve the honour of this deputation upon Cicero himself, who rejected the offer, with proper animadversion on the danger to which his life must be exposed in the camp of his enemy. While this measure was in agitation, Hirtius and Octavius appear to have sent a joint message to Antony, informing him of what had been proposed in the senate, and desiring a cessation of arms, with liberty to convey some supply to the garrison of Mutina, until the event of the senate's deliberations should be known. Antony replied in terms calculated to insinuate himself into the favour of the late Cesar's party, and to gain the affection of the army; but full of reproach and contumely against those who pretended to espouse the cause of the commonwealth, and against the authors of the present councils at Rome.

Antony, in all his discourses, affected to be in good understanding with Lepidus and with Plancus, who, he insinuated, were in concert with himself, and embarked in the same cause. But whatever secret correspondence these officers may have held together, they and Pollio

likewise professed the highest duty to the senate, and affection to the commonwealth. While the party of the senate appeared to gain such accessions of strength by the declaration of so many military officers in the different provinces, Decimus Brutus was reduced to great straits at Mutina; and waited, under many circumstances of distress, for the opening of a campaign, in which he expected that his own fate, and that of the republic, might soon be determined. On the approach of the proper season, the consul Pansa, with the levies he had made, amounting to four legions, marched towards Gaul, and being arrived at Bononia, was about to have joined his colleague, who had taken post with Octavius to observe, and to impede the progress of the siege. Antony, at the same time, having intelligence of their route, marched in the night with two chosen legions, two pretorian cohorts, being veteran and experienced troops, with a numerous body of irregulars and horse. He took post at a village, and posting the horse and irregulars, in open view in the field, at some distance from the village, he placed the legions and regular infantry in ambuscade under the cover of the houses.

When Pansa's army, led by a detachment which Hirtius had sent to receive them, came in sight of Antony's horse and irregulars, they could not be restrained until the posture and strength of the enemy were examined. They broke from their ranks, and rushed through a defile in a wood or morass to intercept the enemy, who appeared to consist of horse and light infantry alone; when as the foremost of them were passing in the most disorderly manner from this defile, in pursuit of their supposed prey, Antony, with the legions, placed himself in their way, and forced them to fly with great slaughter. Pansa himself was dangerously wounded, and his army obliged to take refuge in the camp from which they had marched in the morning. Hirtius, however, having intelligence of the movement he had made, though too late to prevent its effects, had left his camp with twenty cohorts of veterans, arrived at the village, and was in possession of the very ground on which Pansa had been defeated, when Antony, returning from the pursuit of his victory, fell, in his turn, into the same snare which he himself, a few hours before, had so successfully laid for his enemy, was accordingly surprised and defeated with great slaughter, and with the loss of the eagles or standards of both the legions, and of sixty ensigns of the cohorts. Hirtius and Octavius followed this piece of success by making a feint to throw succours into Mutina on a side which the besiegers had deemed im-

accessible, and which, on this account, they had but slightly guarded. Antony, alarmed by this attempt to render abortive all the labours he had sustained in the preceding blockade, drew forth his army to oppose them. While he was making his disposition to receive the enemy in the field, his lines were attacked by a sally from the town, and it became necessary to divide his forces. He himself, with that part of his army which remained with him to make head against Hirtius and Octavius, was defeated, fled to his camp, and, being pursued thither, continued to give way, until the action ended by the death of the consul Hirtius, who, after he had forced the intrenchments of the enemy, was killed, and fell near to the headquarters of their general.

Upon this event, Octavius, not having the qualities of a soldier which were necessary to replace the consul, suffered the victorious army, thus checked by the loss of their commander, to be driven back from the ground they had gained, and left Antony again in possession of his works. The vanquished party, however, feeling all the effects of a defeat, and not being in condition to continue the siege, decamped in the night. At break of day, Decimus Brutus observed that the lines of the besiegers seemed to be evacuated, yet, as he had no intelligence from the camp, he remained all that day in suspense. Even after he had received information of the various events of the action, and of the consul's death, he was obliged to remain inactive, while the enemy continued their retreat undisturbed.

On the second day after the battle, Decimus Brutus, being sent for by Pansa to Bononia, to concert the future operations of the war, learned on his way, that this consul was dead of his wounds.

At this time Antony was on his march to the coast of Liguria, which he continued till he reached the fens of Sabatta. Here the country being of difficult access he thought himself secure, and made a halt, to consider of his future operations. At the same time Ventidius, who, upon the news of the defeat of his friend at Mutina, had passed the Apennines by hasty marches, followed and joined him at this place.

In the first accounts of Antony's defeat that were carried to Rome, it was reported, that his army had been entirely routed, whereupon the senate were greatly elated; and, amidst the acclamations of the people, ordered a feast of thanksgiving, which was to last for sixty days. The commonwealth likewise being deprived of its legal head by the death of both the consuls, Decimus Brutus, as next in

succession, according to the arrangement which had been made for the ensuing year, and being supposed most deeply interested in the preservation of the republic, was the person on whom the senate conferred the command of all their forces in Italy and Gaul. They thus seemed to drop at once the high regard which they had hitherto paid to Octavius, and to overlook his pretensions and his influence over the army. Pretending to have his eyes opened by this conduct of the senate, Octavius refused to co-operate with Decimus Brutus in pursuing the late victory against Antony, and had influence enough with different bodies of the army, particularly with the fourth legion and the *Martia*, to hinder their obeying the orders they had received from Rome.

Even there Brutus was, from this time forward, ill supported : all motions made in his favour being opposed by the party of Octavius, as well as by that of Antony. The troops that adhered to him amounted to seven legions ; these he subsisted by such resources as he himself could command. He advanced towards the encampment of Antony, till, within thirty miles of the enemy, he received intelligence that Antony, in a speech to his army, had declared his intention to pass the Alps, and to cast himself entirely on the friendship of Lepidus, in whose disposition he professed to have great confidence. This intelligence was followed by accounts that the enemy already undertook this difficult march so ill provided with every necessary, that they had no subsistence but what was found on the route, consisting chiefly of wild herbs, fruits, and animals not commonly used for human food.

Lepidus, in consequence of the senate's instructions, or of his own desire to be at hand to take such measures as the state of the war in Italy might require, had discontinued the march of his army into Spain, and returning had passed the Rhone and taken a station not far from the coast at the Forum Vocontium. In the mean time Antony had passed the Alps, and in the middle of May arrived with the first division of his army at Forum Julii, four-and-twenty miles from the station of Lepidus. Ventidius having followed about two days' march in the rear of Antony, and having again joined him at this place, their forces consisted of the second legion entire, with a considerable number of men, but without arms ; the broken remains of many legions, together with a body of cavalry.

The armies of Antony and Lepidus at length came in sight of each other, and frequent messages passed between the leaders ; and as no hostilities were committed, the

soldiers conversed freely together, though without any apparent effect. Lepidus still professed to govern himself by the orders of the senate, and to employ his army in support of the commonwealth. But while he preserved these appearances, he secretly corrupted his own troops till they proceeded to invite Antony into their camp, and presenting him to their general as a friend, terminated the war between them by a coalition. Antony was now joined with Lepidus in the command of the army which had come to oppose him, and by his popularity, or superior ability, soon got the ascendant of his colleague. He found himself again at the head of a great force, composed of the remains of his late defeat, three legions that had joined him under Ventidius, and seven, of which the army of Lepidus consisted.

Lepidus, even after the reception of Antony into his camp, addressed the senate in a solemn declaration, still asserting his affection to the commonwealth, and representing the late change of his measures as the effect of necessity imposed upon him by the troops, who, in a mutinous manner, refused to make war on their fellow citizens. At the same time despatches arrived from Plancus and Decimus Brutus, both treating the pretended mutiny of the army in Gaul as a mere artifice of their general to conceal his own defection. The city was greatly alarmed, and the senators, incensed at his treachery, sent private instructions to Marcus Brutus, and to Caius Cassius, urging them to hasten the march of their forces for the defence of the capital.

During these transactions, Octavius remained inactive on the frontiers of Italy. The demise of the two consuls opened a new scene to his ambition. This event came so opportunely for his purpose, and his own character for intrigue was so much established, that he was suspected of having had an active part in procuring the death of those officers. He himself gave out, that Pansa, when dying of his wounds, desired to see him in private, gave him a view of the state of parties, and advised him no longer to remain the tool of those who meant only to demolish the party of Cesar, in order that they themselves might rise on its ruins. The commonwealth undoubtedly sustained a great loss in the death of the two consuls. If they had lived even with such abilities as they possessed, they might have kept Lepidus within the bounds of his duty, they might have prevented Antony from recovering the defeat which he had lately received at Mutina, and obliged Octavius, if not to drop his ambitious designs, at least to defer the execution of them to a more distant period. But immediately after the death of these magistrates, it became evident, that this

young man was determined not to take any part in the farther operations of the campaign.

In the mean time, the senate deferred the elections, and appointed ten commissioners under pretence of inquiring into the abuses committed in Antony's administration, and of distributing to the army the gratuities, and of executing the settlements devised for their late services, but probably with a real intention to vest these commissioners with the chief direction of affairs, until it could be determined who should succeed in the office of consul, and who should be intrusted with the safety of the republic. There was felt, however, a necessity of paying a little more attention than had lately been done to the interest of Octavius. Instead of appointing him to act under Decimus Brutus, as they at first intended, the senate joined him in the command of the army; and in this new situation, required him to co-operate in defending Italy against the united forces of Antony and Lepidus.

Octavius instantly communicated to the army these orders of the senate, with insinuations of the hardships which they were now to undergo on being sent on a fresh service, before they had received the rewards which were promised and due to them for the former; and he proposed, that they should send deputies to the senate with proper representations on this subject. A number of centurions were accordingly selected to carry the mandate of the army to Rome.

While the senate delayed giving any direct answer to this military demand, they again sent a deputation of their own members with money to be distributed by themselves to the legions. But Octavius being secretly apprised that a sum of money was sent to corrupt his army, marched directly to Rome; and on his way being met by the deputies of the senate, he commanded them, at their peril, not to approach the army, or to interrupt its march. Upon the news of his approach, the city was thrown into great consternation. The senate, believing that they had erred in offering too little money to the troops, ordered the former bounty to be doubled. They resolved that Octavius should be admitted to the consulate, be pretor at the first elections, and consul at the following.

Soon after this deputation, despatched from the senate to intimate these resolutions, was gone, two legions, lately transported from Africa, and ordered for the defence of the city, having arrived at the gates, the senators, with their party among the people, resumed their courage; they were even disposed to recall their late concessions, and

began to exclaim, that it were better to perish in defending their liberties, than, without any struggle, to fall a prey to their enemies. Persons of every description assumed the military dress, and ran to arms; and there being now at Rome three legions, with a thousand horse, the city was put into a posture of defence. As the army drew near, however, all the approaches were deserted by those who had been placed to defend them, and the advanced guard of Octavius passed to the Mons Quirinalis, without being met by any person in the quality either of friend or of enemy. But, after a little pause, numbers of his own party among the people having gone forth to receive him, the streets were instantly crowded with persons of all ranks, who hastened to pay their court; the troops who had been assembled to oppose him, at the same time leaving their stations, and making an offer of their services.

Octavius did not suffer any acts of cruelty to be committed, or make any inquiry after those who had been forward in opposing his claims. He affected the clemency of his late uncle; but like him too, without any scruple, laid his hands on the public treasure, made a distribution to the army of the sums which had been first decreed to them; and engaged for himself, soon after, to add from his own estate what had been successively promised. Having ordered that the election of consuls should immediately proceed, and being himself elected, together with Q. Pedius, he walked in solemn procession to offer the sacrifices usual on such occasions, and entered on his office on the twenty-first of September, the day before he completed his twentieth year.

In the same spirit of servility with which so many honours had been decreed to Julius Cesar, it was enacted, that Octavius should for ever take rank of every consul, and the command of every general, at the head of his own army; that he should have an unlimited commission to levy troops, and to employ them where the necessities of the state might require; that his adoption into the family of Cesar should be ratified, and an inquest set on foot for the trial of those who had been concerned in the death of Julius Cesar.

CHAP. IV.

Proceedings of the new Consul—State of the Eastern Provinces—Interview of Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, with their Coalition—The Proscription or Massacre—Death of Cicero—Sequel of the Massacre—Succession of Consuls—Severe Exaction of Taxes—State of Sextus Pompeius—Movements of Antony and Octavius respectively—Both bend their course to the East—Posture and operations of Brutus and Cassius—Their arrival and progress in Europe—Campaign at Philippi—First Action and Death of Cassius—Second Action and Death of Brutus.

THE republic, of which Octavius was now, in appearance, the legal magistrate, had declared open war against Antony and Lepidus; and, in consequence of this declaration, the forces of Decimus Brutus and of Plancus, as has been mentioned, had advanced to the Rhone and the Isere, but had been obliged again to retreat, in order to avoid coming to action with a superior enemy. It was considered, therefore, as the first object of the consul to reinforce that army of the republic, and to carry the decrees of the senate into execution against those who presumed to dispute their authority. He accordingly marched from the city as upon this design; but it soon after appeared, that he had been some time in correspondence with these supposed enemies of their country; that he intended to join them against the senate, and with their forces united, to resist the storm which was gathering against them in the east, under the governors of Macedonia and Syria.

While the siege of Mutina was still in dependence, Marcus Brutus had drawn his forces towards the coast of Epirus, with intention to pass into Italy; but having received a report that Dolabella, then in the province of Asia, had transported a body of men from thence to the Chersonesus, and that he seemed to intend the invasion of Macedonia, he was obliged to return for the defence of his own province; and from thenceforward, by the state of the war in Syria was hindered, during some time, from taking any part in the affairs of the west. Dolabella's operations began in that quarter with his receiving a great check to his hopes in the defeat of his fleet; his galleys having been dispersed, and all his transports taken by Lentulus, who had served under Trebonius, and who now commanded the fleets of Brutus and Cassius in those seas. Notwithstanding this defeat, he advanced by land into Cilicia; and while his antagonist lay in Palestine, to intercept the

legions that were coming to join him from Egypt, he made considerable levies, took possession of Tarsus, and then of Laodicea, where he was determined upon making a stand. This retreat was speedily blocked up and besieged by Cassius, and in a few weeks fell into his hands. Dolabella, on finding that the town was delivered up, chose to fall by the sword of one his own men; and the troops who had served under him acknowledged the authority of his rival and took the oath of fidelity usual in ranging themselves under a new general.

Octavius, soon after his nomination to the office of consul, under pretence of urging the war against Antony and Lepidus, took his departure from Rome, leaving his colleague Pedius in the administration of the city. To him he had given instructions to obtain, as of his own accord, the revocation of the acts by which Antony and Lepidus had been declared public enemies; and the senate proceeded to revoke their former decree of attainder against these traitors.

As soon as the state of parties was thus transformed, Octavius congratulated the senate on the wisdom of their measures, and from thenceforward treated with Antony and Lepidus as friends, Plancus withdrew his forces from the army of Decimus Brutus, and Pollio afterwards followed his example. Thus the republican commander was left singly to withstand the force of so many enemies who were united, and now supported against him with the authority of the state itself. He still had ten legions; but did not think himself in condition to continue the war against so many enemies; and determined to withdraw by Illyricum into Macedonia, and to join himself with the forces which were raised for the republic in that province. On pretence of the hardships of the proposed march, he was deserted first by the new levies, and afterwards by the veterans, with all the irregulars who, except a few Gaulish horse, went over with their colours to the enemy. In proportion as difficulties multiplied on his way, the little troop which attended him also gradually diminished; when he disguised himself, and returned to Aquileia; but being there seized as a suspicious person, he was by the orders of Antony put to death.

Thus, while all the military powers of the east were assembled under Marcus Brutus and Cassius, with a professed design to restore the republic, those of the west were equally united for a contrary purpose. Antony and Lepidus having passed the Alps, descended the Po, and advanced towards Mutina. Octavius being already in that

neighbourhood with his army, they met with five legions of each side, on the opposite banks of the Lavinus, not far from the scene of their late hostile operations against each other. The leaders held a conference in a small island formed by the separation and re-union of two branches of the river, while the armies drew up on the opposite banks. They continued their conference for three days; and at the expiration of this time made known to their armies, that they had agreed on the following articles: that Octavius, in order to divest himself of every legal advantage over his associates, should resign the consulate; that the three military leaders, then upon an equal footing, should hold or share among them, during five years, the supreme administration of affairs in the empire; that they should name all the officers of state, magistrates, and governors of provinces; that Octavius should have the exclusive command in Italy, Africa, Sardinia, and Sicily, Lepidus in Spain, and Antony in Gaul; that Lepidus should be substituted for Decimus Brutus, in the succession to the consulate for the following year, and should have the administration at Rome, while Octavius and Antony pursued the war against Brutus and Cassius in the East; that the army, at the end of the war, should have settlements assigned to them in the richest districts and best situations of Italy. Among the last were specified Capua, Rhegium, Venusia, Beneventum, Nuceria, Ariminum, and Vibona. To ratify this agreement, the daughter of Fulvia, the wife of Antony, by Clodius her former husband, was betrothed to Octavius.

While the army was amused by the publication of these several articles, the circumstance which chiefly distinguished this famous coalition, was the secret resolution, then taken, to extinguish at once all future opposition to the Cesarian party, by massacring all their private and public enemies. They drew up a list comprehending all those who had given them private or public offence, amounting in all to three hundred senators and two thousand of the equestrian order, besides many persons of inferior note, whose names they deferred entering in the list until their arrival at Rome. They ratified the whole by mutual oaths; and having published all the articles, except that which related to the massacre, the plan of reconciliation between the leaders was received by the armies with shouts of applause, and was supposed to be the beginning of a period in which military men were to rest from their labours, and to enjoy undisturbed the most ample reward of their services.

This celebrated cabal, known by the name of the **Second**

Triumvirate, having thus planned the division or joint administration of an empire which each of them hoped in time to engross for himself, they proceeded to Rome with an aspect which, to those who composed the civil establishment of the commonwealth, was more terrible than that of any faction which had been hitherto formed for its destruction.

Lepidus, noted for his want of capacity, being in the rank of pretor when Cesar took possession of Rome, and being the only Roman officer of state who was willing to prostitute the dignity of his station, by abetting the violence which was now done to the constitution, was entrusted with power, and the command of an army, merely because he brought the name and authority of a magistrate to the side of the usurpation.

Antony, possessed of parts which were known chiefly by the profligate use which he made of them, seeking to repair by rapine a patrimony which he had wasted in debauch; and sometimes strenuous when pressed by necessity, yet ever relapsing in every moment of ease or relaxation into the vilest debauchery or dissipation.

Octavius, yet a boy, only known by acts of perfidy and cunning above his years; equally indifferent to friendship or enmity, apparently defective in personal courage, but followed by the remains of Cesar's army, as having a common cause with themselves in securing the advantages which they severally claimed by virtue of his authority. He was now about the twentieth year of his age, had been already two years at the head of a faction, veering in his professions and in his conduct with every turn of fortune. He had already, in the transactions of so short a life, given indications of all the vilest qualities incident to human nature, perfidy, cowardice, and cruelty; but with an ability or cunning which, if suffered to continue its operations, was likely to prevail in the contest for superiority with his present rivals in the empire.

Such was the received description of persons who had now parcelled among themselves the government of the world, and whose vices were exaggerated by the fears of those who were likely to suffer by the effects of their power. Under the dominion of such a junto, if any one were left to regret the loss of public liberty, or to feel the state of degradation into which citizens were fallen; if any one could look forward from the terrors of a present tyranny to the prospect of future evils; to them surely a scene of expectation was opening the most gloomy that ever had presented itself to mankind in human affairs,

however, the prospect, whether good or bad in extreme, is seldom verified by the end; and human nature, when seemingly driving to the wildest excess, after a series of events and struggles, settles at last in some sort of mediocrity, beyond which it never is pushed but by occasional starts and sallies.

The triumvirs being on their way to Rome, their orders for the immediate execution of seventeen of the principle senators had been received before their arrival, and several were accordingly surprised and murdered in their houses or in the streets. Pedius, the consul, continued all night in the streets, endeavouring to prevent the calamity of a general fire. On the following night, he died of the fatigue he had incurred on this occasion, and the public assurances he had given were attended with no effect. The triumvirs marched separately towards the city, and made their entry on three several days. As they arrived in succession, they occupied every quarter with guards and attendants, and filled every public place with armed men, and with military standards and ensigns. In order to ratify the powers they had devised for themselves, they got the articles of their agreement enacted in the public assembly of the Roman people; and put in the form of a legal commission.

As the first act of this government, two lists of proscriptions were delivered to the proper officers of the army, and posted in different parts of the city; one a list of senators, the other a list of persons of inferior rank, on whom the troops were directed to perform immediate execution. In consequence of these orders, all the streets, temples, and private houses, instantly became scenes of blood. At the same time, there appeared on the part of the triumvirs a manifesto, in which having stated the ingratitude of many whom Cesar had spared, of many whom he had promoted to high office, and whom he had even destined to inherit his fortunes, and who, nevertheless, conspired against his life, they alleged the necessity they were under of preventing the designs of their enemies, and of extirpating a dangerous faction, whom no benefits could bid, and whom no considerations, sacred or profane, could restrain.

There were killed, in the beginning of this massacre, Salvius, one of the tribunes of the people, together with Minucius and Annalis, both in the office of pretors. Silicius Coronas, a person of considerable note, now also perished. The son of Hosidius Geta saved his father by giving out that he was already killed, and by actually performing a funeral in his name. The son of Quintus Cicero, persevered in the concealment of his father, notwithstanding that the

torture was applied to force a discovery, until the father, who was within hearing of what was in agitation, burst from his concealment and was thereupon slain together with his son.

Marcus Cicero having got safe to Circeii ; and being unable to take any resolution whatever, he committed himself to his attendants, was carried on board of a vessel, and steered for Capua. Near to this place, having a villa on the shore, he again lauded, and being fatigued with the motion of the sea, went to rest, when an officer, with his party, arrived, and finding the gates of the court and the passages of the villa shut burst them open ; but missing the person they sought for, they made their way through an avenue that led to the shore, and came in sight of Cicero's litter, before he had left the walks of his own garden. On the appearance of the party, Cicero ordered the bearers of his litter to halt, and appeared to be determined and calm. Upon the approach of the murderers he put forth his head from the litter, and fixed his eyes on them with great composure. The countenance of a man so well known to every Roman, now worn out with fatigue and dejection, and disfigured by neglect of the usual attention to his person, made a moving spectacle even to those who came to assist in the tragic scene. They turned away, while the assassin performed his office, and severed his head from his body.

Thus perished Marcus Tullius Cicero, in the sixty-fourth year of his age. He appears to have been the last of the Romans, who rose to the highest offices of state by the force of his personal character, and by the fair arts of a republican candidate for public honours. He is universally acknowledged, by his proficiency in oratory to have greatly excelled all those who went before him, so much as to have attained the highest preferments in the commonwealth, without having quitted the gown, and to have made his first campaign in the capacity of Roman proconsul, above ten years after he had already exercised the supreme executive power in the state.

Whether we suppose him to have been governed by original vanity, or by a habit of considering the world as a theatre for the display of his talents, and the acquisition of fame, more than as a scene of real affairs, he was certainly too fond of applause, he courted it as a principal object even in the fairest transactions of his life, and was too much dependent on the opinion of other men to possess himself sufficiently amidst the difficulties which occur in the very arduous situation which fell to his lot. Being, towards the end of his life, by the almost total extirpation of the more

respectable citizens and members of the senate who had laboured with him for the preservation of the commonwealth, left in a situation which required the abilities of a great warrior, as well as those of the ablest statesmen, and in which even such abilities could not have stemmed the torrent which burst forth to overwhelm the republic, it is not surprising that he failed in the attempt.

In this horrid scene of revenge and cruelty, rapacity too had its share; many persons were proscribed, merely that their estates might be brought into the coffers of the triumvirs; and many persons were threatened, to induce them to ransom their lives with money. The list received frequent additions, and underwent many alterations, some names being scratched out, and others inserted, a circumstance, by which persons of any considerable property, as well as those who were obnoxious to any of the persons in power, were kept in the most anxious state of suspense and uncertainty. Many who were spared by the public usurpers of government, fell a sacrifice to the resentment of their private enemies, or to the avarice of who those wished to possess themselves of their property. The triumvirs, whose principal object it was to secure the government, though no ways interested in these extreme disorders, which far exceeded what they originally projected, not daring to restrain the military violence, lest it should recoil on themselves, left for some time the lives, as well as the properties of the people, entirely at the mercy of the troops; and citizens, who were reputed to have any effects in reserve, were fain to adopt some soldier as a son, in order to obtain his protection for their lives and property.

Such was the aspect of affairs in Italy; but there were still some rays of hope, which shone from a distance. Not only Brutus and Cassius, in their provinces of Macedonia and Syria; but Cornificius in Africa, and Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, still held up the standard of the republic, and offered places of refuge to its friends. Sextus Pompeius stationed ships on the coast to receive them, and published rewards for their rescue or protection.

Lepidus and Plancus being entered on the office of consul, had in charge, as the first object of their magistracy, the raising of money to supply the further exigencies of the war.* Great sums had been expected to arise from the sale of the estates of the proscribed; but the purchase of such estates was justly reckoned invidious among a certain class of the people; and the money which arose from these

* U. C. 711.

sales, fell greatly short of the expectations which had been entertained from them.

It was computed, that two hundred millions, Roman money, were yet wanting to supply the expenses of the war. To make up this deficiency, the male sex chiefly having hitherto suffered by the public exactions, a contribution was levied from such women related to the opposite party as were supposed to be rich. At the same time persons of every description, whose estates exceeded one hundred thousand,* Roman money, were commanded to give an account of their effects, that they might pay a tax equal to a fiftieth of their stock, and one year's income of their ordinary revenue. Additional exactions were also made, under the denomination of fines or forfeitures, from those who were alleged to have given in a false state of their effects.

Agreeably to the model of Julius Cesar's arrangements, preparatory to his intended expedition into Asia, the triumvirs, before the departure of Octavius and Antony on the service to which they were destined, fixed the succession to all the offices of state for some years. They had under their command an army of forty legions, which they now separated into two divisions. The one, under the direction of Antony, was assembled on the eastern coast to be in readiness to cover Italy on that side, or to pass into Macedonia, and to carry the war against Brutus and Cassius into that province. The other was destined to remain in Italy, in order to secure the head of the empire, and oppose any attempts of the opposite party by sea from Sicily or Africa, which were still in their possession.

Brutus and Cassius had assembled their forces on the right of the Meander, when they heard that Antony had transported a part of his troops into Epirus. Without delay they began to move towards Europe, in order to check the advances which the enemy were already making. Having passed the Hellespont, they marched, by the isthmus of Cardia, to the coast of the bay of Melanus; here they made a halt for some days, to muster and to review their forces. The army of Cassius consisted of nine legions, that of Brutus of eight, amounting to about eighty thousand men, formed in the manner of the Roman infantry. Brutus had four thousand Gaulish and Lusitanian horse; two thousand cavalry, made up of Thracians, Illyrians, Parthians, and Thessalians. Cassius had two thousand Gauls and Spaniards, and four thousand Parthian archers mount-

* About eight thousand pounds.

ed on horseback. They were followed likewise by some princes of Galatia, at the head of their respective forces. The whole, by this account, amounted to near a hundred thousand men. Many of the legions had been formed under Cesar, and could not be retained in their present service without frequent liberalities, and without a prospect, at the end of the war, of settlements, not inferior to those which were enjoyed or expected by the troops of the opposite side. The wealth of Asia, however, having put their leaders in condition to perform what was at present expected from them; all former engagements were now fulfilled, as the best earnest that could be given of future gratuities.

After mustering all their strength, the republican leaders again began to advance; and while the army marched in small divisions by the route of Enos and Doriscus, Cimber, with a squadron of galleys, having a legion and a considerable detachment of archers on board, sailed towards the coast of Macedonia, with orders to search for a proper station within the mountains of Pangeus, a ridge which, stretching from Thrace southward, terminated in the bay of Strymon, opposite to the island of Thasus. The generals, upon their arrival on the river Nessus, found that the usual passage of the mountains at Symbolus was already seized by Saxa and Norbanus, who, with the first division of Antony's forces from Italy, had traversed Macedonia, and hastened to possess themselves of this pass, in order to stop the further progress of their enemies in Europe. The eastern armies, however, penetrated the pass by a different route from that which the enemy had occupied, and having crossed the summit, descended in the track of a river towards Philippi, situated on the eastern boundary of the plains of Amphipolis. Saxa and Norbanus, on perceiving this movement, abandoned their post, fell back forty or fifty miles to Amphipolis; and having put this place in the best posture they could for defence, determined to await the arrival of Octavius and Antony.

Brutus and Cassius took post at Philippi, on the declivity of the mountains, near to the pass which Saxa and Norbanus had lately abandoned. They encamped about two miles from the town on two separate eminences, about a mile asunder. On their right was Philippi, covered by the mountains; on the left an impassable marsh, which reached about nine miles from their camp to the sea. In their front the country from Philippi westward to Amphipolis, extending about forty or fifty miles, was flat and subject to floods and inundations of the rivers. The fleet was in har-

bour at Neapolis, near where the marsh, which covered the left of Cassius's camp, terminated in the sea; and Cimber had fixed on that place as the port to which all their convoys should repair.

Antony and Octavius having effected their passage, notwithstanding the vigilance of the enemy's fleet, their army advanced by rapid marches to the river Strymon. Octavius had been taken ill, and remained behind at Dyrrachium. Antony, upon his arrival at Amphipolis, fixed upon it as a place of arms, and advanced upon the flat country, through a march of some days, and pitched in sight of Philippi, within a mile of the enemy's stations. Antony's camp being on the plain, and in a low situation, was overlooked by the enemy, and subject to be overflowed by the torrents which fell from the hills. He made every possible effort to bring his antagonists to action, and by his forwardness in pressing them to a battle, raised the courage of his own troops, and assumed, as is common with those who act offensively, the appearance of superiority. While he yet continued in this posture, Octavius, though not entirely recovered from his illness, joined him from Dyrrachium. They took two separate stations opposite to those of the enemy; Octavius opposite to Brutus, and Antony to Cassius. The number of legions, on both sides, were equal; but those of Antony and Octavius were not complete. In cavalry they were unequal; that of Brutus and Cassius amounting to twenty thousand, while that of Octavius and Antony was no more than thirteen thousand.

Antony and Octavius, in order to force their antagonists to a battle, or to cut off their communication with the sea, pierced the morass, and seized upon the heights beyond it on the left of Cassius's camp. As soon as Brutus and Cassius perceived this advantage gained by the enemy, they took measures to recover it, and to open their own access again to the sea. For this purpose they, in their turn, traversed the morass in a line which crossed the passage which the enemy had made, and pierced their highway with a deep and impassable ditch. Having in this manner cut off the enemy's parties that had passed the morass from any succours or supplies from their main body, they were about to force them, when Octavius and Antony endeavoured to recover their passage; and to divert the attention of the enemy from what they were doing in the marsh, drew forth their armies on the plain.

While Octavius was still confined by sickness, his lieutenant, or next in command, took his place in this movement, and advanced toward the intrenchment of Brutus.

The light troops began to skirmish, and were joined by the legionaries of Brutus, who, without orders, quitted their lines, attacked the wing on which Octavius was supposed to command, drove them back to their ground, and continuing their pursuit, even forced them in their camp. Octavius himself, having been carried from his bed to a litter, narrowly escaped falling into the enemy's hands.

On the other wing, Antony likewise had advanced towards the camp of Cassius; but as he was observed, at the same time, beginning to work in the morass, this movement of his army was considered as no more than a feint to favour the other design. Cassius to divert him from his operation in the marsh, drew forth his army likewise; when Antony, seeing Cassius expose his front, mounted the height in his presence, forced him to retire, and even took and pillaged his camp. These separate actions, or the preparations which were made for them, had filled up the greater part of the day. It was already dusk, and the field, for the most part, was covered with clouds of dust; so that no one could see to a distance. Those who commanded on the right in both armies, having put those who were opposed to them to flight, thought that the event was decisive in their own favour. But Brutus and Antony being informed of what had passed on the other wings of their respective armies, neither attempted to keep the advantage he had gained. Disqualified by fatigue or surprise from renewing the contest, they passed each other on the plain, and hastened back to their former stations.

Cassius, after the rout of his division, with a few who adhered to him, had halted on an eminence, where being met by a party of horse sent by Brutus to learn the situation of his friends on the left, and supposing them to be enemies, instantly, with the precipitant despair, which, on other occasions, had proved so fatal to the cause of the republic, presented his breast to a slave, and was slain. The surviving leader of the republican party, spent the night in re-assembling the troops who had been dispersed, formed both armies into one body, and drew the whole into one camp. He still kept his ground at Philippi, and endeavoured to support the courage of the troops, and to replace the activity and military skill of his unfortunate colleague.

Antony and Octavius drew forth their army for many days successively, and were greatly embarrassed with the resolution which appeared to be taken by the enemy, not to hazard a battle. They began to suffer greatly for want of provisions, and felt the approach of winter, which, in a marshy situation, threatened them with growing inconve-

niences. Brutus, to hasten the effects of the season, had turned the course of a river from the hills, and laid under water part of the plain on which they encamped. At the same time a recent calamity, which befell them at sea, increased these distresses, and diminished their hopes of relief. On the same day on which the late battle was fought at Philippi, Domitius Calvinus had sailed from Brundisium, having on board of transports two legions, with two thousand men of the pretorian bands, and a body of horse, convoyed by some galleys, or ships of force. Being met at sea by the fleet of Brutus, consisting of a hundred and thirty sail, under Murcus and Enobarbus, a few of the headmost and best sailing ships escaped; but the remainder being surrounded were sunk or destroyed. Calvinus himself, having been five days at sea, with difficulty escaped to Brundisium.

These tidings had their effect in both armies. In that of Brutus they inspired an unseasonable ardour, and a disposition to commit the cause of the party to the hazard of a battle; in that of Antony and Octavius, they impressed the necessity of a speedy decision.

The troops of Brutus, could not be reconciled to his dilatory plan; they began to complain that a victorious army should be cooped up behind intrenchments, and should be insulted like women; even the officers, pretending to reason on the state of the war, censured their general for losing the opportunity, which so great an ardour in the army gave him of deciding the contest at a blow. Brutus was aware that the army, now under his command, having been trained up as mere soldiers of fortune, had no principle of attachment to either side; that it was necessary to consult their inclinations, as well as to flatter their hopes. In about twenty days after the former action, overcome by mere importunities, he drew forth his army on the declivity before his camp; the enemy, at the same time, according to their usual practice, were forming upon the plain; and both sides foresaw the approach of a general engagement.

The day being far spent in preparing for battle, and noon about three hours already past, the trumpets on both sides having sounded a general charge, made a sudden pause, and sounded again, while both armies being in motion, struck upon their bucklers, advanced with a mighty shout, and, under a shower of missile weapons of every sort, closed with their swords. They continued long with all the fury that kindles in the use of short weapons, to struggle on the same spot. The places of those that fell in the first rank were continually supplied from the ranks behind

them; and the place of action began to be choked up with heaps of the slain. No stratagem is said to have been practised, or any accident to have happened, to determine the fate of the day on either side; but, after a severe contest, the army of Brutus began to give way, at first slowly, and almost insensibly; but being pressed with growing violence, they were thrown into some confusion, and gave up the day without hopes of recovery. In the disorder that followed, Octavius advanced to the enemy's camp to secure, or to keep in awe such as had taken refuge within it. Antony pursued such as were dispersed on the heights, and employed parties of horse all night to scour all the avenues in search of prisoners.

Brutus, in the mean time, having in the dark passed a brook that ran between steep and rocky banks covered with wood, made a halt, with a few friends, on the opposite side, as in a place of safety. Being yet uncertain of the extent of his loss, he sent an officer to observe the field, who returned with an alarm that the enemy were upon the opposite bank; and said, with some agitation, "We must fly." "Yes," replied Brutus, "but with our hands, not with our feet." He then took leave of the company present, one by one, and soon afterwards presented his bosom to one of his slaves and was slain by his hand.

Brutus was then about thirty-seven or forty years of age. Next to Cato he, of all the Romans, was supposed to have acted from the purest motives of public virtue. Cassius had too much elevation of mind to endure a master; but Brutus was likewise too just to have usurped on the rights of his fellow-citizens, even if they had been in his power. His character, however, in some respects, is questionable; and we may not, through the disguise of manners so different from our own, be able to ascertain the truth. Cicero, who is at once the principal author of his fame and of the exceptions which are taken against it, charges him with an uncommon degree of arrogance.

That part of the vanquished army which fled to the heights, being about fourteen thousand men, hearing of the death of the last of their leaders, surrendered themselves, and were equally divided between Octavius and Antony. Those who remained in the camp, or at any of the out-posts of the army, likewise laid down their arms. Of the persons of rank who partook in the wreck of their party at Philippi, some escaped by sea, and joined Sextus Pompeius in Sicily, now the sole refuge of those who adhered to the commonwealth. Others killed themselves, or in the late action had refused quarter, and fought till they were slain.

CHAP. V.

New Partition of the Empire made by Octavius and Antony - Progress of Octavius at Rome - His Friends Mæcenas and Agrippa - Alarm and Distress in Italy on the Dispossession of the Inhabitants to make way for the Troops - Jealousy of Fulvia and Lucius Antonius - Hostilities and Reduction of Perugia - Progress of Antony in Asia - His Stay at Alexandria - Return to Italy - Accommodation with Sextus Pompeius - Return of Octavius and Antony to Rome.

By the battles which had been fought in different parts of the empire, by the late massacre in Italy, and by the event of the war at Philippi, the last pillars of the commonwealth seemed to be removed, or but a few of its members were left who had any zeal for its preservation. Octavius and Antony, upon the total and decisive victory they had gained, without paying any regard to the pretensions of Lepidus, made a new partition of the empire. Octavius, to his former lot, had an addition of Spain and Numidia; Antony that of the farther Gaul and the province of Africa. It was agreed between them, that Antony should prosecute the remains of the war in the east, and that Octavius should return into Italy.

When accounts of the final action at Philippi were received in the city, a thanksgiving was ordered, to be continued for an entire year. Octavius gave notice to the senate, that his coming was delayed by sickness, accepted the decree of a continued thanksgiving for the late victory obtained at Philippi, but desired it might be understood, that this honour was conferred on account of the exemplary justice he had done on the assassins of his father.

About this time, Octavius was known to have in his service two officers of distinguished merit, Marcus Vipsanius Agrippa and Caius Cilnius Mæcenas; both well qualified in their respective parts to support him in the pretensions he had formed on the empire.*

Upon the arrival of the young Cesar at Rome, he gave assurance to the senate of his intention to avoid all unnecessary acts of severity. But the first object of his administration being to settle the veterans on the possessions which they had been made to expect at the end of the war, a general order was signed for the present occupiers of those lands to remove. This was done without any pretence of forfeiture, or delinquency of any sort. The vic-

* U C. 712.

tims of this severity repaired to Rome in entire families; persons of every sex, age, and condition crowded the streets, took shelter in the temples and other places of public resort, and filled the city with complaints and lamentations.

The army now considering the lands of Italy as their property, looked upon every person inclined to protect the ancient inhabitants as their enemy, resented every delay that was made in gratifying their desires, and were equally insolent to their own officers as they were to the people. The cohorts which Octavius retained for the ordinary guard of his own person, treated him, on occasion, with equal disrespect. In these dangerous times, enormities which were committed by disorderly persons of any description being imputed to the soldiers, were suffered to pass with impunity. Robbery and murders became frequent, and at Rome the rent of houses fell to a fourth, and whole streets appeared to be deserted.

In this distracted scene, nevertheless, there were persons who envied Octavius the hateful pre-eminence which he seemed to enjoy. Among these Manius, the person intrusted with the affairs of Mark Antony, Lucius his brother, now in the office of consul, and Fulvia his wife, aspiring to a share of the government, became impatient of an administration from which they thought themselves unfairly excluded. Here persons representing the absent triumvir endeavoured to divide the party, and to add to the scene of political confusion already subsisting a breach and opposition of interest among those who commanded the army.

Octavius, greatly provoked by the attacks which were made upon him by the representatives of Antony, repudiated the daughter of Fulvia, whom, at the formation of the triumvirate, he had betrothed merely to serve a political purpose. Fulvia, affecting to consider this insult as a prelude to greater injuries, appealed to Lepidus in behalf of his absent colleague, and withdrew to Preneste, where she frequently harangued an army lying there.

In these hasty advances to a rupture, representations to Antony, and preparations for war, were equally made on both sides. Octavius being in possession of the capital, in order that he might appear to have, not only the authority of government, but the countenance likewise of all the more respectable citizens of Rome on his side, called an assembly of the senate, at which he invited the equestrian order to attend. He represented to this assembly the calamities that were now impending over Italy from the jealousy and rest-

less ambition of a few persons, who called themselves the friends of Mark Antony, and he exhorted them with one accord to join him in averting these evils. He accordingly obtained a deputation to be sent to Preneste, where the heads of the opposite party were still assembled, to remonstrate against their procedure.

An expedient was proposed, more likely to prevent these evils, by a conference to be held by the military officers of the opposite sides. Gabii being half way from Preneste to Rome, was fixed upon as the place at which they should meet; but on the day on which they were to open their conference, parties of horse having been, from some remains of distrust, without any concert, sent forward on both sides to escort their deputies, and mutually to observe each other, they met unexpectedly on the highway, and coming to blows, numbers were killed or wounded, and the intended convention was dropped.

Each of the parties, in consequence of this accident, published a manifesto, and began to assemble in a hostile manner.

Lepidus declared for Octavius, and these two having left the city together, Lucius Antonius presented himself at the gates, and was admitted. Having assembled the people, he declared that his intention was to restore the republic. His brother, he said, for the future desired no illegal powers, and was ready to join in calling Octavius and Lepidus to account for the tyranny they had lately exercised against the ancient inhabitants of Italy.

In the mean time, the event of this contest appeared to depend on the movements that were making on the side of Spain and Gaul. Salvidienus being on his march to join Octavius, Asinius and Ventidius hung on his rear. Agrippa, on the part of Cesar, passed the Po in order to join Salvidienus; and having succeeded in this design, they obliged Asinius and Ventidius to remain on the defensive, expecting the arrival of Lucius Antonius, who was on his march to support them.

When Antonius came to a pass of the Apennines, on the Flaminian way, he found the gorges of these mountains already occupied by Agrippa and Salvidienus; not attempting to force them, he fell back to Perugia, where he was shut up during the autumn, and part of winter, and all the efforts of Fulvia, Asinius, Ventidius, and Plancus, to succour him being ineffectual, he was reduced, from want of provisions, to the greatest extremities, and capitulated.

Octavius having found among his prisoners some of the veterans who had served under Cesar, he was disposed to have ordered them all to be executed; but observing that this

measure was extremely offensive to his own army, he confined his severities to the Roman citizens, who, he pretended, had on this occasion acted with equal animosity to the army and to himself. To avenge the supposed injury that was done to the army, all persons of the civil description, found under arms, were put to death.

Before the breaking out of this war in Italy, Domitius Calvinus and Asinius Pollio, had been destined consuls; and the year following that, in which the transactions passed, is accordingly dated or inscribed with their names.* They were prevented, however, by this breach between the adherents of Antony and of Cesar, from taking the formal possession of their office.

While the relations of Antony in Italy were engaged in this unfortunate contest, he himself had passed from Greece through Asia into Egypt, where, believing all his difficulties were at an end, he indulged his natural disposition to pleasure and dissipation. At Ephesus he had assembled the principal inhabitants of the province of Asia, and raised a contribution. From Ephesus, he travelled by the coast towards Syria, laid heavy contributions, disposed of lands and country seats, of which he made gifts to his retainers and followers. In his behaviour, he exhibited that dissipation and extravagance, to which he ever returned in the moments of triumph and relaxation, and showed, in the gayety and festivity of his court, a perfect contrast to the melancholy with which the inhabitants of every province were seized on his approach. He had probably seen Cleopatra in Italy, during her intimacy with Julius Cesar; and now, supposing himself come in place of that successful adventurer as head of the empire, he thought of this prize as the reward of his labours, and possibly considered her as the principal object of his journey to the east. Cleopatra sailed to Cilicia with a splendid retinue, and dazzled the Roman triumvir with the profusion of her ornaments, the elegance of her equipage, and the charms of her person. She was now about nine and twenty years of age, and being acquainted with the languages and manners of different nations, particularly instructed in the literature of the Greeks, and being in the maturity of wit and beauty, she joined the arts of a coquet, with all the accomplishments which became the birth and the high condition of a queen. Being invited to sup with Antony, she pleaded that he should begin with accepting her invitation. At their first entertainment, observing that his raillery savoured of the camp, she

* U. C. 713.

humoured him in this manner, and even surpassed him in the freedom of her conversation.

From thenceforward Antony laid aside all business, followed the queen of Egypt to her kingdom, leaving his own provinces exposed to an enemy, by whom they were soon after assailed and overrun; and while this storm was raging in the east, and his brother, with his other adherent, in Italy, were struggling for his share in the government of the empire, and obliged to fly or submit to his rival, he passed the winter at Alexandria in frolic and dissipation.

While Octavius was strengthening himself in Italy, or removing every object of distrust from that country, Antony, with a less pacific appearance than he had hitherto preserved, set out for Athens, and having arrived in Greece, joined his fleet, which had come round the Peloponnesus, and from thence sailed with two hundred galleys for the coast of Italy. He was joined by Enobarbus in his passage, and steered directly for Brundisium. As there was no declared quarrel betwixt himself and Octavius, he expected to be admitted into this port; but being disappointed in this expectation, he landed at some distance from the harbour, and invested or blocked up the town by sea and by land. Having thus committed hostilities, he accepted the alliance of Sextus Pompeius against Octavius, and proposed to him to make a descent somewhere on the opposite coast of Italy, to distract the forces of their common enemy, while he himself continued the siege of Brundisium.

Sextus Pompeius accordingly landed at Thurio, in the bay of Tarentum, made himself master of that place, and of the country from thence to Consentia. He at the same time sent Menas, one of his admirals, into Sardinia, who got possession of that island, and gained to his party two legions that were stationed there.

Octavius sent Agrippa to oppose Pompey, while he himself advanced for the relief of Brundisium, but in a manner which confirmed the former suspicions of his personal courage. Being taken ill on the march, he stopped short at Canusium, and suffered Brundisium to fall into the hands of his rival. Agrippa acted with more vigour; pressed upon the enemy who had landed near Tarentum, obliged them to abandon their conquests, and to take refuge in their ships.

After Antony had got possession of Brundisium, it soon appeared that this unprofitable quarrel was equally disagreeable to the armies on both sides, and each of the leaders, in order to exculpate himself to the troops, endeavoured to

load his antagonist with the blame. In this disposition of the parties, accounts were received of the death of Fulvia, an event which greatly facilitated a negotiation for peace, as it gave hopes of cementing the alliance of parties by a family connexion. It was accordingly proposed that the sister of Octavius, and the widow of Marcellus, should be married to Antony: and, upon this basis, a treaty was framed, including a new partition of the empire, by which all the east, from the Euphrates to Codropolis on the coast of Illyricum, was assigned to Antony. The west, from thence to the ocean and the British channel, was assigned to Octavius. Italy, as the seat of government and the principal nursery of soldiers for the supply of their armies, was to be equally open to both. Lepidus was suffered to remain in the possession of Africa. Enobarbus was included in this treaty, and declared at peace with the heads of the empire; but Sextus Pompeius, notwithstanding his late confederacy with Antony, was still to be treated as an enemy. He was to be opposed by Octavius, while a war with the Parthians was supposed sufficient to occupy the forces of Antony.

Upon the conclusion of this treaty, the leaders gave mutual entertainments, and with every appearance of a perfect reconciliation set out for Rome. They made their entry into the city together, on horseback, and dressed in triumphal robes; they were received by the people, of every rank and condition, with demonstrations of joy, which, under the sense of a deliverance from the prospect of a civil war, that had so recently threatened the inhabitants of Italy, was very general and very sincere.

The pacific appearances, with which the joint sovereigns of the empire made their entry at Rome, were confirmed by the actual marriage of Antony with Octavia; and it was expected, that the late rivals, now become brothers, by this marriage, were to govern for the future, with much cordiality and mutual confidence. In the character of collegiate sovereigns they passed the remainder of the present year, and the whole of the following, at Rome, with great appearance of concord.

Notwithstanding these flattering appearances, Italy still suffered under the distresses of a war, subsisting with those who were in possession of Sicily and Sardinia. Sextus Pompeius, exasperated by the treatment he had received from both parties in the late quarrel and reconciliation, and now possessed of a considerable naval force, blocked up the ports of Italy, and prevented the usual importation of corn. The inhabitants of the towns were reduced to great

distress. Those of the metropolis, in particular, became outrageous, and, in contempt of the military force by which they were governed, rose in serious tumults.

It became necessary, on account of the riots, and the growing scarcity of bread, to open a negotiation with Sextus Pompeius, as the speediest means of relief from the present distress, and an interview was proposed between the parties, to be held at Puteoli in the bay of Baiaæ. This interview was agreed to, and took place at the time and place proposed. After several conferences had been held, it was agreed, that Pompey should remain in possession of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica; that the Peloponnesus should likewise be ceded to him, and a sum of money be paid in compensation for the losses of his family; that all the exiles, now under his protection, except such as were concerned in the death of Cesar, should be restored to their country, and to a fourth part of their former estates; that the navigation of the seas of Italy should be free, and vessels immediately suffered to pass from Sicily, and all the neighbouring countries, which were accustomed to supply the Italians with corn.

Peace being thus concluded, a lively expression of satisfaction was given by the people assembled, as well as by the forces of the respective parties. The leaders mutually treated each other to a feast. Sextus Pompeius afterwards set sail for Sicily; the collegiate sovereigns of the empire set out on their return to Rome; and, in their entry to the city, passed through multitudes, who, on the present occasion, gave very sincere demonstrations of joy.

CHAP. VI.

Alarm of the Parthian Invasion of Syria—Arrangements of Octavius and Antony—Departure of the latter, and Residence at Athens—State of the Commonwealth—Marriage of Octavius with Livia—War with Sextus Pompeius—Actions near the Straits of Messina—Agrippa succeeds to the Command of Octavius's Fleet—His Victory at Sea—Flight of Sextus Pompeius—Breach between Octavius and Lepidus.

SUCH was the state of affairs at Rome, when the accounts which had been successively received from Syria, made the presence of Antony appear to be necessary in that part of the empire which had been specially committed to his care. His lieutenant, Desidius Saxa, in opposing the Parthians had received a defeat, and being unable to brook his

misfortune, had killed himself. In consequence of this catastrophe, the province of Syria was overrun by the enemy.

Upon this report, Antony sent forward Ventidius, to collect such forces as yet remained in the province of Asia, and to give some present check to the immediate progress of the Parthians, while he himself proposed to follow and to conduct the war in person. Before his departure, he obtained from the senate and people the form of an act to confirm all the arrangements which the triumvirs had made respecting the state.

This being done, Antony, attended by his wife Octavia, set out for Athens. Here he learned that the war in Syria was in a great measure at an end; that Pacorus, the son of the king of Parthia, having attacked Ventidius in his camp, was repulsed; that his forces had been afterwards routed in different encounters, and dispersed; and that Pacorus himself was killed.

Antony, upon this termination of a war, which so much alarmed his division of the empire, probably would have been inclined to return into Egypt; but as the presence of Octavia rendered a visit to Cleopatra improper, he determined to take up his residence at Athens. From thence he distributed to his officers their several stations and provinces, and disposed of kingdoms on the frontier to princes who solicited his protection: that of Pontus he bestowed on Darius the son of Pharnaces, and grandson of Mithridates; that of the Jews and Samaritans, on Herod; that of Pisidia, on Amyntas; and that of Cilicia, on Polemon. During the winter he dropped all the retinue of a Roman officer of state, resigned himself to ease, domestic pleasures, and the conversation of the learned.

While Antony thus passed his leisure at Athens, Octavius, whose conduct, on most occasions, is a manifest contrast to that of his colleague, did not fail to avail himself of the advantages of his situation in Italy, the supposed head of the empire, and of the bent of the times to monarchy, by uniting, as much as possible, all the channels of influence in his own person. The concerts of the first Cesar with Pompey and Crassus, though named a triumvirate, were the mere effects of a private combination to overrule the public councils, and to dispose of every preferment, or place of emolument or trust. But the power now exercised by Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, a commission of triumvirate, in so great an exigency of the state, professedly given to restore its tranquillity, and re-establish public order, if it had been freely granted instead of being extorted by force,

was well enough suited to former precedents, and preserved the analogy of Roman forms, insomuch, that if the people had been less corrupted, the government of the republic might have been easily restored.

The titles of senate and people, of consul, pretor, and other magistrates or officers of state, were still retained, and preserved the appearance of ancient formalities, whether in the legislature, or in the exercise of the executive power. The senate consisted of persons willing to submit to, or known to favour, the present usurpation. Even the pretended comitia were retained in form, though they were no longer those overbearing conventions, in which multitudes assembled in a tumultuary manner, assumed the prerogatives of the Roman people, disposed of elections, or carried their own mandates into execution with irresistible force.

As the supreme power, and the exercise of every public function, both at Rome and in the provinces, were now vested in the triumvirs, the ordinary offices of state were filled up merely for the sake of form, or rather that there might be an opportunity to oblige particular persons in their advancement to public honour. The titles of pretorian and consular rank, retained by those who had filled those offices in the commonwealth, were come to resemble the titles of honour by which the nobles are distinguished in our modern Gothish monarchies; and men had, for some time, begun to covet the office, not on account of the power it conferred, but for the sake of the title it was to leave behind, with the persons by whom it had once been possessed.

About this time is dated a considerable alteration made in the Roman law, by the addition of a rule respecting the effect of last wills. This rule is ascribed to Falcidius, one of the colleagues of Octavius in the college of tribunes. Hitherto Roman citizens were free to bequeath their fortunes at pleasure, and to divide them in any proportion among their friends or acquaintance, whether relations or strangers; but by the law of Falcidius, testators were suffered to dispose, by will, of no more than three-fourths of their effects; the other fourth was assigned to the heir at law.

While Antony yet resided at Athens, Octavius passed into Gaul on a progress to review his armies, and to make the proper disposition of his force in the provinces; and it began to appear, that the late treaty, which had been concluded with Sextus Pompeius, was no more than a temporary expedient to procure relief to the inhabitants of Italy

from the distresses with which they had been lately afflicted. The articles were never fully performed by either party. A family alliance which Octavius had contracted with Sextus Pompeius in his marriage with Scribonia, daughter of Scribonius Libo, by whom he had issue, a daughter afterwards so famous by the name of Julia, was likewise, about this time, broke off to make way for his marriage with Livia, a name to be often repeated in the subsequent parts of this history.* Livia Drusilla was the daughter of Livius Drusus, a citizen who had been in open enmity with Octavius and his party; and who, in despair, after the battle of Philippi, with other adherents of the republic, had fallen by his own hands. The daughter had been married to Tiberius Claudius Nero, who also was a declared enemy of the Cesarian faction; and who, in the late contest of parties in Italy, put himself at the head of the ejected landholders of Campania, joined Lucius Antonius, and, on the reduction of Perugia, fled with his family into Sicily, where he took refuge with Sextus Pompeius. Being included in the treaty of reconciliation which was framed at Baiæ, he returned to Rome. His wife had already born him a son, afterwards well known by the name of Tiberius, and was again with child, and six months gone in her pregnancy, when it was proposed, that she should part from her present husband, and bring forth the child, of whom she was then pregnant, under the roof of Cesar.

After complaints had become mutual between Octavius and Sextus Pompeius, a rupture between them was hastened by the defection of Menas, one of Pompey's officers. This person, being intrusted with the command of a fleet in the ports of Sardinia, upon some disgust to his master, entered into a correspondence with Octavius, made offer of his service, and surrendered the island.

As this transaction took place while the treaty was yet supposed to be in force, Pompey demanded that the traitor should be delivered up to him, and the island of Sardinia restored; but was answered, that he himself had been the aggressor, in giving refuge to deserters and fugitive slaves, on receiving this answer, he proceeded to immediate hostilities.

The whole summer was spent in undecisive operations, and several naval actions took place. Both parties however prepared for a vigorous renewal of the contest in the following spring. Pompey himself continued to alarm the coast of Italy during the winter, and sent Apollonhanes,

* U. C. 715.

one of his officers, to make a descent upon Africa.* Octavius gave orders to repair the loss of his ships, and to recruit his land-forces. He had recourse to the assistance of Antony, had hitherto expressed a dislike to the war, and was probably jealous of the accessions of power which Octavius was likely to gain by the destruction of Sextus Pompeius. Antony however, upon this requisition from his colleague, set sail from Greece, and appeared at Tarentum with a fleet of three hundred ships, though still undetermined, it is supposed, which side he should take in the present contest. But Octavia, who had accompanied her husband to Tarentum, had the address to turn the scale in favour of her brother. She undertook to be the mediator of their differences, went on shore, and procured an amicable interview between them. At this meeting they made an exchange of sea and land forces. Antony gave to Octavius a hundred and twenty ships, and had in return twenty thousand legionary soldiers.

The period for which the pretended commission of the triumvirs had been granted by the Roman senate and people being now about to expire, Octavius and Antony, without having recourse to the same form, resumed the exercise of their power for five years longer. And having, in appearance, amicably settled the several points in dispute between themselves, they separated in pursuit of their respective objects, Octavius being intent on the war with Sextus Pompeius, and Antony on one with the Parthians.

While the summer passed in the preparation of harbours on the west coast of Italy, and in the equipment of a proper fleet to encounter that of Pompey, Menas, repenting of his late desertion, entered into a correspondence with his former master; and being assured of pardon, withdrew with seven ships from the fleet of Octavius, then under the command of Calvisius, and returned to his former service. Octavius took this occasion to supersede Calvisius, upon an imputation of neglect, and appointed Agrippa to succeed him in the conduct of the war.

About a year was spent in the equipment of ships, and in training the mariners, which, for the convenience of harbours and docks, was executed at two separate stations; one at Tarentum, under Statilius Taurus, where the ships which had been furnished by Antony still remained; the other in a new harbour at Puteoli, under Agrippa.† Lepidus, to second the operations of Octavius, had assembled his forces on the coast of Africa, and it was concerted that

* U. C. 716.

† U. C. 717.

Sicily should be invaded, about the first of July, in three places at once ; at Lilybæum, the nearest port to Africa, by Lepidus ; at Mylæ, on the northern side of the island, by Agrippa ; and at Taurominium, on the eastern coast, by Statilius Taurus.

Lepidus sailed with the first division of his army, and landed in the neighbourhood of Lilybæum ; while Statilius Taurus, joined by Octavius, embarked with his army, and without meeting with any obstruction, arrived at Taurominium, and landed his forces. Agrippa, however, was less successful in his descent on Mylæ, though he succeeded in defeating the fleet by which he was intercepted. Lepidus, with that part of the army he had landed in Sicily, remained inactive in the neighbourhood of Lilybæum, until having accounts that Octavius was arrived in the island, had united the different divisions of his army at Mylæ, and had obliged Sextus Pompeius to collect all his force in the neighbourhood of Messina, he supposed that the country from thence might be open to him ; and he accordingly, notwithstanding that Plennius, with a considerable body of Pompey's forces, remained behind him at Lilybæum, marched from one end of the island to the other. Having effected a junction with Octavius, they pressed upon Pompey at once with their united forces both by sea and by land, surprised and took the fortress of Mylæ, and threatened to invest Messina, cutting off the communications of his fleet and army with the country in the neighbourhood of that city. In order to avoid these inconveniences, Pompey found himself under a necessity to hazard a battle either by sea or by land, or wherever his antagonists presented an opportunity the most likely to procure him relief. He himself relied chiefly on his naval force ; and accordingly, without seeking for any advantage of situation or surprise, presented himself to the enemy near to Naulochus, between the promontories of Mylæ and Pelorus, and was there met by Agrippa.

The fleets which were now to engage, consisted of about three hundred ships on each side. When formed in order of battle, their lines were nearly of equal extent. They advanced deliberately on smooth water, without any circumstance that appeared to prognosticate the victory on either side. After an obstinate fight, in which the fleet of Pompey already suffered considerably, seventeen of his ships at once withdrew from the action, and stood away for the Straits of Messina. Those that were nearest the land ran upon the shore, and were wrecked or taken ; the remainder being farther at sea, and cut off from their own

harbours, struck and delivered themselves up to the enemy. Of this fleet, twenty-eight ships were sunk; above two hundred and fifty, being the whole that remained besides the seventeen that fled to Messina, were stranded, taken, or burned. Octavius lost only three ships.

Pompey perceiving the extent of his calamity, was seized with despair; made haste to Messina: and embarked for Lesbos, with his daughter and a few persons whom he had chosen to attend him in his flight.

At this time Lepidus being near to Messina, while Octavius still remained at Naulochus, invested the place, and, without consulting his colleague, granted the terms which were asked by Plennius, took possession of the town, and incorporated the troops that had served under that officer with his own army. He now reckoned under his own standard twenty-two legions, with a numerous body of horse, and proposed not only to keep possession of Messina, but to claim the whole island of Sicily as an appendage of his province in Africa. His colleague, already provoked at the precipitation with which he had granted a capitulation to the troops at Messina, loudly complained of the proposal; while both armies saw with dislike the symptoms of an open rupture and of a fresh war, in which soldiers, without any prospect of advantage, even to the victors, were mutually to imbrue their hands in blood, to decide a question of mere jealousy or emulation between their leaders.

Octavius was conscious of a superiority, in the opinion even of the troops who were enlisted to serve under the command of his rival. He accordingly thought this a favourable opportunity to strip him of his share in the empire, and employed proper agents in the camp of Lepidus, and gained many of his principal officers by presents, and by the expectation of greater rewards. At length, thinking the way sufficiently prepared for an open declaration, he presented himself with a party of horse in the front of the camp, at a time when Lepidus was out of the way, entered with a few attendants, harangued the troops, and produced an entire defection.

Lepidus, seeing the desertion of his army complete, submitted to his rival, who gave him leave to return into Italy, where he lived afterwards equally unobserved by those against whom he had been made the instrument of injustice, and by those who had made him their tool.

CHAP. VII.

Forces of Octavius after the Acquisition of Sicily, and the Junction of the Armies of Sextus Pompeius and Lepidus—Mutiny and Separation of these Forces—His Reform of the Army—Expedition of Antony against the Parthians—His retreat—Open breach between Octavius and Antony—Operations of Antony and Octavius on the Gulf of Ambracia—Battle of Actium—Flight of Antony—Immediate Arrangements of Octavius after his Victory—Death of Antony—And of Cleopatra.

IN consequence of the events which had taken place in Sicily, Octavius found himself at once at the conclusion of a hazardous war, and master of all the forces which had been employed in it, whether as friends or as enemies. His fleet now consisted of near six hundred galleys with store-ships and transports; his land army of forty-five legions, which, though supposed to be incomplete, may have amounted to above two hundred thousand men. To these he joined above fifteen thousand horse and twenty thousand irregular infantry. They had been levied for different masters and in different parts of the empire, were persons of different descriptions; originally slaves, as well as free men; natives of Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, and Africa, mixed with Italians and Roman citizens; adherents of Cesar and of Pompey, of Antony, of Octavius, or Lepidus. It was very difficult to dispose of an assemblage consisting of such various and discordant parts. The troops that came over from Sextus Pompeius or Lepidus were to be retained by indulgence and favours, and those who had been the original support of Cesar's fortunes had peculiar merits; all were sensible of their own consequence, and even of a power to dispose of the empire.

Octavius for some time affected to be ignorant of discontents which had arisen among the troops on account of a niggardly donation he had made them, and would have proceeded to make certain arrangements he had planned for separating them, and for placing the legions in quarters remote from each other; but he had reason to doubt that his orders would not be obeyed, and still remained in suspense. When his knowledge of the mutinous spirit that prevailed in the army could no longer be dissembled, he soothed the most clamorous by additional marks of his favour, consisting chiefly of public honours, badges of military service to the men, and the title of senators bestowed on many of the officers. The legions who had served at Mutina and

Philippi, amounting to twenty thousand men, were separately appeased by donations and promises ; were prevailed upon to accept of their discharge from the service, and, without any farther disturbance, to depart from the island.

When this party of the army was removed, Octavius affected to consider those who were gone as the sole cause of the late discontents, and the guilty, he said, being thus separated from the innocent and from the deserving, he made an additional present in money to those who remained, and held out the hopes of convenient settlements, and of plentiful fortunes, at the final expiration of their time in the service. By these artifices, and prudent measures, he effected the proposed separation, and extricated himself from a danger which frequently arises in the sequel of civil wars, and threatens the victor with an overthrow, from that very engine which he had employed to raise his fortunes.

The inhabitants of Italy, and Roman citizens in general, having, among other evils, suffered greatly during the civil war, by the desertion of their slaves, who were readily received, and taken into the levies that were continually forming by different parties ; Octavius took this opportunity as far as it was in his power, at once to repair the loss which had been sustained by the master in the desertion of his slave, and to purge the army of a dangerous class of men, by whom it was overcharged and contaminated. In order to remove them in a manner that should prevent any disturbance on their part, he sent to every legion a sealed order, to be opened on a certain day, bearing, that all who had been in the condition of slaves should be secured ; that as many as were claimed should be restored to their masters ; and that the remainder should be put to death. According to this order, it was reported that thirty thousand were remitted to servitude, and six thousand killed.

About the time that the war in Sicily was kindled, Antony committed the conduct of a war with Parthia to Ventidius. This officer acquitted himself with great honour in the discharge of his trust, recovered the province of Syria, which had been overrun by the Parthians, and drove them back beyond the Euphrates. Upon this account, he was judged worthy of a triumph, and came into Italy to receive this honour.

In the mean time, Antony was eager to gather the laurels which yet remained in this field, or was supposed to be jealous of the victories gained by his lieutenant over an enemy, who, till then, scarcely had yielded any advantage to the Roman arms. Upon his arrival in Asia from his last visit to Italy, it soon appeared that he was still under the

dominion of former passions. He already had two children by the queen of Egypt, who were named Alexander and Cleopatra, but whom the mother likewise distinguished, by the pompous appellations of the Sun and the Moon. Being prevented by the urgency of the service, at this season, from making a visit to Alexandria, he sent an officer of rank, Fonteius Capito, thither, to conduct Cleopatra from her own kingdom into Syria; and having received her in that province, in his way to the Euphrates, among other marks of his liberality, he made her a present of Phenicia, Celosyria, Cyprus, and some part of Cilicia to be annexed to her kingdom.

The army, now mustered by Antony, consisted of sixty thousand Roman infantry, ten thousand Spanish and Gaulish cavalry, thirty thousand irregulars, being an assemblage of horse and foot, and of different nations. While he advanced with this force towards the Euphrates, he made his demand that the Parthians should restore the captives and military ensigns taken with Crassus. This was become a point of national honour among the Romans, and, joined to the late provocation, was made the ground of the present quarrel.

The Roman general had undertaken this invasion of the Parthians, in concert with the king of Armenia. When he arrived in the Lesser Armenia, the season was too far advanced to effect the service he had planned against the Parthians; but having intelligence that the Medes, or people of the Greater Armenia, had joined the enemy against him in the preceding part of the present war, he laid siege to Praaspa or Phraata, the capital of their country; leaving his heavy baggage and engines on the banks of Euphrates with a guard of two legions, under the command of Statianus.

It was found that this city could not be taken by assault, and the Parthians, although they hastened to its relief, knowing that the Roman army had come altogether unprepared for a siege, suffered them at first to remain before it undisturbed. They directed their whole force against Statianus, whom, with the two legions he commanded, they surprised and cut off, and by this means made themselves masters of all the equipage and baggage of the Roman army.

Antony still flattering himself that the town might be obliged to surrender, and that it might, by its spoils, make up for the loss of his baggage, lay before it until he had exhausted all the provisions and forage that was to be found in the neighbouring country. As the enemy pressed upon him, in order to diminish the range from which he received his provisions, he saw the necessity of hazarding a

battle ; and for this purpose, marched from his camp with ten legions, three pretorian cohorts, and all his cavalry. The Parthians affected to abide his attack, but gave way at the first onset, and fled with every appearance of rout and confusion : they were pursued by the Roman infantry for fifty stadia, or about six miles, and by the cavalry over a hundred and fifty stadia, or about eighteen miles. In this action, Antony flattered himself that he had put an end to his troubles from the Parthians ; but, on numbering the prisoners and the slain, he found that only eighty of the enemy were killed, and thirty taken. From this specimen of a victory over the Parthians, he learned to despair of being able to gain any advantage over an enemy, whose defeats were more pernicious to their antagonists than they were to themselves. To complete his mortifications, he found that the garrison of Praaspa had made a powerful sally in his absence, driven his guards from their approaches, and destroyed all the works he had constructed against the town. Judging it vain to renew his attack, or to remain any longer in his present situation, he prepared for a retreat ; on which the Parthian cavalry prepared to pursue him, and when he moved disputed every pass, hung upon his rear and upon his flanks, occupied the springs of water, and laid waste the country before him. Many of the Roman army, overcome by famine and fatigue, expired on the march ; others had laid down their arms, and submitted to the enemy. But the general passed through all these difficulties, as usual, with uncommon constancy and valour, making, in twenty-one days, a march of three hundred miles, under a continual attack of the enemy, in which, it is reckoned that his army was eighteen times engaged in battle. At the end of this march, in reviewing the legions, with which he began to retreat, it was found, he had lost about a fourth of their number ; or, as Plutarch states his loss, twenty thousand foot, and four thousand horse.

It appears that Antony, upon his arrival in the Lesser Armenia, left a considerable body behind him in that country, to check the farther pursuit of the enemy, and with the remainder of the army, arrived at Alexandria, where he endeavoured to conceal his losses, and to efface the memory of his sufferings in the midst of dissipation and pleasure.*

The forces of the empire were now parcelled in two separate lots, under the direction of masters, who were soon to entertain the views and the jealousies of separate

monarchs. Octavius was become the sovereign of Rome, and occupied chiefly in removing obstructions to his government, and in consolidating the arrangements he had made in the state. But Antony, acting as sovereign of the eastern empire, appeared on his part to be altogether intent on the entertainments of the court at Alexandria, on the renewal of the war which he affected to meditate against the Parthians, or on his project against Artavasdes, the king of the Lesser Armenia, who he thought had betrayed him in his late expedition.

In the mean while, according to the arrangements that were made relating to the succession of consuls, Antony was elected into this office; and though not present in person on the first of January, had his name entered on the record.*

Octavius, probably, treading as nearly as he could in the steps of his late uncle, still sought for occasions to keep his armies in service; among these, he projected an enterprise for the reduction of Britain, made the necessary preparations, and proceeded himself to the northern part of Gaul. Here, however, his attention was diverted to Illyricum, to which he advanced and joined Agrippa, who was employed against the Dalmatians, and continued for some months to take a part in the campaign with this favourite officer.

Antony, at the same time, as if equally disposed to have an army inured to service, sought likewise for occasions of war. He renewed his designs against the kings of Armenia and Parthia. In the spring, he advanced to Nicopolis, a place so named, from the victory of Pompey over Mithridates; and managed to get possession of the person of Artavasdes. Upon this the army of Armenia assembled, and considering the throne as vacant, placed upon it Artaxes, the eldest son of the captive king; when being led by this young prince into immediate action they were defeated, and he himself was obliged to take refuge with the Parthians.

Antony contented with this victory, which gave him possession of the country, put his army into winter quarters in the Lesser Armenia, and entered into a defensive treaty with the king of Media, whose daughter, upon that occasion, was betrothed to Alexander the son of Cleopatra.

At the conclusion of these transactions, Antony set out on his return to Egypt, and made his entry into Alexandria with all the parade of a Roman triumph, repeated all the forms which were usual on such occasions at Rome, made a

* U. C. 719.

speech to the people, and ordered a public feast. In these several particulars, seeming to place the inhabitants of Alexandria upon a foot of equality with the Roman people, and prostituting a solemn institution of the Romans to the vanity of a barbarous court, he gave much scandal and offence at Rome. In this time of festivity, he assumed, in the midst of his debauch, not only the eastern dress, and all the badges of royalty, but likewise the attire and designation of a god. He presented Cleopatra to the people, as queen not only of Egypt and Cyprus, but likewise of Africa and Celosyria, and that he associated with her in these titles Cesarion, her supposed son by Julius Cesar. To his own son Alexander, he allotted Armenia, Media, and Parthia, which, though not in his possession, he considered as a certain conquest: to Ptolemy, another of his sons, Phenicia, Syria, and Cilicia, and this mock distribution of the eastern kingdoms was executed in formal deeds or writings, of which copies were ordered to Rome to be deposited in the records of the temple of Vesta, and in the keeping of the virgins.

While Antony indulged himself in these extravagancies at Alexandria, Octavius had the good fortune to disengage himself from foreign wars. Those which he carried on in Dalmatia, terminated in the submission of that people, in their giving hostages for their good behaviour, and in their restoring the colours which had been taken from a Roman army they had defeated under the conduct of Vatinius.

Antony passed the summer at the head of his army in Syria, without having made any attempt against the Parthians. He renewed his defensive alliance with the king of Media; and the parties in this treaty, being to name the powers against whom they respectively wished, in the event of a war, to secure an alliance, the king of Media made particular mention of the Parthians, and Antony named Octavius. At the end of this negotiation, they mutually made an exchange of some troops. Thus Antony made no secret of the distrust which he conceived of his colleague in the empire, or of a breach, which, from their mutual jealousies and provocations, was gradually widening. He affected to treat Cesarion, the reputed son of Julius Cesar by Cleopatra, as the legitimate heir of the Julian family. He likewise retorted on Octavius, the artifice which had been practised against himself, by professing an intention to resign the power of triumvir.

Mutual complaints were publicly made, and supported at Rome. Neither of the parties professed any intention of going to war; but, under various pretences, collected

money, and augmented their forces. They held a continual correspondence by agents and messengers, merely to have an opportunity of observing each other's motions; and soon involved in their disputes and jealousies, such as now composed the senate and assemblies of the people. Cneius Domitius Ahenobarbus, and Caius Sosius, having in consequence of preceding engagements succeeded to the consulate, and being attached to Antony, openly espoused his cause.* Sosius, on the first of January, in entering upon his office, ventured to arraign the conduct of Octavius, enumerated the injuries which he had offered to Antony, and moved the senate for redress.

Octavius on that day absented himself from the senate. At its next meeting he appeared with a numerous body of armed men, seated himself between the consuls, and from that place made his answer to the accusations which in the former meeting had been stated against him, and retorted much blame on his enemies. He called upon Antony, in particular, to return into Italy, and to resign the triumvirate, the period for which that temporary power was created being now expired. No reply being made to this by the friends of Antony, the assembly was adjourned for some days, during which time both the consuls thought proper to withdraw from the city; and not supposing themselves safe within the jurisdiction of a person against whom they had taken so hostile a part, made their retreat into Asia.

Antony, when he received an account of what was thus passing at Rome, being arrived in the Lesser Armenia, on his last expedition into that country, assembled all the senators of his party who were then with his army, laid before them his grounds of complaint against Octavius, renounced in form his marriage with Octavia, and declared war on her brother. At the same time he took a solemn oath, in which he bound himself, at the end of six months, after he should have relieved Italy from the tyranny of Octavius, to restore the government entire to the senate and people, agreeably to the ancient constitution. Having taken this method to gain all those who wished for the restoration of the commonwealth, and having remitted great sums of money into Italy, to be dealt out in presents and gratuities to the army of his rival, instead of pursuing the pretended object of the war in Armenia, he put his army in motion westward. Having Canidius advanced with sixteen legions, he himself conducting the queen of Egypt, who was

* U. C. 721.

to have her share in the enterprise, took the route of Ephesus, where all his ships were ordered to assemble. Of these he had eight hundred sail, of which Cleopatra furnished two hundred completely equipped, together with twenty thousand talents in money.

At Rome war was formally declared against the queen of Egypt, while Octavius, with his usual discretion, to avoid making enemies unnecessarily of those who must have been involved with Antony in any personal attainer, did not include him in this declaration. Antony, in the mean time, advanced with his fleet and army from Ephesus to Samos, and from thence to Athens, where, together with the queen of Egypt, he was received with a flattering pageantry. From thence Antony proceeded to the island of Corcyra, where all his forces assembled, and seemed to threaten Italy with an immediate invasion. Determined, however, to pass the winter in Greece, he sent his fleet into the gulf of Ambracia, and quartered his army in the Peloponnesus, or round the gulf of Corinth, where, besides the ordinary resources of the country, they had continual supplies of every necessary by sea, from Asia and Egypt.

Octavius now holding the office of Roman consul, endeavoured to sink, under this designation of a legal magistrate, his pretensions as a military adventurer, and qualified the troops, which he employed against Antony, as the forces of the commonwealth, assembled to repel the attack of a foreign enemy.* He drew them together on the coast of Apulia, and while he stationed the greater part of his fleet in two divisions at Brundisium and Tarentum, sent Agrippa with a squadron to ply off the harbours of Greece, and to interrupt the naval communications of the enemy.

By the vigilance and activity of Agrippa, many captures were made in the winter, and the conveyance of corn, arms, and military stores from Asia, Syria, and Egypt, intended for the use of Antony's fleet and army, was rendered difficult and extremely precarious. To supply their necessities, both his sea and land forces were obliged to plunder the country around them; and, in the want of horses and carriages, drove the inhabitants like beasts of burden, laden with corn and other provisions, to the sea coast.

In the mean time, Octavius brought his land forces to Brundisium and Tarentum; and from thence, in order to fix the theatre of the war in Greece, he embarked with his

* U. C. 722.

army, and stood for the opposite coast of Epirus. He landed under the promontory of Acroceraunus, the same place at which Julius debarked in pursuit of the war with Pompey; and from this place, ordering the fleet to coast round the head lands, and the island of Corcyra, he marched with the army along shore towards the gulf of Ambracia.

This gulf opens into the channel that separates the islands of Corcyra, Leucadia, and Cephalonia. It is narrow at its entrance; but becomes wider within, and stretches eastward about twenty or thirty miles. At its opening, on the southern shore stood Actium, and opposite to this place stood Toryné, afterwards called Nicopolis. Antony had taken possession of Actium, and having a proper harbour in the gut, commanded the whole navigation of the gulf.

Octavius advancing with his fleet and army from the northward, and having no opposition made to him by the enemy, took possession of Toryné, entrenched himself in a strong post on shore, and stationed his fleet behind him in a creek, which furnished a harbour sufficiently safe. Antony, already posted on the opposite side of the gulf, either did not think himself in condition to prevent the enemy from making this lodgment in his presence, or determined by some other motive, chose to act on the defensive; and thus the armies were stationed, Octavius in Epirus, and Antony in Acarnania, on the opposite sides of the entrance to the gulf of Ambracia. The state of the forces on each side is variously reported. It appears that Antony had five hundred galleys, of which there were many mounting eight and ten tire of oars; that the land army, which had been transported by his fleet, consisted of a hundred thousand infantry, and twelve thousand horse; that Octavius had two hundred and fifty galleys, eighty thousand foot, and twelve thousand horse.

In a variety of manœuvres both by sea and land passed the greater part of summer: but as nothing was decided, Domitius, who, in the preceding year, notwithstanding he was consul, had left his station in the city to join Antony, now disgusted with his conduct, went over to Octavius. A general distrust ensued in the party, and Antony, being distressed for want of provisions, saw the necessity of making his retreat, or of risking a general action. His fleet having suffered greatly in winter from scarcity and from disease, he deliberated whether he should not abandon his ships, and rest his cause on the event of a battle on shore. He determined that the fleet should put to sea; and if permitted, withdraw from the enemy; but if attacked, give battle.

After both fleets had been some time in readiness, Antony's fleet began to form in the straits. He himself, with Poplicola, embarked with the first division on the right, Cælius on the left, and an officer named Marcus Octavius, with M. Justeius in the centre. Octavius also got under sail, turned the headland of Toryné, and formed in a line before the entry of the straits, about a mile from the enemy. The right division was commanded by M. Larius, the left by Aruntius, the whole by Agrippa. Both armies, at the same time, were drawn out on the shore to behold the event : but the fleets, for some time, did not make any movement, and it continued uncertain whether Antony, being still in the road, might not return to his anchors ; but about noon his ships began to clear the straits, and came forward where the sea-room was sufficient for their line. As in this movement the fleets came closer together, Agrippa began to extend his front, in order to turn the enemy's flank ; but Poplicola, on the other side, to keep pace with him, stretching to the same side, the centre of both fleets was equally opened, and they engaged soon after, without any apparent advantage on either side.

The contest, for some time, remained undecided. In the beginning of the action, the queen of Egypt's yacht had been near to the line, and she herself continued to look on the battle, till, overcome with anxiety, affright, and horror, she gave orders to remove her galley to a greater distance, and being once in motion fled with all the sail she could make ; her vessel being distinguished by a gilded poop and purple sails, made her flight be conspicuous to the whole fleet, and drew away from the line about sixty ships of the Egyptian squadron, who withdrew from the action.

Antony, apprehending the consequence of this defection, whether in despair of his fortunes, or in some hopes to rally those who fled, put on board of a quick-sailing vessel, and endeavoured to overtake them. Being observed from Cleopatra's galley, he was taken on board ; but no longer capable of any vigorous or rational purpose, he became the companion of her flight, without any attempt to rally her fleet. The flight of Antony was not for some time observed, and the fleet, notwithstanding the desertion of their leader, continued the action till four in the afternoon, when they were overpowered ; and many of them being greatly damaged in their oars and rigging, were not in condition either to resist or to escape, and fell an easy prey to the enemy. Three hundred ships were taken or sunk, and above five thousand men were killed. The strand was covered with wrecks and dead bodies.

The land army of Antony, having from the heights on shore, beheld the ruin of their fleet, retired to their camp as with an intention to maintain it to the last extremity. They flattered themselves that their general, though forced to yield to his enemy at sea, would make for the nearest port, and again show himself at the head of his legions. These, they said, he never should have left, to commit his fortunes to an uncertain element, and a treacherous ally. In these hopes they remained for seven days unshaken in their duty, and rejected all the offers which Octavius made to induce them to change their party. Being satisfied, however, at last, that their hopes were vain, they consulted their safety in different ways. Some laid down their arms; Canidius himself, who commanded them, withdrew in the night; others, remaining together in small parties, took the route to Macedonia; but, being pursued by the enemy, were separately overtaken, and forced or persuaded to surrender. All the Roman citizens, who had taken refuge in the eastern provinces, all the foreign allies and princes, who made a part of the vanquished army, successively made their peace; and the empire itself now seemed to be reduced under a single head.

Antony having continued his flight by the coasts of the Peloponnesus to the head of Tenarus, without appearing to recover his courage, made a halt at this place, rather from indecision and irresolution, than from any settled purpose respecting the conduct of his affairs. Here he was joined by some ships that remained in the action to the end of it; and being informed by them, that the fleet was entirely demolished, he steered directly for Egypt.

The victor having entirely dispersed, or gained to his own party, all the forces of his rival in Europe, sent such a part of his army into Asia as was thought necessary to finish the remains of the war, and permitted the veterans, whose turn it was to be disbanded, to return into Italy. He himself, in order that he might be at hand to observe the motions of Antony, and to renew his operations in the spring, proposed to pass the winter at Samos. The administration in Italy was committed to Mæcenas and Agrippa; the first intrusted with the civil, the other with the military department. Agrippa returned to Rome with a particular charge of the veterans, who were now entitled to their dismissal, and to the reward of their services. He was chosen for this trust, as having sufficient authority to repress the mutinous spirit which this order of men had ever discovered, as often as they were encouraged by victory to state their pretensions and to overrate their merits. The task, however, was too

arduous even for the daring courage and unblemished reputation of this officer, and Octavius had to pass to Italy in the most tempestuous season of winter to manage the business.

Having pacified the clamours of those who were most urgent; and having been, during his stay at Brundisium, vested a fourth time with the titles and ensigns of consul, he set sail again for the coast of Asia, with intention to give Antony as little time as possible to recollect himself, or to reinstate his affairs.* That infatuated person, upon his return to Alexandria, thinking it might strengthen his own party against that of Octavius, to point out an immediate offspring of the Julian family, and a succession of leaders to the party of Cesar, declared Cesarion, the reputed son of Julius Cesar by Cleopatra, to be now of age, and qualified to enter upon the inheritance of his father. But while he exasperated his enemy by this species of personal insult, he appeared incapable of any rational plan of defence for himself or the kingdom he occupied. No exertions were made on his part to levy troops, fortify the frontier towns, or even to learn the extent of his disasters. While in this humour he was joined by Canidius, the late commander of his land forces at Actium. From this officer he had the melancholy account, that all his armies in Greece were dispersed; that Herod, the king of Judea, had declared against him, and all the princes he had lately placed upon different thrones in Asia had either followed this example, or been displaced; that he had not any possession nor any certain friend beyond the limits of Egypt. Upon receiving this account, he with Cleopatra gave himself up to dissipation, profusion, and continual riot.

In the midst of their seeming indifference to life, both the queen and her lover, however, submitted at times to make advances to Cesar, and to sue for mercy. They despatched their messengers together; but as Cleopatra sent, on her own account, presents of a crown, a sceptre, and a throne of gold, and privately instructed her agent to sound the disposition of Cesar with respect to herself, this crafty politician perceived that she wished to be considered apart from Antony, and endeavoured to encourage her to hope for a separate treaty.

Octavius urged his military operations on both frontiers of the kingdom of Egypt, got possession of Pelusium and of Paretonium; and advanced to the capital, where he found Antony prepared for battle. On the first of August an en-

* U. C. 723.

gagement seemed inevitable ; but the Egyptian fleet being ordered to begin the action, struck their colours, and surrendered themselves without a blow. The cavalry, at the same time, deserted to the enemy ; and the infantry being routed, fled into the city.

Upon this dispersion of all his forces, Antony complained that he was betrayed, and was heard to accuse the queen. This unhappy author of his misfortunes had taken refuge, during the action, with a few attendants, in the monument which, upon a plan of great magnificence, was then recently built for a royal sepulchre. Thither she had already transported all her jewels, money, and most valuable effects.

Antony, hearing a report that she had put an end to her life, and being now arrived at the end of his hopes, and of his efforts, gave his sword to a freed slave, who had promised to use it when required in the last action of friendship to his master ; but Eros, unable to fulfil his promise, instead of killing his master, plunged the sword into his own bosom. Antony then snatching the weapon, wounded himself, but not expiring immediately, he was told as he lay bleeding, that Cleopatra was yet alive, and safe in the monument. Seeming to revive at these tidings, he gave directions that he should be carried to her presence. Upon his coming, she appeared on the battlements ; but under pretence that she feared a surprise, refused to have the gates unbarred, and made it necessary to have him towed over the walls. Although she had wished to disengage herself from this unfortunate man, and had even submitted to betray him, now when she saw him laid at her feet expiring and covered with his blood, she beat her breast, and tore her hair in the agonies of real suffering, mixed with the affectation of pretended passion.

Antony, having somewhat in his mind which he wished to express, called for wine, recovered strength enough to utter a few words, and expired : thus ending his life in the fifty-third, or, according to others, in the fifty-sixth year of his age ; disposed, even in the last scenes of it, to occupy the intervals of relaxation in riot and debauchery ; and verifying, in all the steps of his manhood and age, the charge of extravagance and profligacy, which marked his youth, and his first appearances in public affairs. He was possessed of talents for the council and the field, which he never exerted for any valuable purpose, or rather never exerted at all, except when he was pressed by the most urgent necessity of his situation. In consequence of his connexion with Julius Cesar, and of the place he gained among the military factions, which endeavoured to engross or to divide

his power, he was tempted to consider the Roman empire itself as the scene of his pleasures ; and, in aiming at the sovereignty of the world, experienced those reverses which fully displayed the versatility and instability of his own character. But he fell, at last deserted by every Roman citizen who had ever been attached to his interest ; betrayed by that person to whose caprices chiefly he sacrificed his fortunes, and under the fatal experience, that the utmost efforts of resolution, incited by the sense of extreme necessity, will not always retrieve the errors of past dissipation and folly.

Cleopatra, as soon as the scene in the monument was over, and she had recollected herself, sent an intimation of Antony's death to Cesar, and then probably indulged her hopes, that the great obstacle to her peace being removed, she might obtain that consideration for her separate interests, which Octavius, by insinuations, or expressions of civility, had given her cause to expect. Upon receiving her message, the victor sent Caius Proculeius, a Roman knight, who prevailed upon her to remove to the palace, where she was attended with the usual state and dignity of a sovereign, and in a few days visited by Octavius himself.

Equally anxious to avoid being led in triumph, as the victor was desirous to preserve her for this purpose, Cleopatra, on finding out the intentions of her visitor with respect to herself, instantly took measures to end her life. But in order to elude the vigilance of her keeper, she affected to be resigned to her fate, and pretending to have some business of consequence to communicate to Cesar, she gave his emissary a letter, and charged him to deliver it with his own hands. It contained expressions of exultation at having obtained her end, and having escaped from her enemies. Octavius on seeing this letter, gave orders to prevent what he apprehended was her purpose ; but the queen, at the arrival of the messenger, was already dead, and laid upon a couch of state. No mark of violence appeared on the body of the queen, except a small puncture in her arm ; and she was therefore supposed to have died of a venomous bite, or of a scratch with a poisoned instrument. She was now at the age of nine-and-thirty years, and of these had lived fourteen years with Antony.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PROGRESS AND TERMINATION
OF THE
ROMAN REPUBLIC.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. I.

The Merit or Demerit of Parties in the latter Period of the Roman Republic - Return of Octavius to Rome - His Triumphs and public Entertainments - Reform of the Army - Proposition to resign his Power - Consultation of Agrippa and Mæcenas Preludes to the pretended Resignation of Octavius - That Resignation itself - His Consent to retain a part in the Government of the Empire Distribution of the Provinces - Title of Augustus - The Establishment of Augustus.

THE Roman republic may be supposed to have been hastening to its ruin from the sedition of Tiberius Gracchus, to the time on which we are now entered. A great revolution has been so long in dependence, and more blood has been shed in an age of boasted learning and politeness, than perhaps has been known to flow in any equal period of the most barbarous times.

In judging of those who were concerned in this transaction, we may form our opinions now upon speculative considerations, as they themselves joined their party from motives of interest, ambition, or public virtue. Although it be allowed that, in point of justice, we must give a preference to those who endeavoured to preserve the constitution of their country, and who acted merely in defence of themselves and their fellow citizens; yet in this instance it will be alleged, that the event has had the effect of an experiment, to show that what they strove to perform was

impracticable, and that notwithstanding the justice of their cause, the circumstances of the times were such as to have rendered their success not only desperate, but in a great measure inexpedient. They were born to a republic, it is true; but the people who were destined to govern in that republic could no longer be safely intrusted with government; and to contend for such a trust in behalf of men who were unworthy of it, was a dangerous error, for which the best intentions could not atone. The change therefore from republic to monarchy, it may be alleged, was seasonable; and Cato, with Cicero, Brutus, and all the other partisans of the commonwealth, actuated by a mistaken, though commendable zeal for liberty, would have supported their fellow-citizens in their pretensions to government after they were unworthy of it; in this attempt they fell a necessary sacrifice to their own error; and in their ruin made way for an establishment better fitted to the condition of the age, and to the character of the people, than that for which they contended and bled.

In this manner of stating the subject, we lay the task of vindicating their own conduct on those who endeavoured to preserve, not upon those who destroyed, the republic. But in judging of the merits of men in so distant a scene, we must not proceed on conceptions drawn from the experience of subsequent ages, on our own predilection for monarchy in general, or even on our judgment of its expedience in that particular case; we must suppose ourselves in the situation of those who acted, and who, in the result of this contest, from the condition of equals, were to become master and servant, or lord and vassal. One party strove that they should be masters, the other that they themselves should not be slaves. The latter contended for the rights, which, together with their fellow-citizens, they had inherited, as Romans; they endeavoured to preserve the manners, as well as the institutions, of their country, against the destroyers of both. The other party, at first, under pretence of zeal for higher measures of popular government than those they enjoyed, endeavoured to corrupt the people whom they meant to enslave; and having, upon plausible pretences, got possession of the sword, they turned it against the established government of their country. Neither of those parties, probably, stated the speculative question which we may now be inclined to discuss, whether republic or monarchy was best accommodated to the Roman state in the height of its dominion, and in the full tide of luxury.

The wise, the courageous, and the just alone are entitled to power; the innocent alone are entitled to freedom. But

they who are not conscious of having forfeited their right to either, are undoubtedly justifiable in persisting to maintain it. The virtuous who resign their freedom, at the same time resign their virtue, or at least yield up that condition which is required to preserve it.

Some of the characters, indeed, that appeared in this cause, may require a separate treatment. In that of Cato, virtue was the result of a decisive and comprehensive reflection. To him rectitude of conduct was in itself, without regard to consequences, the supreme object of desire and pursuit. His penetration, as well as courage, in the early endeavours he made, and in the manly steadiness with which he persisted to oppose the designs of Cesar and Pompey, while others wavered, and either did not perceive their intention, or tamely submitted to them, gave him a striking superiority over his contemporaries. He is represented by Cicero, in some instances, as retaining his inflexibility, when some degree of compliance was more likely to preserve the republic. The same censure has been repeated by others; but Cato was present to the scene, had no bye-views to mislead him, and there is not any reason to prefer the judgment of those who censure him to his own. Cicero temporized, made the experiment of what compliance on some occasions could effect, and even flattered himself that he had gained the affections of Cesar and Pompey to the republic, by giving way to the arts which they employed to destroy it.

The natural antidote of vice is restraint and correction; but in great disorders, and where the system itself is corrupted, what is applied for a remedy is sometimes an evil, as well as the disease. They who peruse the history of Rome, under the continued effects of a revolution, which is now accomplished or fast approaching, will find no cause to congratulate the world, on its having escaped from the factions of Clodius and Milo, to incur the evils that arose under Caligula and Nero.

The impossibility of preserving the republic, or its unfitness to remain at the head of so great an empire, is no doubt the most plausible excuse which is made for its subversion; but this apology neither Cesar nor Pompey was entitled to make for himself. Cesar affected a zeal for popular government, and Pompey strove to inflame all its evils, in order to render himself necessary to the aristocracy. Cesar fomented political troubles, in order to weaken the hands of the senate, or in order to find a pretence to make war upon them; and at last, under the show of releasing the people from the tyranny of that body, drew that sword with which he accomplished the ruin of both.

With such citizens as the Gracchi, as Apuleius, as Marins and Cinna, Clodius and Milo, it was difficult to preserve a republic; but with such citizens as Cesar and Pompey, it was altogether impossible.

Of the two Cesars, the first possessed the talent of influencing, of gaining, and employing men to his purpose, beyond any other person that is known in the history of the world; but it is surely not for the good of mankind that he should be admired in other respects. To admire even his clemency, is to mistake policy and cunning for humanity. The second Cesar, in the part which he acted against the republic, is in many respects more excusable than the first. He entered the scene when the piece was much farther advanced, when his countrymen had submitted to monarchy, under the title of a perpetual dictatorship, and when he himself was considered as the heir of a person who had possessed this pre-eminence. The first Cesar strove against those who endeavoured to preserve their own rights and those of their country; the second, although he succeeded to the same quarrel, and actually paid no respect to the republic, more than was necessary to cover his design against it, yet appears, more than the first, in the light of a person who strove only with the rivals of his own ambition, and with his competitors for the succession of his uncle and adoptive father, who, having declared him the heir of his fortune, gave him a pretence to support the pre-eminence he himself had gained.

This apology, nevertheless, though more powerful in its application to the case of the second Cesar than to that of the first, is very imperfect in its application to either. If Octavius had been educated under any impressions of hereditary right to the sovereignty of the Roman republic, the fate of the person from whom he derived his supposed right, and the subsequent, though temporary, re-establishment of the commonwealth, which he witnessed, and which he pretended to approve, were sufficient to have undeceived him.

Octavius, however, is not perhaps to be tried so much in the capacity of a Roman citizen born to the republic, as in that of leader of a party, born at a time when the competition for superiority was general, and when sovereignty or death were the alternatives to be chosen by persons of such rank and pretensions as his own. In this capacity he effected what his grand-uncle and adoptive father had taught him to aim at; the suppression of civil government, and the removal of all his own competitors for power.

As Pompey, with Cato and the principal supporters of the senate, had sunk under the first Cesar; so Brutus, Cassius,

and the other restorers of the commonwealth, with the last of the family of Pompey, sank under Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus; and the two last, in their turn, having sunk under Octavius, this successful adventurer now remains sole commander of all the armies of the republic, and sole master of all its provinces, from the banks of the Euphrates to the sea of Britain. And the contest for this mighty sovereignty being now at least decided, it remains that we observe what new form the world is to receive under the dominion of its master, or what mighty harvest is to be reaped by him who is in possession of the field, and who is now enabled to gather what so many heroes had sown or planted, and what so many pretenders to the same object would have ravished or torn from each other.

Octavius, though inferior to his uncle in the capacity of a soldier, being equally master of every necessary artifice, had recourse to the use of clemency when it suited the state of his affairs. His steps became gradually less bloody, from the first fatal proscription to the last victory which he obtained over Antony; and in this he reversed the order that was observed by the first Cesar.

Upon the reduction of Egypt, the victor, though pretending to act in the capacity of Roman consul, did not, as in former times, refer to the senate the arrangements to be made in his conquest; nor did he wait the formality of a commission from Rome, authorizing him to settle the provinces. He deprived the Egyptians of all the forms of their monarchy; and, in order to efface the memory of their national independence, and to discontinue pretensions which the inhabitants of Alexandria used to support by tumults and revolts, he abolished all their public assemblies and national councils. He forbade the resort of Egyptian nobles to Rome, and of Roman senators to Egypt.

While Octavius made these arrangements in Egypt, he secured a great treasure; and being, from these funds, prepared to acquit himself of the pecuniary engagements he had come under to the army, and enabled to make donations to the populace of Rome, he set out on his return to Italy; but having stopped in the island of Samos, while the army in separate divisions was moving to the westward, he passed the winter at this place, deferring his arrival at Rome until the troops should be assembled, and every other circumstance prepared for the triumphal entries he meant to make into the capital.

During his stay in Samos, the neighbouring towns and provinces vied with each other in flattering and servile demonstrations of submission to his person, and of zeal for

his cause. In Italy, at the same time, similar or more important tributes of adulation and servility were paid to the victor. At Rome, all the honours with which the republic had been accustomed to reward the eminent service of her citizens, had been for some time lavished on those who were most successful in subverting her government; and these honours were now heaped on Octavius with a profusion proportioned to the ascendant he had gained by the suppression of all his competitors. The statues which had been erected to his rival Mark Antony were broken down, the gates of Janus were ostentatiously shut, and Octavius declared to be the restorer of peace to the world.

On the first of January, while Octavius was still at Samos, he being admitted a fifth time into the office of consul, the senate and people took an oath of allegiance, or in words more nearly corresponding to the terms of their language, took an oath to observe his acts and decrees.* They declared him tribune of the people for an unlimited time, and extended the powers of this office beyond the usual bounds of the city. They ordained that from thenceforward the appeals usually made to the people should be made to Cesar alone; and that, in criminal judgments, what was called the vote of Minerva, an act of grace provided for the pardon of criminals when condemned only by a single vote of majority, should from thenceforward be ascribed to him, and consequently be termed the Mercy, or the Vote of Cesar.

Octavius having, by his stay in the island of Samos, given sufficient time for the transportation of his army, and the other apparatus of his triumph into Italy, set out for that country, and in his way visited the scene of his late victory at Actium. At Toryné, where his own army had been stationed before the engagement, he directed a city to be raised under the name of Nicopolis. Upon his arrival at Rome, he exhibited three separate triumphal processions. The first for his victory over the Panonians, the Japydes, and the Dalmatians; the second for his victory at Actium; and the third for the conquest of Egypt. In the first of these triumphs Carinus, by whom the war of Illyricum had been chiefly conducted, was admitted to partake with the commander under whose auspices the subject of triumph had been gained. In the third was exhibited a scene, which, for riches and splendour, greatly surpassed any of the former, being enriched with the treasure he had amassed in Egypt, and with various trophies constructed from the

spoils of that country. Among these were carried the effigy of the late queen, followed by her surviving children, who were led as captives.

In this procession, the conqueror having passed to the capitol, deposited in the temple of Jupiter, sixteen thousand pondi, or a hundred and sixty thousand ounces of gold, with fifty millions in Roman money, or above four hundred thousand pounds sterling; and at the close of the ceremony distributed a thousand sestertii, or above eight pounds of our money a man to the troops; and this, to an army consisting of one hundred and twenty thousand men, amounted to a sum of near a million sterling. To the officers, besides his pecuniary bounty, he gave honorary rewards.

These accumulations and distributions of foreign spoils at Rome, or the general expectations of prosperous times, produced great or very sensible effects in raising the price of houses, lands, and other articles of sale, whether in Italy or in the contiguous provinces; a circumstance which, joined to the new and strange appearance of the gates of the temple of Janus being shut, as a signal of universal peace, made these triumphs of Octavius appear an era of felicity and hope to the empire.

Octavius, after indulging the people in their disposition to amusement and dissipation, gave the necessary attention to his military arrangements, and took measures to secure the possession of that principal support, on which sovereignty, in such an empire, must be founded. The legions assembled at Rome, on occasion of the late triumphal processions, were now to be distributed to what were intended as their ordinary stations in time of peace. Of these stations, the principal were on the Euphrates, on the Rhine, and on the Danube; but before this distribution could be finally made, some troubles, which, notwithstanding the late signal of general peace, still subsisted in some parts of the empire, particularly on the Moselle and the Rhine, in the interior parts of Spain, and on the confines of Macedonia, required attention.

The officers employed on these different services, were no longer, as formerly, supreme in their respective stations, and accountable only to the senate and people; they were understood to be lieutenants of a superior officer acting as general governor over all the provinces, and commander-in-chief of all the armies in the empire. This supreme command Octavius held under the well known name of *imperator*, which was usually given in the field to victorious generals, and which he, contrary to former practice, now retained even in the city; and, as we shall have oc-

casion to observe, gradually appropriated to himself and his successors.

In the character which Octavius now assumed, he united, in support of his authority, the prerogatives of consul, censor, and tribune of the people; and thus, in divesting himself of the name of triumvir, he affected to re-establish the constitution of the republic, and to restore the ordinary magistrates and officers of state.

Several considerations, probably, suggested to Octavius the necessity of endeavouring to strengthen his title. He had hitherto kept possession of the government under various pretences; but never declared any intention to realize, or to perpetuate the sovereignty in his own person. For some time, he had professed no more than a desire to avenge the death of his relation Julius Cesar. Next, he pretended to remove some disorders which had crept into the commonwealth; and, last of all, to oppose the designs of Antony.

This last pretence being now removed, it was become necessary that Octavius should more fully explain himself, and declare upon what footing he was to hold the government. Octavius, having taken the most effectual measures to secure his power, still thought it necessary to affect a purpose of resigning it, and of restoring the republican government. It is reported, that he even held a serious consultation on this subject with his principal advisers and confidants, Agrippa and Mæcenas. This fact may be questioned; but in a character so entirely made up of artifice and design, it is not unreasonable to suppose that he wished to disguise his thoughts even to his most intimate counselors, or to secure their approbation before he disclosed his real intentions.

Agrippa and Mæcenas are said to have been of different opinions respecting the propriety of their master's resignation; and the question accordingly, as it was supposed to be debated in this famous council, has furnished a curious theme to historians and rhetoricians. Agrippa encouraged Octavius to persist in his supposed intention to resign his power, and supported this opinion, by stating the advantages of republican government; while Mæcenas took the opposite side, and contended for the necessity of a new species of government, in circumstances so different from those in which the republic had been formed.

In the result of this consultation, it is said, that not only Octavius, but Agrippa likewise, embraced the opinion of Mæcenas; and that they, from thenceforward, considered the secure establishment of the monarchy as the common object of all their councils. They appear to have agreed,

that Octavius should treat the senate as he had in this conference treated his friends; that he should propose to resign his power, affect to make his continuing to hold it the result of their own deliberations, and, by these means, obtain the sanction of a legal establishment.

To smooth the way to this end, some previous steps were yet to be taken. The senate, on whose readily embracing and acting the part that was expected from them the whole depended, was to be scrutinized and purged of all members, who were, by their love of republican government, or by any other circumstances, likely to mar the design.* In order to cultivate the dispositions with which he already endeavoured to inspire the senate and the people, he himself, in conjunction with Agrippa, entered on the office of consul for the sixth time, and divided the fasces with him, as usual in the purest times of the republic. In proceeding to their principal object, which was to reform the senate, they made a review or census, as usual, of all the different orders of the commonwealth; and having, in consequence of the late troubles, much property as well as public honours in their power, they had an opportunity to enrich, as well as to promote those whom they wished to oblige; and accordingly made such a distribution of estates and dignities, as plainly showed, that obsequiousness to the will of Cesar was the road to distinction and fortune.

At this census or review of the people, the Roman citizens were found to amount to four million one hundred and sixty-four thousand men fit to carry arms.† So much had their number, without any increase of population, augmented by the continual admission of the freemen of entire towns and provinces, upon the rolls of the people. The senate consisted now of persons occasionally intruded by the parties lately contending for superiority; many, in particular, named by Antony, and who, during the late struggles, endeavoured to support the cause of their patron. These, more especially, it was the object of Octavius to remove; but being desirous to court all orders of men, as well as to set aside his enemies, he affected a reluctance in expelling particular persons, and recommended to those, who were conscious of any disqualification, voluntarily to withdraw their names. In consequence of this intimation, fifty senators retired, probably most of them conscious of a disaffection to the reigning power. One hundred and forty

* U. C. 725.

† The whole number of souls must have exceeded sixteen millions. Eusebii Chronicon.

more were struck off the rolls. In discharging this invidious service, Octavius was guarded by ten chosen senators, who surrounded his person with concealed weapons, and is said himself to have been cased in armour under his robe. He, at the same time, under pretence of rendering the order itself more independent and more respectable, raised the money qualification of a senator from eight to twelve hundred thousand sesterces;* and, without any personal imputation, affected to exclude some senators for the want of this new qualification, while he contrived to gain others by making up the deficiency in their fortune from his own coffers.

At this period Octavius paid special attention to the people in their usual vices of idleness and dissipation; he also avoided laying any new burdens, cancelled all arrears due to the treasury within the city, and increased fourfold the gratuitous distributions of corn. To these popular arts, he joined a species of amnesty of all past offences and differences; repealed all the acts, which, during the late violent times, the spirit of party had dictated; and, to quiet the apprehensions of many, who were conscious of having taken part with his enemies, he gave out that all papers or records seized in Egypt, upon the final reduction of Antony's party, were destroyed.

At the close of this memorable consulate, Octavius laid down the fasces, and, agreeable to the forms of the republic, took the usual oath of declaration, that he had faithfully, and with his utmost ability, discharged the duties of his station.† Being destined to the same office of consul for the following year, he resumed the ensigns of power; and thinking the senate and people, by the steps he had already taken, sufficiently prepared for the subject he meant to bring under consideration, he, on the Ides, or thirteenth of January, surprised them with a direct and full resignation of all the extraordinary powers which he held in the empire. This solemn act he accompanied with a speech, which, according to his usual practice, having committed to writing, he read. Being sensible that his sincerity would be questioned, and that his having taken the most effectual measures to obtain and secure the government was but an ill indication of his intention to resign it, he employed a great part of his harangue in removing suspicions, not merely by assurances of sincerity, but by arguments likewise drawn from general topics of probability and reason.

As soon as this speech was ended, notwithstanding the

* From about 7000*l.* to 10,000*l.*

† U. C. 726.

many evils which had been recently felt under the republic, it is probable, that if Octavius had appeared to be sincere in making it, his proposal to restore the commonwealth would have been received with joy. The majority of the meeting, however, was surprised and perplexed. There could be no doubt that Octavius wished to have his proposal rejected ; but it would have been an ill manner of paying court, to appear to have seen his design. It was necessary to affect implicit faith in the sincerity of his purpose, and at the same time withstand the execution of it in a peremptory manner. This ground being pointed out by those who were in concert, or by those who had discernment enough to perceive it, was instantly seized by the whole assembly. They beseeched Octavius, as with one voice, not to abandon the commonwealth ; observed, that services, still greater than those he had already performed, were yet due to the republic ; that the fear of his intending to resign the government, had already filled the minds of the people with a cruel anxiety ; that he alone could quiet their apprehensions, by not only remaining at the head of the empire, but by accepting the government in such a formal manner, as would give them assurance of his continuing to hold it.

To this request Octavius was inexorable ; but he was prevailed upon not to lay the whole load of administration at once on the senate. He was willing to administer some part of the government for a limited time, and to retain the command of the army for ten years. He agreed to take charge of such provinces on the frontier, as, being contiguous to warlike and hostile neighbours, were exposed to frequent invasion ; but such as were already pacific, and accustomed to civil forms, such as were reconciled to the tribute which they paid, he insisted that the senate, as the more easy and profitable part of the government, should take under their own administration.

By this imaginary partition of the empire, the provinces which in Africa had formed the states of Carthage and Cyrene, with the kingdom of Numidia ;—in Europe, the more wealthy and pacific parts of Spain, the islands of Sardinia, Sicily, and Crete ; with the different districts of Greece, Epirus, Macedonia, and Dalmatia ; and beyond the *Ægean* sea, the rich province of Asia, with the kingdoms of Bithynia and Pontus, were committed to the jurisdiction of the senate.

The emperor still retained, under his own immediate charge, the more warlike districts in Spain, in Gaul, and in Syria, with the kingdom of Egypt, and all the great military nations and resorts of the legions on the Euphrates, the

Danube, and the Rhine. Some time afterwards, under pretence of a war which arose in Dalmatia, he accepted of this province, in exchange for the island of Cyprus, and the district of Narbonne.

It was understood that the emperor and the senate in their quality of partners in the sovereignty, should have the nomination of governors in their respective provinces; that those named by the senate should be civil officers merely, with the title of proconsul, but without the power of the sword or any military rank, and they were not to remain in office longer than one year, that the officers to be named by the emperor were to have military rank, with the title of proprætor, and were to act in the capacity of his lieutenants, accountable only to himself, and to hold their commissions during his pleasure. The provinces of the Roman empire had been hitherto not so much the demesne of the commonwealth, as the property of private citizens, by whom they were conveyed from one to another by quick succession. As they were received in trust for the republic, without any particular assignment of a share in the profits, great part was diverted to private uses, or where great sums were to be accounted for to the state, there was much extorted likewise to enrich individuals by speculation and oppression. From their stations abroad, the officers of the republic returned with the spoils of the provinces to purchase importance at Rome. If they were frequently changed, the empty hand was often held out with fresh rapacity, and the full one brought back with quicker succession to corrupt the city; if continued too long, they acquired the force of great monarchs, got possession of armies and of revenue, and had sufficient resources of men and money to enable them to make war on the state. The republic had often tottered under the effect of disorders which arose in the capital, but fell irrecoverably under the blows that were struck from the provinces.

It is evident that the head of the empire, of whatever description, whether a commonwealth or the court of a monarch, could not be safe under this distribution of power and trust. Measures were accordingly now taken by Octavius to reform the establishment, and to reduce the provincial officers to their proper state of subordination and dependence. The duties they were to levy, and their own emoluments, were clearly ascertained. The greater provinces were divided, and separate officers appointed to each division. Neither men nor money were to be levied without authority from the emperor and the senate, nor was any officer, to whom a successor was appointed, to remain

in his command, or to absent himself from Rome above three months. To secure the observance of these regulations, and to accelerate the communication from every part of the empire, an institution, resembling that of the modern posts, was for the first time introduced in the ancient world.—Couriers were placed at convenient stages; with orders to forward from one to the other the public despatches. It was afterwards thought more effectual, for the purpose of intelligence, to transport the original messenger to Rome.

The senate, in return to the emperor's gracious acceptance of the government, proceeded to distinguish his person, and even the place of his residence, by many honorary decrees. They took into their serious consideration, by what title he should for the future be known. The title of Augustus was accepted by him, rather as an expression of personal respect, than as a mark of any new or unprecedented dignity in the commonwealth.

Octavius from henceforward came to be known by the name of Augustus. He had been some time the object of fear, and consequently of adulation to the people, and was now probably become the object of that fond admiration with which the bulk of mankind regard those who are greatly elevated by fortune. Under the effect of this sentiment, or supported by the prevalence of it, citizens of high rank took an oath to interpose their persons in all his dangers, and if he must die, to perish with him; the dying, under pretence of bequeathing some legacy to Augustus, introduced his name in their wills, with a lavish encomium or flattering character.

CHAP. II.

State of the Emperor—Condition of the Empire—Amount of the Revenue unknown—Military Establishments, &c.

IN what degree the court which began to be paid to Augustus, and which continued during his reign proceeded from design and servility, or respect and affection, we must endeavour to collect from a farther view of his life, and must suspend our judgment until the scene of his trial is passed. At the late formal establishment of the monarchy in his person, he was in the thirty-fifth year of his age, and had still the aspect of youth. His complexion is said to have been fair, his eyes bright, and his features regular and

elegant. He was well made in his person, and though below the middle stature, had so much the proportions of a tall man, as, except when compared with some person who overlooked him, to appear above the ordinary size. Two-and-twenty years of a life so little advanced, he had passed in the midst of civil wars, and in the contest for empire, which was begun by his adoptive father, and maintained and conducted to a favourable termination by himself.

Being victorious in that contest, Octavius became sovereign of the Roman empire at the age of three-and-thirty years, the same age at which Alexander, with the greatest efforts of ability and courage, which were afterwards marred by equal instances of intemperance and folly, effected the conquest of the Persian monarchy. Much, no doubt, in the fortunes of men, is to be imputed to accident. To this they owe, at least, great part of the occasions on which they act; but the use of the occasion, and sometimes a preparation of it, is their own; and nothing besides the most consummate abilities can, through a great variety of scenes, retain the uniform appearance of a fortunate life. Octavius, with the same address with which he supplanted every rival in the contest for power, continued to avoid every offensive appearance in the model of his government. He still retained the forms of the commonwealth; and, besides the title of Augustus, did not introduce any new appellation of dignity or of office.* Every possible power under the republic had been implied in the titles of consul, censor, augur, pontiff, and tribune of the people. In the character of consul, the new emperor presided in the senate, and was first executive magistrate in the city. In the character of tribune he could not only suspend all proceedings, whether of administration, of public council, or of justice; but likewise could punish with instant death any breach of the peace, or any attempt that was made on his own person. In the capacity of censor, which was now comprehended in the office of consul, he was the fountain of honour, could pry into every citizen's private life, and could promote or de-

* The title of *Princeps* had been usually given to the person whose name was first in the rolls of the senate, and Augustus assumed it in no other sense than this; that of *Imperator* had been given to every successful leader of an army, and in its application to Octavius, implied no pre-eminence above what other leaders had formerly enjoyed. These titles, indeed, by being from henceforward appropriated to the sovereign, acquired, by degrees, their significance in the original language; and in our translation of them into *Prince* and *Emperor*, are applied only to royal persons, and the sovereigns of extensive dominion.

grade, at pleasure, every person who had courted his favour, or incurred his dislike. In the capacity of augur and pontiff he could overrule the superstition of the times; and, last of all, in the capacity of imperator, or head of the army, he held, at his disposal, all the forces of the empire, both by sea and by land. The republic, at the same time, retained most of its forms. There were meetings of the senate, and assemblies of the people; there were laws enacted, and elections made; affairs proceeded as usual in the name of the consul, the censor, the augur, and tribune of the people. The only change which happened, and that which the emperor endeavoured to disguise, was, that he himself acted in all these capacities, dictating every resolution in the senate, and pointing out every candidate who was to succeed in the pretended elections.

The apparent respect which, under the present establishment, was paid to civil forms implied no abatement of the military power. On the contrary, instead of weakening, it served to support, as usual, the authority of that government, under which these forms were observed. By flattering the people with an idea that their political consequence was still entire, this semblance of the ancient republic reconciled them to the state of degradation into which they were fallen. It vested the emperor himself with a species of civil character, and with a political consideration which he could employ in support of his military power, and which, in some measure, secured him against the caprice of troops, who might think themselves entitled to subvert what they alone had established.

This was probably the whole amount of the political establishment now made by Octavius, and which he meant to employ as a stock on which to ingraft his military power. The senate and assemblies of the people were retained only in name, and were far from having the energy of collateral members in the government, such as could check or control the perpetual executive, which was now established in the empire: but we shall nevertheless be disappointed, if, upon a supposition of absolute power in the emperor, we expect, in his court, the splendour and magnificence of royalty. Octavius still lived in the house of Hortensius, a Roman senator, which he occupied without making any addition to it, either in point of dimension or ornament. The equipage, retinue, or accommodation of the imperial family was not composed for show and magnificence, as in monarchies long established. The emperor indeed was attended with an armed guard; but this was intended for safety, and not for parade. He preserved, in his own person, the exterior ap-

pearances of a citizen, was accosted by the simple name of Cesar, took his place in the senate, in the theatre, in the public assembly, on the bench of judges. At funerals he pronounced the oration that was delivered in honour of the dead; and even at the bar appeared in behalf of his clients. The females of his house preserved the virtue of notable housewives, and fabricated, with their own hands, the stuffs which he wore in his dress.

If in this account of the sovereign's person and state our expectations of grandeur are not fulfilled, his dominions will surpass the highest and most enlarged conception we can form of their greatness. The Roman empire contained within itself, and in a very entire and populous condition, what had been the seat or territory of many famous republics and extensive empires, or what has since, in modern times, upon the revival of nations, furnished their possessions to no less considerable states and great monarchies. It seemed to comprehend, within itself, all the most favourable parts of the earth; at least, those parts on which the human species, whether by the effects of climate, or the qualities of the race, have, in respect to ingenuity and courage, possessed a distinguished superiority. It extended to a variety of climates, and contained lands diversified in respect to situation and soil, distributing the productions of nature and art, so as to render its different divisions mutually useful and subservient to each other. The communication between these parts, though remote, was easy, and by a sea which, with the species of shipping then in use, and with the measure of skill which the mariner then possessed, could be easily navigated. The Mediterranean being received into the bosom of this empire, gave to the whole a greater extent of coast, and to the inland parts an easier access to navigation, than could be obtained by any different distribution of its land and water. In consequence of this circumstance, the coasts of the Roman empire, without measuring minutely round the indentures of creeks and promontories, and even without including the outline of some considerable as well as many smaller islands, may be computed at thirteen thousand miles.

In forming this mighty dominion, the republic had united, under its territories, all the principal seats of industry then known in the western world, had come into possession of all the seaports the most famous for shipping, and for the residence of merchants who had conducted the carrying trade of the world. But, in making these acquisitions, the capital of the empire had been a place of arms, and a mere nursery of statesmen and warriors, more occupied with the

ideas of spoil and further conquest, than with the attentions necessary to promote the industry or the prosperity of the nations subjected to its power. And it is probable that the Romans, in reducing so many separate nations to the condition of provinces, greatly impaired the sources of wealth, at the same time that they suppressed the pretensions to independence and national freedom.

It were, no doubt, matter of curiosity to know the whole amount of a revenue collected from so rich and so extensive a territory; but we are deprived of this satisfaction by the silence of historians, or by the loss of records in which this subject was stated. Vespasian was heard to say, That a sum, supposed equal to about three hundred and thirty millions sterling, was required annually to support the imperial establishment. But as this sum is beyond the bounds of credibility, and must lead us to suspect a mistake in the numbers, it will not enable us to form any probable conjecture of the truth.

Under the establishment now made by Augustus, conquests were discontinued, or became less frequent; and the returns made to the treasury, from the spoil of enemies, failed in proportion; but the avidity of receiving presents, the worst form under which extortion can be exercised, was still indulged, and, as in every other despotical government, became a considerable engine of oppression. The Romans, in continuing the taxes which they found already established in the countries they had conquered, or by imposing such new ones as suited their own character as conquerors, set examples of every species almost that is known in the history of mankind. They levied customs at seaports, excises on many articles of consumption, and a considerable capitation or poll-tax, in which they made no distinction of rank or fortune. These modes of taxation, already known under the republic, and various in different provinces, now began to be regulated upon the maxims of a general policy, extending over the whole empire. Some of the burdens laid by Octavius, as that which was imposed on the value of goods exposed to sale, were charged directly for the benefit of the army as a fund for the discharge of their pay, or an immediate supply for their subsistence or clothing; and by this sort of impropriation were unalterably fixed. The country where any troops were quartered, was charged, for their use, with supplies of straw, forage, carriages, corn, bread, provisions, and even clothing.

From such particulars, we may form some conception of the mode and tendency of Roman taxation, although we

have no certain accounts, or even probable conjecture, of the amount of the whole.

Three capital fleets were stationed by Augustus for the security of the coasts; one at Ravenna, near the bottom of the Adriatic Gulf; one at Forum Julii, on the opposite side of the peninsula; and a third at Misenum, the principal promontory or headland of Campania. Besides these, there were numbers of armed vessels destined to ply in all the gulfs and navigable rivers throughout the empire.

The ordinary military establishment consisted of about five-and-forty legions, besides cavalry and city and provincial troops. The whole, reckoning each legion, with its attendants and officers, at six thousand men, and making a reasonable allowance for cavalry, may have amounted to three hundred thousand. Of the manner in which this army was distributed, the following particulars only are mentioned: on the Rhine there were stationed eight legions; on the Danube, two; on the frontiers of Syria, four; in Spain, three; in Africa, in Egypt, in Mysia, and Dalmatia, each two legions; in the city were nine, or, according to others, ten cohorts, in the capacity of guards, or pretorian bands, to attend the person of the emperor; and, together with these, three cohorts of a thousand men each, intended as a city watch, to be employed in preserving the peace, in extinguishing fires, and in suppressing any other occasional disorder.

For the farther security of the empire, considerable territories on the frontier, which might have been easily occupied by the Roman arms, were suffered to remain in the possession of allies, dependent princes, or free cities and republican states, who, owing their safety to the support of the Roman power, formed a kind of barrier against its enemies, were vigilant to observe, and ready to oppose every attempt of invasion, and were prepared to co-operate with the Roman armies, and to support them with stores and provisions as oft as they had occasion to act in their neighbourhood. Thus the kings of Mauritania, of the Bosphorus, of the Lesser and Greater Armenia, of Cappadocia, Com-magené, Galatia, and Pamphilia, with Paphlagonia, Colchis, and Judea, together with the republican states of Rhodes, Cyrene, Pisidia, and Lycia, acted under the denomination of allies, as advanced parties on the frontiers of the empire, and encouraged by the prospect of a powerful support, were ready to withstand every enemy by whom their own peace, or that of the Romans, was likely to be disturbed

CHAP. III.

The Family and Court of Augustus—His pretended Renunciation of the Empire renounced—The exercise of his Power becomes less disguised—Death of Agrippa.

IN the Roman empire, thus subjected to a monarch, though planted with races of men the most famed for activity and vigour, it has been observed, that the materials of history became less frequent and less interesting than they had been in the times of the republic, while confined to much narrower bounds. Under the dominion of a single person, all the interesting exertions of the national, the political, and the military spirit over great parts of the earth were suppressed. Even in the capital of the world, so lately agitated with every difference of opinion or interference of interests, the operations of government itself were become silent and secret. Matters of public concern, considered as the affairs of an individual, were adjusted to his conveniency, and directed by his passions, or by those of his family, relations, or domestics. The list of such persons accordingly, with their characters, dispositions, and fortunes, make a principal part in the subsequent history of this mighty empire.

Augustus still continued to employ Mæcenas and Agrippa as the chief instruments of his government. To their abilities and conduct, in their respective departments, he in a great measure owed the prosperous state of his affairs. He likewise persevered in his attachment to Livia, whose separation from her former husband has been already mentioned. Together with the mother, he received into his family her two sons, Tiberius and Drusus. Of these Tiberius, born in the year of the battle of Philippi, was now about twelve years old; Drusus, of whom she was pregnant at the time of her marriage with Octavius, and whom she brought forth about three months afterwards, was now about seven years old.

The emperor having no children by Livia, had offspring only a daughter, famous by the name of Julia, born to him by Scribonia, the relation of Sextus Pompeius, with whom he had contracted a marriage of political conveniency, and of short duration. Next to this daughter, in point of consanguinity, were his sister Octavia, the widow, first of Marcellus, and afterwards of Antony, with her children by both her husbands. Among these were, by her first hus-

band, Marcella, married to Agrippa, and the young Marcellus, who being married to the emperor's daughter Julia, was looked upon as the undoubted representative of the Octavian and Julian families, and heir to the fortunes of Cesar.

The establishment now made by Augustus has nearly completed the revolution of which it was proposed to give an account. The despotism, though exercised under the name of republic, and in the form of a temporary and legal institution, being in reality absolute, and without any qualification of mixed government, it could not be doubted that the same powers would be continued after the period for which they were now granted should expire, and that the empire, for the future, must for ever submit to the head of the army.

The peace which immediately followed the victories obtained on the coast of Epirus and in Egypt, was the circumstance on which Augustus chiefly relied for the recommendation of his government, and he seems, from inclination as well as policy, to have early entertained a maxim favourable to peace with foreign nations, and which he afterwards openly inculcated, that the bounds of the empire should not be extended. In his first plan of operations communicated to the senate, he expressed his disposition to acquiesce in the present extent of the empire; but it was necessary to secure the frontier from invasions, and to ascertain, though not to extend, its bounds. Soon after his new model of government was established, he took measures accordingly to repress the disorder which subsisted in some of the provinces, and to reduce to obedience some cantons on which the state had already a claim of sovereignty, though not fully acknowledged. He proceeded to punish others, who at the breaking out of the civil wars, had taken advantage of the general distraction of the empire to resume their independency, or to make war on the Roman settlements. He had examples of both sorts to contend with in different parts; in Thrace, on the Rhine, and among the Alps, but chiefly in Spain.

Of all the provinces that became subject to Rome, those of Spain had been the most difficult acquisition; insomuch that, after all the wars so frequently renewed in that country, there were still some warlike cantons who continued to maintain their independence. Among these the Astures and Cantabri* being in actual rebellion, the emperor himself at the head of a powerful army, still pretending a design to

* Nations inhabiting the mountainous coasts of the Bay of Biscay.

invade Britain, passed into Gaul, and there having fixed a rate of taxation for the province, turned into Spain. He obliged the rebels, upon his approach, to quit their usual habitations, and retire to the mountains. But finding that they were likely to protract the war, and to engage him in a succession of tedious and indecisive operations, he fixed his quarters at Tarraco,* and left the command of the army employed on this service to C. Antistius and Carisius. Soon after his arrival at Tarraco he entered on his eighth consulate.† From that place he sent Terentius Varro to quell a rebellion of the Salassi and the other nations of the Alps, and sent M. Vincius to punish some German tribes, by whom the Roman traders frequenting their country, or settled among them, had been massacred. He himself, while his generals were employed in these services, remained two years at his quarters in Spain; and upon the elapse of his eighth consulate, resumed that office for the ninth time.‡

During the residence of Augustus in Spain, arrived a reference or appeal from the Parthians, submitting to his decision a contest for the throne of their kingdom. The competitors, Phraates and Tiridates, both offered honourable terms to the Romans, particularly the restoration of all the captives, and of all the trophies taken either from Crassus or from Antony, in their unfortunate invasions of that kingdom. By this transaction, though a pacific one, the disgrace incurred by the Roman legions in Parthia was supposed to be entirely effaced. And it being said that Augustus, on this occasion, had performed, by the authority of his name, what other Roman leaders had attempted in vain by force of arms, he had a variety of honours decreed to him by the senate.

Soon afterwards the operations of the armies in Spain and Germany were brought to a successful period. Caius Antistius being attacked by the Cantabri, obtained a complete victory, and obliged that people again to take separate retreats in the woods and mountains, where numbers of them were reduced by famine, and others, being invested in their strongholds, and in danger of being taken, chose to perish by their own hands. Carisius was equally successful against the Astures; obliged them to abandon their habitations, or to submit at discretion.

Terentius Varro, having invaded the Salassi, or Piedmontese, on different quarters, made them agree to pay a contribution, and, under pretence of levying it, sent an army in separate divisions into their country; and thus

* Tarragona.

† U. C. 727.

‡ U. C. 728.

having them at his mercy, ordered, that all the children and youth of the nation, thus taken by surprise, should be put up for sale.

About the same time Augustus received from the army the title of Imperator, and from the senate the offer of a triumph, on account of the victories gained by his lieutenants. The last of these honours he declined; but took occasion to exhibit games in Spain, in name of his nephew Marcellus and of his step-son Tiberius, whom he wished to recommend to the army by this act of munificence. He likewise distributed lands, both in Spain and in the Cisalpine Gaul, to the soldiers who were discharged from the legions, and on this occasion built the *Augusta Emeritorum** in Spain, and the *Augusta Prætoria*† on the descent of the Alps towards Italy. In conformity with his general plan of dividing the provinces, he separated Spain into three governments, the *Bætica*, *Lusitania*, and *Tarraconensis*. The first was included under the department of the senate, the other two had been reserved to himself. Gaul was, at the same time, divided into four separate governments; the *Narbonensis*, *Aquitania*, *Lugdunensis*, and *Celtica* or *Belgica*.

The general peace being again restored, by the successful operations of the army in different quarters of the empire, the gates of Janus once more were shut, and a column was erected on a summit of the Alps, bearing an inscription, with the names of forty-eight separate nations or cantons, who were now reduced to obedience under the auspices of Augustus.

The emperor being on his return to Rome, and having accepted of a tenth consulate, the ceremony of his admission into office was performed before his arrival on the first of January, with a renewal of the oaths formerly taken by the people, that they would observe his decrees.‡ At his return, after so long an absence, he was received by all orders of men with every demonstration of joy. Having already been flattered in his own person with every mark of distinction and honour, he was now courted in the person of his favourite nephew Marcellus. This young man was admitted, by a formal decree, to a place in the senate among the members of pretorian rank, and was allowed to sue for the consulate ten years before the legal age. Livia too had a share in these flatteries, by a like privilege bestowed on her son Tiberius, though, in order to retain some distinction between the favourite nephew and the step-

* Now Merida.

† Now Aosta.

‡ U. C. 729.

son of the emperor, the decree in favour of Tiberius only bore that he might sue for the consulate five years before the legal age.

During the absence of the emperor, the plans which had been formed for the better government of the city, for adorning it with public buildings, and for repairing the highways throughout Italy, were carried into execution by Agrippa. The repair of the highways had been assigned, in separate lots, to such of the senators as were supposed able to defray the expense of it; and, among these, the Flaminian Way had been assigned to Augustus himself. The town was divided into quarters or districts, under proper officers, annually chosen or taken by lot; and a watch was established, to prevent disorders, and to guard against fire.

The channel of the river, in a great measure choked up with heaps of rubbish from the ruins of houses, that formed considerable banks and islands in the midst of it, and at every flood, forced great inundations into the streets, was now effectually cleared. The *Septa Julia*, or place of assembly called the *Julian place* in honour of the emperor, was repaired, adorned, and dedicated. A temple was erected to Neptune, in memory of the late naval victories. The portico of the pantheon, too, was finished about this time.

Soon after the emperor had withdrawn from Spain, leaving the command in Lusitania to L. *Æmilius*, the Cantabri and Astures, took a resolution again to shake off the Roman yoke. Proposing to give the first intimation of their design by a stroke of importance, they drew a considerable part of the Roman army into their country, under pretence of furnishing them with a supply of corn; and when they found them dispersed in small parties to receive the proposed distribution, they put the whole, or the greater part, to the sword. In revenge for this piece of treachery, *Æmilius* laid their country under military execution, and by a barbarous policy, to prevent future revolts, cut off the right hands of the prisoners whose lives he spared.

At the same time Augustus himself entertained a project of making discoveries on the side of Arabia, and on the coasts of the Indian seas. For this purpose *Ælius Gallus*, the proprætor of Egypt, was intrusted with the conduct of an expedition to the Gulf of Arabia. This officer, by the unskilfulness of his mariners and pilots, sustained a great loss both in shipping and men, and in attempting to penetrate the deserts of Arabia eastward, he lost a great part of his army, which perished by want of water, or by disease.

And thus, after a fruitless attempt, in which he spent many months, returned to Alexandria.

While these transactions passed in the provinces and on the frontier of the empire, Augustus, then residing at Rome, entered on an eleventh consulate. His colleague, in the beginning of the year, was Terentius Varro Murena. But this consul died in office, and was succeeded for the remainder of the year by C. Calpurnius Piso.*

Augustus himself, in this consulate was taken ill; and being supposed in danger, called his colleague, with a number of the principal senators, into his presence, to receive his last instructions relating to the empire. The title by which he affected to hold the government could not support him in pointing out a succession. He accordingly made no mention of any successor to himself, but delivered to the consul Piso, as being first officer of state, the memorials he had drawn up relating to the revenue and other public establishments. He gave to Agrippa his ring, which was the badge of his nobility, and which, according to the ideas of the Romans, had an emblematical reference to his power. After his recovery, he desired that the will which he had made on this occasion should be publicly read; but the senate, already knowing the contents, and affecting to believe, without this evidence, the sincerity of his intentions to restore the republic, refused to comply. They also appointed great rejoicings on account of his recovery.

Although the circumstance of Augustus not having mentioned his nephew Marcellus, and the honour he had done to Agrippa, were probably not the effects of any serious design respecting the succession, they nevertheless became a subject of jealousy in the mind of the young man, and soon after occasioned the retirement of Agrippa from the court. This officer, under pretence of going into Syria, where he was appointed to command, set out from Rome, but stopped at Mitylené, in the island of Lesbos, where he lived in retirement, without taking any part in public affairs.

During the stay of Agrippa at Mitylené, and in less than a year after his departure from Rome, happened the death of Marcellus; an event which Livia was, by some, alleged to have hastened, in order to make way for the advancement of her own sons.

Augustus had now, for some years, without intermission, assumed and exercised the office of consul; but thinking its authority no longer necessary to support his power, he divested himself of the title, and gave a fresh proof of his mo-

* U. C. 730.

deration, by substituting in his place L. Sestius, one of the few who were still supposed to regret the fall of the republic. Sestius had been the friend of Marcus Brutus, adhered to the cause of the commonwealth in every period of the civil wars, and, though spared by the victors at Philippi, still ventured to retain the statue and picture of his friend.

The character of tribune, which had been annually conferred on the emperor for some years, was, on the present occasion, rendered perpetual in his person, and he was declared perpetual proconsul, both at Rome and in the provinces. He was, at the same time, pressed to accept the title and power of dictator.

The people, labouring under a plague or epidemic distemper, which, in the usual mode of their superstition they considered as a punishment inflicted by the gods for some public offence, and in particular for their having suffered the emperor to divest himself of the consulate, proposed that he should instantly assume the power of dictator.* They collected twenty-four fasces, the number usually carried before this officer, and repairing to the emperor's palace, called upon him to assume his power, and to rescue the people from their present calamities.

Augustus entreated the people to desist from their purpose; and when still pressed appeared to be greatly agitated, tore his clothes, and gave other signs of extreme distress. In acting this part, it is probable that Octavius relied more on the caution with which he avoided offence, than he did on the vigilance of his informers and spies, or on the terror of his arms. He could not, however, at all times avoid having recourse to these means of defence. During his present residence at Rome, he received information of a design formed on his life by Murena and Fannius Cepio, and brought them to trial.

Murena was the brother-in-law of Mæcenas, and himself appeared to be in favour with Augustus. Upon the surmise of an intention to seize him, together with Fannius, both absconded and fled. They were arraigned and tried in absence; but as the judges still enjoyed the privilege of voting by secret ballot, they availed themselves of it to acquit the accused.

The use of the secret ballot in criminal trials, was in consequence so far abolished, that all persons who fled from trial, or who declined appearance, were, by an express statute, deprived of the benefit of it; and this circumstance deserves to be mentioned as the first instance, perhaps, in

* U. C. 731.

which the judicial forms of the republic, formerly partial to the interests of the people, began to be changed in favour of despotism.

In the beginning of this reign, are dated some regulations calculated for the peace and general order of the city. Among these it is mentioned, that the number of pretors was reduced to ten; and that two of this number were appointed to inspect the public revenue; and that the shows of gladiators were subjected to the control of the senate, and the number of pairs to be exhibited, on any particular occasion, restricted to sixty. The care likewise of extinguishing and guarding against fire being in the department of the ediles, a body of six hundred men destined to this service, was put under the command of these magistrates.

The usual election of consuls came on at Rome. Augustus himself was named, together with M. Lollius Nepos;* but he declined accepting of the office, and affected to leave the Roman people, as of old, to a free choice. This novelty gave rise to a warm contest, in which Quintus Emilius Lepidus, and L. Silanus appeared as competitors, and were supported by numerous parties of their friends. The people began to recover the remembrance of their former power, and were encouraged or supported by the candidates in disorders or freedoms, from which they had for some time been restrained. Augustus was alarmed with these appearances of a reviving republic, summoned both the candidates to him in Sicily; and having reprimanded them for the disturbances they gave, forbade them to appear at Rome, until the depending elections were past. The competition, nevertheless, was carried on with great warmth in their absence, and ended with much difficulty in favour of Lepidus.

Agrippa was about this time, made to part with Marcella, the niece of Augustus, to whom he had been some time married, in order that he might become the husband of Julia, and by this title the first in the family of Cesar.

The emperor, while in Sicily, having bestowed on the city of Syracuse, and on other towns of that island, the privilege of Roman colonies, and having made some other arrangements for the better government of the province, continued his voyage from thence into Greece. As he passed through Sparta and Athens, he treated the inhabitants of those once eminent cities with marks of favour or displeasure, according to the part they had taken in the late divisions of the empire.

* U. C. 732.

From these visits to Sparta and Athens, the emperor proceeded to Samos, where he remained for the winter. In the spring, he passed from Samos to Bithynia, in which, though a senatorian province, he made some reformatations. The Parthians had not yet restored the Roman captives, and the trophies, of which they had got possession on the defeats of Crassus and Antony, and which had lately been promised. These, together with the restored standards and other trophies, were conducted with great pomp to the city of Rome.

Augustus indulged, on the conclusion of this transaction, a degree of vanity, which was unusual with him on other occasions. He ordered the rites of thanksgiving that were appropriated to the greatest victories; gave instructions to erect a triumphal arch; and upon his return to Rome, entered the city in triumph.

Before leaving the east, however, he disposed of kingdoms on the frontier to the princes of Asia, who were considered as confederates or allies of the Romans. Among these, he gave to Tarcondimotus a principality in Cilicia; to Archelaus, the Lesser Armenia; to Herod, over and above his own kingdom of Judea, the principality of Zenodorus, in its neighbourhood. He restored a prince, of the name of Mithridates, to the kingdom of Commagené, from which his father had been expelled; and, at the request of the people of Armenia, sent his step-son Tiberius Claudius Nero, now about twenty years of age, with a commission to remove Artabazus, then in possession of that kingdom, and to declare Tiridates, who was still at Rome, to be its sovereign. This revolution in Armenia however was, by the death of Artabazus, who fell by the hands of his own subjects, in part effected before the arrival of Tiberius.

Augustus, during his stay in Syria, had accounts of the birth of a grandson Caius, the eldest of the sons of Agrippa, by his daughter Julia;* and on his way to Italy, he passed another winter in Samos, where he received the ambassadors of many nations, and among these, an embassy from India, attended with a numerous retinue, and charged with a variety of presents. But what probably most entertained the curious in the western world, was the exhibition of an Indian sage or Brahmin, who having taken his resolution to die, prepared a funeral pile, which he set on fire, and with much ostentation and gravity threw himself into the midst of it.

When the emperor's intended return was announced at Rome, many honours were decreed to him, all of which he

* U. C. 734.

declined. On his approach to the city, the magistrates and the people prepared to go forth in procession to meet him; but he made his entry in the night to avoid this compliment. On the following day, he procured resolutions of the senate and people, promoting Tiberius, the eldest of the sons of Livia, to the rank of pretor, and bestowing on Drusus, the younger brother, the privilege of standing for any of the ancient honours of the commonwealth five years before the legal age. He himself, at the same time, accepted the office of censor, with a new title, that of inspector of manners, for five years.

Near ten years had elapsed since the rolls of the senate had been made up, and in this interval many reasons may have occurred for removing some of the members, and for substituting others. The powers of censor, with which the emperor was now vested, enabled him, without any unprecedented stretch of authority, to effect his purpose; but, notwithstanding this circumstance, his usual caution led him to seek for palliatives, and to devise means to lessen or to divide the odium of so disagreeable a measure. He gave out, that the number of senators was become too great, and thus having provided himself with an excuse for excluding many of them, without stating any personal objection, he undertook, by his own authority, to reform the list. By his conduct in this matter, or by the severity of his censures, he was supposed to have made so many enemies, or he himself at least took such impressions of jealousy and distrust as kept him in alarm, and occasioned some trials and executions.

The period for which Augustus had accepted the command of the armies, and taken charge of part of the provinces being about to expire, he repeated the form of his resignation, and was prevailed upon to resume his trust, though but for a term of five years longer.* Agrippa being now the son-in-law of the emperor, and the first in his favour, as well as his nearest relation, was joined with him for the same term of five years, in the character of tribune of the people.

During the preceding part of the new establishment Augustus had affected to limit the exercise of his power to the military department, or to the provinces committed to his charge. In the city, or in civil affairs, he acted in the name of the senate, or under the veil of some temporary office of magistracy. But in the period upon which he was now entering, he seemed to have thought himself safe in

assuming a more direct authority. He accordingly received from the senate, an appointment of perpetual extraordinary consul, to be preceded in all public appearances by twelve lictors, and in the senate to have a chair of state placed between the ordinary consuls of the year.

From the time of the civil wars, Italy had remained subject to many disorders. The inhabitants, alleging the dangers to which they had been exposed in their persons and properties, continued to form into bands, and taking arms, under pretence of defending themselves, employed those arms for lawless purposes; robbed, murdered, or by force confined to labour in their work-houses many innocent passengers, whether freemen or slaves, whom they thought proper to question or violate, under the appellation of disorderly persons. To remedy this evil, guards were posted at proper intervals, and a species of military patrol established throughout the country, with orders to protect travellers, to inspect the work-houses or receptacles of labouring slaves, and to suppress all associations, besides those of the ancient corporations.

By the same authority Augustus revived some obsolete laws, and gave instructions to put them in force; such as the laws limiting expense, restraining adultery, lewdness, and bribery, together with the laws which had been provided to promote marriage, or to discourage celibacy.

As it was proposed to multiply marriages, so it appeared likewise of consequence to render the dissolution of those already formed more difficult, and to lay divorces and separations under proportional restraints. The people, however, seemed to feel themselves become the property of a master, who required them to multiply, in order to increase the number of his subjects; and they resisted this part of his administration, more than any other circumstance of the state of degradation into which they were fallen.

Augustus, in this second period of his reign, while he extended the exercise of his power, still endeavoured to disguise it under some forms or regulations of the ancient constitution.* But notwithstanding his attention, by these and other methods, to conceal the extent of his usurpation, he could not escape the penetration of his subjects, nor even the animadversion of buffoons, to whom some degrees of freedom or of petulance are permitted, after they are withheld from every one else.

The emperor having remained at Rome about two years after the commencement of the second period of his reign,

* U. C. 736.

continued, or began to carry on many works for the ornament, magnificence, or convenience of the city. To defray the expense of such works, he laid persons, who had obtained a triumph, or any military honour, under a contribution of some part of their spoils; and by these means, perhaps, made some officers pay for their vanity more than they had taken from the enemy.

About this time Augustus received an accession to his family by the birth of another grandson, of the name of Lucius, the second son of Agrippa, by his daughter Julia; and by adopting both the brothers, conferred upon them the names of Caius and Lucius Cesar, and, by the same act, published the destination of his fortunes.*

In the midst of festivals, which were instituted on this occasion, the attention of the emperor was called anew to the provinces by alarms which were received at once in many parts of the empire.

The Commenii and Venones, nations inhabiting the valleys of the Alps, were in arms.† The Panonii and Norisci had attacked Istria. The Dantæleti and Scordisci had invaded Macedonia. The Sauromatæ had passed the Danube. Some cantons, both of Dalmatia and Spain, had revolted. The Sicambri, Usipetes, and Tenchteri, German nations bordering on the Rhine, made a descent upon Gaul. These revolts of the frontier provinces, or incursions of barbarous neighbours, may be considered as part of a war which lasted for ages, and terminated at last in the ruin of the empire. This descent on Gaul was indeed the first signal calamity which had befallen the Roman arms under the auspices of the present emperor. It was supposed to have greatly affected him, and to have caused the resolution which he took to superintend, in person, the measures that were necessary to repair this loss. He despatched Agrippa, at the same time, into Asia, where a contest which had arisen respecting the succession of the kingdom of the Bosphorus required his presence.

The emperor, leaving the administration of affairs at Rome in the hands of Statilius Taurus, set out for Gaul, accompanied by Mecenas and Tiberius, now in the rank of pretor, who made a part of his court. At his arrival in Gaul, the people were relieved of the alarm they had taken on the approach of the German invaders, who, not being prepared to make a continual war beyond their own boundaries, had repassed the Rhine.‡

While the Germans fled from Gaul upon the report of the

* U. C. 736.

† U. C. 737.

‡ U. C. 738.

emperor's approach, the revolts of the Commenii and Venones, of the Panonii and Ligures Comati, were quelled at the same time by the different officers who had been employed against them.

Not long after, news arrived at Rome, that the service on which Agrippa had been sent was successfully performed. Augustus passed above two years in Gaul, and on returning to Rome left Drusus, the younger of the sons of Livia, to command on the Rhine, and to continue certain military services he had lately begun among the Alps.* There were now presented to the senate for their approbation, certain bills for the improvement of the discipline of the army. By these the term of military service was fixed, if in the pretorian bands, at twelve years; if in the legions, at sixteen years. After this term, it was admitted that a soldier might claim his discharge.

It was also proposed to substitute, for grants of land, a gratuity in money in rewarding deserving veterans on their discharge. By publishing this regulation, he greatly quieted the fears and apprehensions under which the pacific inhabitants laboured in different parts of the empire, and the value of land property suddenly rose.

The utmost efforts of the emperor were likewise required, on the present occasion, to preserve the mask under which he wished to conduct his government. The senate, though maintained in all its formalities, was observed to have no power, and began to be deserted. So also the titles of magistracy, which continued for some time to be coveted, on account of the rank which they were supposed to bestow, now became contemptible from the frequency and prostitution of such honours. In the sequel of these measures, it is probable, although not mentioned by any of the historians, that Augustus accepted of a prolongation of his power for other five years; and again assumed Agrippa with himself into the office of tribune for the same term. The ceremony of this resignation became, by degrees, a matter of form, and his resumption of the empire was made known by sports and entertainments, which rendered the occasion extremely agreeable to the people.

About this time died the famous triumvir M. Æmilius Lepidus, formerly the associate or the tool of Octavius and Antony, in the execution of their designs against the republic.† Augustus had suffered this fallen rival to remain, during his life, in the dignity of pontiff; but upon the death of Lepidus, he did not neglect to assume the only

* U. C. 740.

† U. C. 740.

dignity which was wanting to complete the accumulation of prerogatives united in his own person.

Agrippa had returned to Rome, about the same time, with the emperor; but soon had occasion again to depart from Italy, being sent to quell a rebellion that broke out in Panonia.* Upon his arrival in this country, finding the natives already subdued by the fear of his approach, he accepted of their submission; and though still in the depth of winter, set out on his return to Rome. After he had repassed the seas, on his way through Campania, he was taken dangerously ill. Augustus received the accounts of his danger, while he was exhibiting sports to the people in the name of his two sons, Caius and Lucius, and left the city immediately to attend his friend; but came too late, and after he expired.

This great man appears to have been worthy of the best times of the republic. He had magnanimity enough to have relied on his personal qualities alone for consideration and honour, and was fit to have been a citizen of Rome in its happiest age; but from the necessity of the times, and the principles of fidelity to the friend who trusted him, he became a principal support of the monarchy. His great abilities being employed to maintain the government and authority of the prince, and his credit with the prince employed in acts of justice and moderation to the people, he was neither an object of jealousy to the one, nor of envy to the other.

Julia, at the death of her husband, was again pregnant, and bore a third son, who, from the family of his father, and the circumstances of his birth, was known by the name of Agrippa Posthumus.

CHAP. IV.

Marriage of Julia with Tiberius — Death of Drusus — Death of Mecenas — Disgrace of Julia — War in Panonia — Roman Legions cut off in Germany — Tiberius associated in the Empire — Death of Augustus.

THE death of Agrippa made way for Tiberius Claudius Nero, then about twenty-eight years of age, into a higher place than he yet held in the family and confidence of the emperor.†

* U. C. 741.

† U. C. 741.

Octavius had received this young man in the arms of his mother Livia, had observed the progress of his childhood and youth, and had given him no distinguished place in his favour during the lives of Marcellus or Agrippa, to whom he had successively married his daughter : but being deprived of both these supports, and his adopted children, Caius and Lucius, being yet of tender age, he was led to receive Tiberius as a relation, the nearest to supply the place of those he had lost. Tiberius was already a husband and a father, having been married to Vipsania, the daughter of Agrippa, by whom he had a son named Drusus. He now, at the instance of the emperor, parted from Vipsania, then a second time pregnant, in order to make way for Julia, by whom he was to hold the second place in the empire.

Tiberius had begun his military services with some distinction in Gaul, and now coming into the place of Agrippa, was sent to repress a rebellion, which, upon the report of that officer's death, had again broke out in Panonia. Having succeeded in this service, he gave orders that the youth of the vanquished nation should be sold into slavery, and that the buyer should come under an obligation to transport them far from their native country ; a cruel action, but not infrequent in the history of the Romans. About the same time Drusus, the younger brother of Tiberius, then stationed on the Rhine, had repulsed a body of Germans, passed the river in pursuit of them, and laid waste the contiguous country of the Sicambri and Usipetes, which, lying between the Lippe and the Issel, is now the bishopric of Munster, or the province of Zutphen.

As the Roman armies had now, for some time, ceased to make offensive war, many of the barbarous nations took courage from this circumstance, and began to harass the provinces in their neighbourhood, passed the Rhine and the Danube in frequent incursions, and laid waste the frontiers of Gaul, Panonia and Thrace ; insomuch, that it appeared necessary, for the security of these provinces, to attack the enemy, and to furnish them sufficient occupation in the defence of their own country.

While these operations took place, under the officers whom the emperor employed in the provinces, he himself remained at Rome ; and the few circumstances which are mentioned, relating to affairs of state in the capital, are characteristic of the times, but not otherwise interesting or important.

The emperor himself, in his capacity of inspector of manners, took an account of the people, paying the highest regard to the distinctions of senator and knight, and to the

honours which were constituted by titles of office, as those of pretor and consul. But these names of distinction, which he affected to preserve, having no real consideration or power annexed to them, only served to remind the people of dignities which no longer existed. The senate itself, though filled with persons who bore the titles of pretorian and consular, and though, with affected respect, still preserved among the ruins of the commonwealth, being deprived of its ancient foundations, underwent a continual decay: and the honours to which citizens had formerly aspired, with so much ardour, were now neglected or shunned with disdain.

The servility of the times seemed to outrun the exactions of the sovereign. Some of the courtiers, in their desire to flatter, and others, under the fear of being suspected of disaffection, began the practice of contributing sums of money to erect statues to the emperor; and he himself, in consequence of some dream, or directed by some species of superstition, made it a practice, on certain days, to ask, as in charity, from all who came in his way, some small pieces of money. As he was in his temper sufficiently liberal, neither of these practices brought him under any imputation of rapacity. What was contributed to erect statues for himself he employed in multiplying those of the gods, particularly in erecting the allegorical images of Safety, Concord, and Peace. What he received as a charity was returned twofold.

About this date died Octavia, the widow of Marcellus and of Mark Antony.* Her obsequies being performed with great pomp, the emperor himself pronounced the funeral oration. Soon after this event, notwithstanding there was no recent alarm from the enemy on the Rhine, the emperor thought proper to change the place of his residence from Italy to the north of the Alps. Under pretence of observing the storms which still threatened the province of Gaul from the barbarous nations in its frontier, he took his station for the campaign at the confluence of the Saone and the Rhone, and from thence gave his instructions to the two brothers, Tiberius and Drusus, to whom the war was committed on the Save and the Rhine. In the following spring the two brothers resumed their commands. Drusus passed the Rhine, overran the country of the Chatti, and penetrated to the Elbe, where he erected some trophies, and left some monuments of the progress he had made; but on the approach of winter, being obliged to retire, he was taken ill on the march and died.

* U. C. 743.

The title of Germanicus having been conferred on Drusus, it remained in his family. He had issue two sons and a daughter; the eldest known by the name of Germanicus Cesar, the younger by the name of Claudius, long neglected on account of his imbecility; and the daughter Livilla, hereafter to be mentioned as the wife of successive husbands. Soon after the funeral of his brother, Tiberius entered the city in procession, to celebrate the success of his arms in Dalmatia. He gave a public feast to the people; and as in this entertainment only one of the sexes could partake, Livia and Julia were allowed to entertain the other.

In the beginning of the following year Augustus again entered the city in a kind of triumphal procession.* The period for which, at his last pretended resignation, he had consented to accept of the government, being expired, he affected a purpose, as formerly, to resign the empire; and was again prevailed upon to resume it for ten years more. The decline of the civil establishment, of which he still wished to preserve the appearances, occupied his principal attention. The senate, as has been observed, underwent a continual degradation, and its assemblies were neglected. The emperor appointed ordinary assemblies of the senate on particular days of each month, and ordered that those days should be kept clear of any other public business whatever. Having formerly reduced the number that was required to constitute a legal meeting, from four hundred to three hundred, he now directed, that in matters of less moment, even fewer might constitute such meetings, and that in fixing the quorum on any particular occasion, regard should be had to the importance of the business before them.

About the same time are dated other regulations ascribed to Augustus, of which some related to the conduct of elections, and others to that of criminal trials. In respect to criminal trials, as the subject was more serious, the regulations now made by the emperor were of more effect. So long as the people were sovereigns of the commonwealth, it was part of the security which, in their collective capacity, they provided for themselves, as individuals amenable to the laws, "that no slave could be tortured to give evidence against his master." As this law, in the present state of the government, might obstruct prosecutions that were instituted even for the emperor's safety, it was thought necessary to find some expedient by which to elude its

* U. C. 713.

force. For this purpose it was enacted, that such slaves as might be wanted in evidence against their masters should be conveyed by a formal process of sale to the emperor, and that, being in his possession, they might be put to the question, or cited as witnesses, even against their former masters. This act was considered as a dreadful innovation; but the consideration of the emperor's safety was supposed to be a sufficient excuse for any deviation that was made from the forms of the republic.

Augustus having passed the winter at Rome, returned in the spring to his former station in Gaul, accompanied by Caius, the elder of his adopted sons, whom he now proposed to introduce to the military service; and by Tiberius, who, notwithstanding the rise of a new light in the person of the young Cesar, who threatened to obscure his lustre, continued to receive fresh marks of the emperor's favour, and was considered as a principal support of his government. Being placed at the head of the army on the Rhine, he had charge of the war which had lately been committed to Drusus, his younger brother. But few particulars are mentioned of the campaign which followed in that quarter.

Whatever may have been the result, it is mentioned, that Augustus received from the army the title of imperator, and gave this title likewise to Tiberius; that he put him in nomination for consul on the following year, and, at their return to Rome, permitted him to make his entry into the city in triumph, while he himself declined the honour.

Soon after the emperor's arrival in Italy, he suffered a great loss by the death of Mæcenas. This event made a breach in the civil department of his affairs, not less than that which the death of Agrippa had made in the military. The predilection of this minister for learning, and the intimacy in which he lived with persons of the best and most elegant accomplishments, who were recommended to him merely by their merit, has made his name proverbial among those of the patrons of letters. His inclination in this matter, if it did not form the taste of his master, happily concurred with it, and brought him acquainted with those elegant productions of genius which occupy the affections, as well as the fancy; and which, in a situation otherwise likely to instil pride, jealousy, and distrust of mankind, served at once as an antidote to these evils, and opened the way to better dispositions. Mæcenas had served his prince with great fidelity, and, if not insensible to personal ambition, was at least satisfied with the elevation he had gained in the confidence of his prince. He retained the equestrian rank to which he was born, without endeavour-

ing to accumulate the preferments or titles which were so much an object of ambition in the earlier part of this reign, and so easy an acquisition in the latter part of it. It is observed, however, that he experienced, as is common, some vicissitude in his master's temper, and outlived the high measure of favour which he enjoyed, but without any interruption of his duty. As he lived, when most in favour, without any public envy, so he escaped every public insult when supposed in disgrace. While he presented the emperor with a continual model of elegance, ingenuity, and good temper, he took the liberty to check his passions, and served him no less by the sincerity of his speech, than by the ability of his conduct.

By the successive diminutions of the list of confidants, on whom Augustus relied for the administration of his government, the influence of Livia, and the fortunes of her son Tiberius, received a continual advancement.* The latter being to enter on the office of consul, was received by the senate in the Curia Octavia, beyond the walls of the city. In his address to this assembly he spoke of the public works which he proposed to erect. Among these a temple of Concord, to be inscribed with his own name, joined with that of his brother; and of another temple, to be dedicated by himself, in conjunction with his mother Livia. He gave, in her name and in his own, upon this occasion, splendid entertainments to the senate, and to persons of distinction of both sexes. Having vowed an exhibition of public shows for the safe return of the emperor from his last campaign, he made all the necessary provision for the performance of his vow; but being obliged to set out for the army on the Rhine, he trusted the discharge of this duty with Piso, his colleague in the consulate, and with Caius, the eldest of the emperor's sons.

Soon after this date Tiberius underwent a great and sudden change in the state of his fortunes.† Upon his return from the campaign on the Rhine, he was vested with the character of tribune of the people for five years; and, under pretence of a war likely to arise on the Euphrates, from the defection of the king of Armenia, who was disposed to join the Parthians, he was appointed to command the armies in Syria; but it soon after appeared, that this preferment and change of station were devised to conceal a species of exile or removal from the court. At his departure from Rome, he passed into Asia; but instead of continuing his route to his pretended destination in Syria, he withdrew to the island

* U. C. 746.

† U. C. 747.

of Rhodes, where, under pretence of study, he lived some years in retirement.

The real cause of this retreat of Tiberius was never known ; and we are deprived of any light which might have been thrown on this, or the transactions of some of the succeeding years, by a breach in the text of the history.*

In one of the years of this period, or about the year of Rome seven hundred and fifty-one, is fixed by the vulgar computation the commencement of our era at the birth of Christ ; an event not calculated to have an immediate influence on the transactions of state, or to make a part in the materials of political history, though destined to produce, in a few ages, a great change in the institutions, manners, and general character of nations.

At this date, from the imperfect records which remain, we have scarcely any materials of history, besides the occurrences of the court, and the city of Rome ; the public entertainments that were given, the occasions on which they were exhibited, and the provision that was made in the capital for the subsistence and pleasure of an idle and profligate populace.

The emperor having again assumed the office of ordinary consul, that he might preside at the admission of his younger adopted son, Lucius Cesar, to the age of manhood, continued to hold the office no longer than was necessary for this purpose. He exhibited magnificent shows as usual upon this occasion, and among others, one that is mentioned probably as a novelty, a shoal of six and thirty crocodiles of uncommon size, turned out to be hunted or fished in the basin of the circus Flaminius. While the emperor gratified the people in their public diversions to a degree of debauch, he made some ineffectual attempts to regulate the gratuitous distribution of corn, that other principal engine of abuse which the Roman citizens, though in other respects fallen from their sovereignty, still carefully retained among the relics of their democratical government.

The sports themselves, though fierce and irrational in many instances, were splendid, magnificent, and sometimes interesting. The presence of the Roman people, in vast spaces or theatres fitted up to receive them, was always awful and sublime. The precedence of rank at these entertainments, was considered, even under the republic, as a principal object of state. The first benches were reserved for the senators ; the next, at certain periods, had been allotted to the equestrian order ; and the question, whether

this order should be mixed with the people, or separated from them, made a subject at different times of much dispute and contention. The female sex too had their places, though at the fights of gladiators they were removed to a distance, being seated behind the other spectators ; and from the athletic games were excluded altogether.

The coarseness, nevertheless, of those public entertainments to which the Roman women were still admitted ; the want of any interval, in their manners, between a rigorous severity, and the other extreme of an unbounded license, had, in many instances, the worst effect on their conduct. The emperor himself had a distressing example of this effect in his own family, by the flagrant debaucheries of his daughter Julia, who, having once quitted the reserve, and broken through the austerities of her father's house, multiplied her paramours indefinitely, and even frequented the places of public debauch. The emperor, though not supposed to be wanting in the tenderness of a parent, upon the detection of these disorders, had her banished to a small island on the coast, reduced to low diet, and forbid to receive any visits ; a species of imprisonment, which became common in the sequel of this, and the subsequent reigns.

The defection of Armenia from the alliance of the Romans to that of the Parthians, the occasion upon which it had been pretended that Tiberius was destined to command in Asia, still subsisted ; but the command of the armies in that part of the world, with the charge of recovering the kingdom of Armenia to its former state of dependence on Rome, was committed to Caius Cesar, now first in the favour of the emperor, and highest in the expectations of the people.*

The king of Parthia, upon the arrival of the young Cesar in his neighbourhood, desired to have a conference with him, and they met on the Euphrates in a small island, each having an equal number of attendants. They afterwards mutually accepted of entertainments from each other in their respective quarters. Phraates agreed not to support the Armenians, in their defection from the alliance of the Romans, and Caius proceeded to take possession of their country, as a province of Rome. On his approach to Antagera, a place on the frontier of Armenia, the gates being shut against him, he presented himself under the walls, and while he summoned the governor to surrender, was struck by an arrow from the battlements. The wound he received, though in appearance not mortal, affected his health, and threw him into a state of dejection and languor,

* U. C. 754.

in which he desired to be recalled from his station, and expressed his disgust to affairs of state.

Caius being permitted to retire from his command by the emperor, who was mortified to find in him a pusillanimity so unworthy of the son of Agrippa, and of his own successor, was carried to the coast in a litter, and there embarked for Italy; but having on his way put into a port of Lycia, he died at Lymira in that province.*

Lucius, the other grandson of Augustus, by his daughter Julia, died some time before at Marseilles, in his way to Spain, the army of which he had been appointed to command; and these deaths happening so opportunely for the family of Livia, laid this designing woman under suspicion of having been active in procuring them. The bodies of the deceased were borne through the provinces by officers of rank, and by the principal inhabitants, to be interred at Rome.

About this time, the third period of ten years, for which the emperor had accepted of the government, being expired, he went through the form of laying down, and of re-assuming his power. He was now in the decline of life, had survived his principal confidants and friends, his nephew and grandchildren, on whom he had rested his hopes. Under these circumstances, and from the approach of old age, he was observed to languish and to lose much of his former vivacity. Tiberius had been recalled to Rome soon after the departure, and before the death of the two Caesars. Upon this last event, he was adopted by the emperor: but on condition, that he himself, though a father, having a son, already mentioned, of the name of Drusus, by his first wife Vipsania, should nevertheless adopt Germanicus Cesar, the son of his brother, who being elder than his own son, was intended to have the advantage of seniority in all their future pretensions.

This successor to Agrippa and his family, being now the adopted son of Augustus, and heir apparent of his fortunes, had everywhere a numerous attendance of persons who wished to pay their court.† Being appointed to his former station, at the head of the armies on the Rhine, his progress through the provinces to that frontier, was marked by the multitudes who flocked from all quarters to receive him. In his first campaign he penetrated to the Weser, and overran all the nations of that neighbourhood.

The emperor, relying upon his newly adopted son for the conduct of the war on the Rhine, remained at Rome, where

* U. C. 755.

† U. C. 756.

he was employed chiefly in reforming the senate, and in rebuilding the palace which had been lately consumed by fire.

As the present government began to have proscription, as well as expediency on its side, every attempt on the emperor's life had the criminality of treason. Some attempts of this sort, however, did take place during the present reign. Even in this advanced period of it, a conspiracy was detected, in which Cornelius Cinna, a grandson of Pompey, and descended of that Cinna, who, together with Caius Marius, was once at the head of the popular faction, formed a design to suppress the present usurpation of Cesar, and to restore the republic, in which his ancestors had made so conspicuous a figure. On the discovery of this plot, the emperor ordered that the conspirator should be introduced to his presence, gave him to understand that his guilt was discovered, and his accomplices known, remonstrated against an attempt so ungenerous and unprovoked, but relieved the young man of his fears, by assuring him of pardon, and of every other species of protection for the future. He concluded by declaring he should be glad to receive his applications in any matter by which he could contribute to his advancement or interest; and, in the mean time, named him for consul at the next succession to this dignity.

In this year are dated, among other measures, some regulations which were made by the emperor for the better government of the army. * The military establishment consisted of six-and-twenty legions, with nine or ten pretorian bands, composed of a thousand men each. Augustus, to restore the honour of the military character, had, from the beginning of his reign, made it a rule to exclude from his armies, as much as possible, all emancipated slaves. This exclusion, together with some reformations which diminished the profits formerly enjoyed by military men, rendered it extremely difficult, upon any sudden emergency, to complete the legions. Augustus found himself obliged to increase his bounty in order to recruit the army; but instead of giving more to those who enlisted, or increasing his levy-money, he chose to engage them by the hope of future advantages, to be reaped after certain periods of dutiful service. In the pretorian bands, he made a regulation, that, after sixteen years' service, the veteran should be entitled to his dismissal, with a premium of twenty thousand sesterces; † and in the legions, after twelve years'

* U. C. 737.

† About 160l.

service, that he should be intitled to twelve thousand sesterces*.

The public was now alarmed with earthquakes and inundations of rivers, which, however destructive, were considered more as the presages of future calamities than as present evils, and their significance in that point of view was confirmed by a famine, which immediately followed or accompanied these events. The inundation of the Tiber had overflowed the city for many days, so as to make it necessary to pass through the streets in boats. The markets could not be supplied; and this circumstance, joined to a real scarcity, which kept up the prices after the inundation subsided, occasioned a dearth which lasted for some years.

During this time of distress, it being thought impossible to find the usual supply of provisions, it was judged necessary to lessen the usual consumption; and for this purpose all gladiators, all slaves kept for sale, and all foreigners, except physicians and public teachers, were ordered to be removed a hundred miles from the city.† Even the servants and attendants of the court were dismissed in great numbers, and a vacation was proclaimed in the courts of justice, in order that as many as could possibly be spared from the city should depart.

The emperor appears now to have committed himself, without any prospect of change, to the influence of Livia and her family; and to confirm him in this disposition, the surviving Agrippa, being of a rude and brutal disposition, gave his antagonist every advantage in their supposed competition. Having, about this time, given some flagrant proof of this character in his behaviour to Livia, and even to the emperor himself, he was degraded from his place in the family of Cesar, and sent, under a military guard, to the island of Planasia, near to Corsica, where he remained a prisoner during the remainder of this reign.

From the disgrace of Agrippa Posthumus, it was no longer doubtful that Tiberius was destined to inherit the fortunes and power of Augustus. He alone was intrusted wherever great armies were to be assembled, and was employed in every service that was likely to end with lustre. After having penetrated, in his last campaign, to the Weser and the Elbe, he was called off to support his nephew and adopted son Germanicus, who, commanding the army on the side of Dalmatia, found himself too weak to execute the service on which he had been employed.

The provinces east of the Hadriatic, and from thence

* About 100*l*.

† U. C. 758.

probably to the Danube, had formed the plan of a general revolt.* It was reported, at this time, that those nations could assemble eight hundred thousand men, and that they had two hundred thousand foot properly armed, with nine thousand horse. Being so powerful in point of numbers they were enabled to divide their strength, and to carry on operations, at the same time, in different places. They destined one part of their force to invade Italy, by Tergeste and Nauportus; another to take possession of Macedonia; and a third to defend their own possessions at home. They gave the first intimation of their hostile intentions by a general massacre of the Romans, who, as provincial officers or traders, were settled in the country, and cut off all the military posts which had been advanced to protect them. They entered Macedonia without opposition, and with fire and sword laid waste all the possessions and settlements of the Romans in that province.

Such was the beginning of a war with the barbarous nations of the northern and eastern frontier of the empire, which, during some ages, was, at intervals, interrupted and resumed, often put Italy itself upon the defensive, was always formidable, and at last fatal to the sovereignty of Rome. The Romans, by the continual labours of seven centuries, had made their way from the Tiber to the Rhine and the Danube, through the territory of warlike hordes who opposed them, and over forests and rugged ways that were everywhere to be cleared at the expense of their labour and their blood; but the ways they had made to reach their enemies were now open, in their turn, for enemies to reach them. The ample resources which they had formed by their cultivation increased the temptation to invade them, and facilitated all the means of making war upon their country. By reducing the inhabitants of their provinces, in every part, to pacific subjects, they brought the defence of the empire to depend on a few professional soldiers who composed the legions.

Under apprehension of these circumstances, new levies were accordingly made, and the order not to enlist emancipated slaves was suspended.† The veterans, who had been discharged from the legions, were again ordered to repair to their colours; and citizens of every condition were required to furnish, in proportion to their estates or possessions, certain quotas of men for the service. Great efforts too were made to keep the enemy at a distance, and to fix the seat of the war in their own country. Tiberius ad-

* U. C. 759.

† U. C. 760.

‡ U. C. 761.

vanced for this purpose into Dalmatia, and the emperor himself set out for Ariminum, that he might be nearer the scene of operations to receive reports, to profit by intelligence, and to give directions.

Tiberius upon his arrival in Dalmatia, found the barbarians, who had invaded that country, commanded by two leaders of the names of Bato and Pinetos. He formed his own army into three divisions, commanded by Germanicus, Silvanus Lepidus, and himself. By this disposition he began his operations in three different quarters at once.

In the service which was committed to Silvanus Lepidus, he met with little resistance.* Where he himself commanded, the Romans were long detained in the blockade of a castle, where Bato had taken post with a numerous body of his countrymen; and being provided with necessaries, endeavoured to tire out the enemy; but, in the end, found means to escape, and left the remains of his countrymen, worn out with want and impatience, to surrender at discretion.

Where Germanicus commanded, the enemy had taken refuge in Anduba, a fortress similarly situated with the former; but which, after repeated attacks, was at last put into his hands by the dissension of the barbarians who defended it. These, having quarrelled, turned their swords mutually against each other. One of the parties set the quarters of their antagonists on fire, and both fell an easy prey to their enemies. Many of the women, to avoid captivity, threw themselves, with their children, into the flames. Bato soon after surrendered himself; and being asked, what tempted him to make war upon the Romans? made answer, "You affect to treat every nation as your flocks and your property; but you intrust the care of them to ravenous wolves, not to shepherds and their dogs."

At the close of the war, the title of imperator, with the triumphal ornaments, were decreed to Tiberius, and to his adopted son Germanicus; but in the midst of the rejoicings which were made on this occasion, accounts of a different nature were received from the Rhine.

The Romans, wishing to command the passage of the river, had occupied, as has been observed, some country, and fortified some stations on the German side. In consequence of this disposition, the Germans had, for some time, discontinued the practice of making incursions into Gaul. They were become familiar with the Roman army that was stationed in their country, exchanged commodities

with the Roman traders, and began to imitate their manners.

Such was the state of the nations situated between the Rhine and the Weser, when Quintilius Varus, who had been left by Tiberius in the command of the German frontier, began to consider the natives of the country around him as ripe for the ordinary impositions which the Romans laid on their subjects, and made some exactions for the supply of his army.

Some chiefs or leaders of the neighbourhood, particularly Segimerus, prince of the Chatti, and his son Arminius, had observed, with indignation, these encroachments of the Roman general, and the gradual decline of their country into a Roman province. Being at the head of a powerful canton, and much respected by all the nations of that quarter, they entered into a concert to cut off all the Romans that were posted on the German side of the Rhine; and to restore the independence of their people. They concealed their design by redoubling their attention to the Roman general; took their residence in his quarters, and served him as guides in conducting the marches, and in fixing the stations of his army.

While, by these artifices, Segimerus and Arminius lulled the Roman general into perfect security, they had their followers ready to assemble under arms, brought all the chieftains of their neighbourhood under engagements to join them, procured an insurrection of some of the cantons over which Segimerus claimed a supremacy, and implored the assistance of the Roman army in suppressing the revolt. Varus put his army in motion to quell this pretended rebellion, and advanced through difficult ways into the interior parts of the country. On this march he was attended by Segimerus and Arminius, who had assembled their forces, and brought forth the inhabitants of the neighbouring country, under pretence of acting as irregulars to cover the march of the Roman legions. In performing this service, they pervaded the marshes and woods in his front, on his flanks, and his rear, and had actually surrounded him, when he came upon the ground on which they proposed to make their attack.

Here the forests and marshes were extensive and impassable, except by a single tract. The Romans were crowded together, and entangled with their baggage; and being in this condition attacked from every quarter at once, were unable to resist or to escape. Varus succeeded in gaining an opening which appeared at some distance in the woods; and there, with as many as could follow him, attempted to

intrench himself ; but the greater part of the army fell by the hands of the enemy. At night, seeing no hopes of a retreat, the general himself fell upon his own sword, and by his example induced many officers and soldiers to employ the same means of avoiding the cruelties or insults to which they were exposed.

It had been concerted by the Germans, that on the same day every Roman post in their country should be attacked. Lucius Ceditius, who commanded at Aliso, now supposed to be Elsemberg, being surrounded by superior numbers, forced his way through the enemy, and, under the greatest distresses, arrived on the Rhine. All the other posts were forced, and the troops who had occupied them taken or killed.

The Romans, on this occasion, lost three entire legions, or about eighteen thousand foot and a considerable body of horse. Asprenas having remained on the German side of the Rhine only until he had collected the remains of the Roman army which had escaped from this calamity, withdrew into Gaul.

The first accounts of this disaster were received at Rome with the highest degree of consternation. The victorious enemy having cut off what was considered as the strength of the empire on the Rhine, were supposed to be following at the heels of the messenger who brought the news. The sacred records were consulted, to find what religious processions or ceremonies had been performed on the invasion of the Cimbri, and on the breaking out of the Marsic war, and the same rites were now to be repeated. The emperor put on mourning, and for some months carried in his looks, and in the neglect of his person, every appearance of distress. It was given out that, in the first transport of grief, he struck his head on the wall of his chamber. The Germans and Gauls, that were at Rome, were secured and sent into the islands on the coasts of Italy. All citizens were ordered to arm, and many disappeared from the streets, to avoid being pressed to serve in the legions. The forces which were brought in this manner to the emperor's standard, were placed under the command of Tiberius ; and as fast as they could be put into a regular form, began to move towards Gaul.

In these measures the Romans acted more from their own fears, than from a just apprehension of what was to be expected from the enemy ; and the Germans, on this occasion, made no attempt to pursue their victory, and remained quiet in their own possessions.

Of the Claudian family, on whom the sovereign power

seemed already to devolve, Germanicus, the grandson of Livia by Drusus, the younger of her sons, was most in favour with the people. He was recommended by an appearance of openness and candour in his manners, and by the facility with which he engaged, according to the custom of the ancient republic, in the defence of his clients, and in pleading their causes, whether before the emperor himself, or before the ordinary judges. Tiberius, on the contrary, seemed to be of a dark and suspicious temper, and was supposed to cover, under the appearances of moderation, which he studied to preserve in public and in presence of the emperor, a jealous and cruel disposition. But Livia, who, in the present period of her husband's life, had the entire government of him, preferred her son to her grandson, and employed all her influence to make the choice of a successor fall on Tiberius.

The emperor, in the mean time, pleased with the respite from trouble which these delegates of his power endeavoured to procure for him, reposed himself much on their care, and was pleased to be supplied with every change of amusement or pleasure for which it was known that he had any relish. In the decline of life, as he withdrew from the senate, so he desired to be excused from receiving the visits of the members, or even of his private friends; and, under pretence of being much occupied with the troubles which still subsisted on the frontiers of the empire, he declined going into company upon any occasion whatever.

While the emperor thus, in a great measure, withdrew from the public view, the fourth period of ten years, for which he had accepted of the government, being about to expire, he again resumed his command with the usual forms, prolonged the tribunitian power in the person of Tiberius for other five years, and permitted his son Drusus from being questor, to be entered on the list of consuls without passing through the rank of pretor.*

Augustus, in entering upon this new period of his government, in which he was no longer to attend the senate in person, received from this body, by a formal act, full powers, with the advice of his ordinary council, to determine all questions of state, and, with the concurrence of his adoptive children, to enact laws of equal authority with those he had formerly passed in the senate. These powers he had already exercised; and we may suppose them to have been thus formally conferred upon him, chiefly that it might be made to appear how far the family of Livia, now included in the

* U. C. 765.

same act, were raised to an avowed participation of the imperial authority.

The first consultations of this new legislature were employed on the subject of the penal laws, which, remaining without any considerable change from the times of the republic, were still, in respect to the forms of trial, better calculated to protect the subject than to gratify the passions of the sovereign. Banishment, by which, under the republic, criminals were at liberty to evade any sentence, and which, in reality, had nothing grievous besides the circumstance of their being obliged to travel from Rome, and to forego city preferments and honours, was, by a regulation now made, rendered more severe, and not suffered to remain, as the courtiers termed them, a mere elusion of justice.

So far the transition from the jealousy of the citizen against the severities of government, which is a part in the spirit of liberty, to the jealousy of the prince against the license of his subjects, which equally belongs to monarchy, was abundantly mild; but even this law, under the prospect of its immediate application, gave weight to the chains with which every citizen already felt himself loaded. It was not the law itself indeed, so much as the arbitrary application of it, that was likely to deprive every Roman of that degree of personal freedom to which he still had pretensions.

In the same year Tiberius was associated with Augustus in the government, and declared to have equal power with the emperor himself in all the provinces within his department.* On this occasion there being some disorders subsisting on the side of Dalmatia and Illyricum, which seemed to require the presence of this new associate in the empire, and he being to set out for this province, Augustus was pleased to accompany him on the road to Beneventum. They went to Astura by land; but as Augustus, when the wind was favourable, always preferred going by water, they embarked at this place, and steered for the coast of Campania. On their passage, Augustus was seized with a dysentery; but continued, as on a party of pleasure, to visit the different islands in the bay of Naples. From Naples, where he appeared in good spirits, he continued his route to Beneventum, where Tiberius, being to embark at Brundisium, took his leave, and the emperor set out on his return to Rome. Augustus finding his strength decline on a sudden, halted at Nola, a place in which his family had originally some possessions, and at which his father died. From the time of his arrival at this place he refused to

* U. C. 766.

listen to any business. On the morning of the 18th of August, he asked if his illness had caused any tumults or insurrections, called for a mirror, and desired to be dressed. He said to those who attended him, "What think you now? Have I acted my part properly?" then repeated the form with which actors commonly ended the representation of a play, desiring the audience, that if the piece was to their liking they should applaud. "I found," he said, "a city of brick, and changed it into marble." In this he alluded to his policy in the state, as well as to his buildings at Rome.

Augustus died at three in the afternoon of the eighteenth of August in the seventy-sixth year of his age. His body was immediately transported to Rome, by a numerous company of the equestrian order.

The senate met to deliberate on the honours to be paid at the funeral; and the members vied with each other in the proposals they made to exalt the dead, and to express their own sorrow.

At this funeral two orations were pronounced; one by Tiberius, who had been recalled on the near approach of the emperor's death; the other by Drusus, the son of Tiberius, on whom the name and inheritance of Cesar had now devolved.

CHAP. V.

The Will of Augustus—Review of his Reign—And of his character—Tiberius returns to Nola—Issues without delay his orders throughout the Empire—In the Senate affects Reluctance to charge himself with the Government—Mutiny in Pannonia—On the Rhine—Second Mutiny on the Arrival of Deputies from the Senate—Imposture of Clemens—Plot of Libo—Description of Tiberius—Death of Germanicus—And Trial of Piso.

AUGUSTUS had made his will about sixteen months before he died, bequeathing two-thirds of his estate to Tiberius, the other third to Livia, with an injunction to take the names of Julia and Augusta. In succession to Livia and her son he substituted the younger Drusus, the son of Tiberius, for a third; and overlooking Claudius, one of the sons of the elder Drusus and grandson of Livia, he bequeathed the remainder to the brother, Germanicus Cesar, and his offspring, already consisting of three sons and as many daughters. To this numerous list of heirs he substituted an ostentatious catalogue of principal citizens and senators:

but persisted so much in his severity to the unhappy Julia, as to forbid her a place in his monument.

After his will was read, four separate memorials were produced. The first contained instructions for his funeral; the second, a list of the actions which he wished to have recorded on his tomb; the third, a state of the republic, including the military establishment, the distribution of the legions, the revenue, the public disbursements, the money actually lodged in the treasury, the arrears of taxes that were due, with a reference to the persons in whose hands the vouchers were to be found.

The fourth memorial contained political instructions or maxims, in which he dissuaded the people from the too frequent manumission of slaves, and from the too easy admission of foreigners to the dignity of Roman citizens; and recommended filling offices of state with persons of experience and reputation. The public service, he observed, never should be intrusted to a single officer, nor all the powers of the commonwealth be suffered to accumulate in the hands of any one person. Such exclusive trusts, he said, must lead to abuse, and end in a scarcity of persons fit to be employed.

It is said, that in this memorial the emperor concluded with an injunction not to attempt any farther conquest, or any farther extension of the empire.

Such are the principal circumstances upon record, from which we are able to collect the character of this celebrated reign. The immediate effects of it, in many parts, appear to have been splendid and salutary. Among these we are to reckon the cessation of wars, and the reformation of government in the provinces. Under this establishment, instead of the consuls, who, being annually elected by the people, as often renewed the passion of their country for war and conquest, there began a succession of emperors who were addicted to sloth and sensuality, more than to ambition; or if disposed to war, who in youth, or in some particular period of life, exhausted their passion for military fame, and became from thenceforward a powerful restraint on the ambition of their own officers. These they considered as rivals and objects of jealousy, or as dangerous instruments, ever ready to involve them in wars abroad, to disturb their government at home, or to divert their revenue from those pleasurable applications in which they wished to employ it.

Whatever was lost to citizens of rank or high pretension at Rome, by the establishment of the monarchy, was gained to the other subjects of the empire. The provinces, from

being the temporary property of individuals, and stript to enrich a succession of masters, became the continued subjects of a sovereign, who as often as he understood his own interest, protected them against the oppression of his officers, and spared or nursed them as a continual source of revenue and of power to himself.

While these desirable effects naturally resulted from the new establishment, many circumstances of great lustre in the history of the age were ascribed to the sovereign. The seeds of ingenuity and of liberal arts, which had been sown, and which were already sprung up with so much vigour under the republic, now began to be reaped in a plentiful harvest.

Literature, and all the more agreeable fruits of ingenuity, received under the first emperor a peculiar degree of attention and encouragement. Augustus was himself a proficient in letters, or, willing to be amused with the pursuits of the learned, read his own productions in the circle of his friends; and, what is more difficult for an author, heard without jealousy the compositions of others, by which his own were probably far excelled. He had saved from the wreck of his enemy's party, protected from the oppression of his own, and selected, as his favourites, the most ingenious men of the times. By his munificence to these, his own name, as well as that of his minister, has become proverbial in the history of letters, and is deeply inscribed on monuments which can never perish, except by some calamity fatal to mankind.

The provinces greatly diversified in respect to situation, climate, and soil, as well as in respect to the arts which they severally possessed, having the benefit of general peace, and the protection of a common sovereign, reaped the advantage of an easy communication and a flourishing trade. All the surplus wealth of the more cultivated parts of the earth being drawn to the capital, and being at the disposal of single men, was expended in works of magnificence, and if not of utility, at least of splendid caprice.

The rough and vigorous hands by which this great empire was formed, had carried the balance and the sword of state before they could manage the tools of the more ordinary and inferior arts, and had given empire to their country, before they had provided for themselves the ordinary means of accommodation or pleasure. In proportion, however, as this nation of masters forced into their service the industrious and the learned in different parts of the earth, the practitioners of every art, and the professors of every science flocked to the capital. Their productions, though

spurned and rejected at first, were received by degrees; even Romans were taught to become artists and mechanics, and, by following a multiplicity of inferior pursuits and occupations, were taught to lower the haughty spirit of the conquerors of the world, to the level of the nations they had subdued.

In the times immediately preceding the civil wars, foreign letters, though fondly received by many of the first citizens of Rome, were still a novelty, and considered by the people as a foppish affectation. But the leaders in this fashion being the first officers and greatest men of the state, as Lucullus, Cicero, Cato, and Cesar; such illustrious examples soon removed every prejudice, and engaged, in the pursuit of learning, every talent that could be diverted from the more violent pursuits of ambition or pleasure. The civil wars for some time retarded the progress of letters; but, when brought to an end, left the public in possession of the bias it had received.

The circumstances most peculiarly characteristic of this reign, were the judgment and address with which the emperor repressed the license of the military, to whom he owed his own elevation; the artful policy by which he affected to restore some fragments of the civil government that he himself had broken down, and the caution with which he retained the character and profession of a civil magistrate and of a citizen, while he governed as a master. Joined to these, we may reckon the able choice which he made of officers fit to be trusted in the different departments of the public service; the constancy with which he persevered in employing them, and the liberality with which he made them feel that the prosperity of his fortunes was their own. While he gave these indications of a great mind, and possessed these powerful supports of a prosperous life, he dispensed with much of the flattery that is paid to princes, and in conversation encouraged the manners of a free and equal society.

How then are we to decide upon his character, marked by appearances of perfidy, cruelty, and even of cowardice in some parts of his life, distinguished by moderation, clemency, and steadiness in other parts of it? Octavius does not appear to have had from nature, in any high degree, those dispositions to benevolence or malice which are the great distinguishing principles of virtue and vice. He seems to have been indifferent to mankind; but desirous of consideration and power, as objects of interest to himself. His ruling passion was a desire to reign. In his way to this end, he committed many crimes; but having once

effected his purpose, he had no other criminal dispositions to gratify : or, after he was sovereign, standing in awe of a free spirit which he durst not insult, he, either from inclination or policy, and probably in part from both, preferred, as it is surprising that every one else does not prefer, the proper use of his power to the abuse of it. Neither the friend nor the enemy of mankind, he was, by his personal and interested ambition, the cause of harm and of good ; but upon the whole, if the history of the establishment made by him were to terminate with his own life ; if the tranquillity of his reign be compared with the troubles of the preceding period ; it will furnish, to those who contend for the preference of despotical government, an occasion of triumph.

When Augustus was seized with his last illness, Tiberius, in the capacity of his associate in the empire, as has been mentioned, set out for the armies in Dalmatia ; but he received on his way, a message from his mother, intimating the last symptoms of approaching death in her husband. Upon this intimation, he returned to Nola, and arrived either before Augustus expired, or before his death was publicly known ; and having given out, that, in a conference with that experienced prince, he had received his last instructions for the government of the empire, he took hold of the reins the moment the other was supposed to have dropped them, assumed his usual imperial guards, and, by sending orders to all the provinces and military stations, took upon him to continue the same model of government, without any cessation or interval whatever.

The new emperor, with the usual precaution to stifle competitors, ordered Agrippa, the surviving grandson of Augustus to be put to death, and took every other effectual measure to secure his own accession. At the same time, either in imitation of the cautious policy of the late emperor, or in pursuance of that hypocrisy and dissimulation to which he himself had been long accustomed, and to which he was naturally inclined, he affected to pay the utmost deference to the authority of the senate.

When the senate was assembled for the opening of the will and memorials of the late emperor, Tiberius, in a hypocritical speech, affected to give up the government into their hands : and beseeched them not to commit to one, what was sufficient to occupy the talents and abilities of many. Most of the members, though sufficiently trained in the school of Augustus, to know the part they were to act on such occasions, had not yet performed this part upon such dangerous ground. They affected to believe that Tiberius was sincere,

lamented that there should be any reluctance to accept of the government in the only person who was qualified to undertake it, and they beseeched him not to desert the republic in this extremity.

While Tiberius, with so much palpable craft, acted this farce in the senate, his title to the sovereignty underwent a more serious discussion in the provinces. The legions which were posted in different stations recollected what some of them might have seen, and all of them had heard, of times in which they were courted by their leaders, retained with presents or gratuities, and rewarded at the expiration of their service with grants of land, and settlements in the richest and most cultivated districts of Italy. Germanicus, the nephew and adopted son of Tiberius, might, by his popularity and by his pretensions, have become a formidable rival to his uncle, but was restrained by his moderation, and the sense of his duty. A mutinous spirit nevertheless broke out first in Panonia, where three legions were commanded by Junius Blæsus; and afterwards on the Rhine, where a great division of the Roman armies, consisting of eight legions, were distributed in different stations, under the chief command of Germanicus himself. The legions in Panonia refused to take the oath of allegiance to the new emperor, until their grievances should be redressed. They secured their colours, set at liberty all those who were confined for any military crime, and ceased to obey their officers, or to pay any regard to the ordinary duties and forms of the service.

Tiberius, though greatly alarmed, and sensible that this attack on his authority only needed a fit leader at the head of a few legions to reach him in the capital, and to supplant him in the empire, disguised his apprehensions, and proposing to soothe the discontents of the army, deputed to their quarters his own son Drusus, accompanied by Elius Sejanus, a young man already associated with his father, the emperor's favourite minister, in the command of the pretorian bands.

These commissioners were coldly received by the mutinous legions, and their offers treated with contempt. The troops insulted their officers, and affected to treat the authority of the emperor himself with contempt. Their presumption, however, was suddenly checked by an eclipse which took place in the moon, and, which, in their superstitious way of interpreting natural appearances, formed an emblem of their own situation, and by its event was to prognosticate the sequel of their present attempts. They were soon afterwards persuaded to make seasonable offers

of submission to the prince, and ultimately returned to their duty.

On the side of Germany, eight legions were placed at two separate stations; one division under Cecina, on the borders of the low countries; the other under Caius Silius, on the Upper Rhine, both under the orders of Germanicus, who being adopted into the family of Cesar, had been vested by Augustus with the command of these armies, and with the presidency of Gaul. This young man had married Agrippina, the daughter of Agrippa and of Julia Augusta, by whom he had a numerous issue, a circumstance generally attended with great popular favour among the Romans. The troops that were stationed on the borders of the low countries under Cecina, considered themselves, at the death of that emperor, as discharged from their military oath. They rose against their officers, killed most of the centurions, and forced Cecina, with the tribunes, to withdraw from their rage.

Germanicus, when the accounts of this alarming transaction were brought to him, was occupied in the affairs of the province, and in administering the oaths of allegiance on the accession of Tiberius. Sensible that his own high pretensions exposed him to be suspected of having encouraged these disorders, he repaired without delay to the camp, from which Cecina had been obliged to fly, and harangued the troops on the unreasonableness and impropriety of their late proceedings. They called for the legacy, which they heard was bequeathed to them by Augustus: they also invited the prince to declare himself sovereign of the empire, and offered to support his pretensions with their swords. On this proposal, Germanicus, as if seized with horror, came down from the platform on which he stood, and retired to deliberate on the present alarming state of affairs.

It was suggested, by some of the officers, that by a little artifice, without committing the authority of the emperor, the demands of the army might be satisfied. For this purpose, it was proposed that a letter should be feigned, as from Tiberius, so dated, that in writing it he could not be supposed to know of the disorder which now took place; that in this letter he should be personated, as declaring, by a voluntary act of goodness, his intention to double the legacy bequeathed by Augustus; to fix the entire period of service at twenty years, and that of the ordinary duties at sixteen.

A letter to this purpose being accordingly produced, the artifice was suspected, but the terms were agreed to, pro-

vided that the legacies were instantly paid ; that those who had served twenty years should be discharged, and those who had served sixteen years should be exempted as veterans from the ordinary duties of the camp. Many were accordingly discharged, and the more clamorous were paid up their share of the legacy, with such money as could be collected among the attendants of the prince. Others were persuaded to suffer a delay of payment, until they should come into quarters for the winter.

From this station, Germanicus repaired to that of the Upper Rhine, where with less trouble, and by means of the same gratuities, he prevailed on the legions of that division to withdraw into quarters. A mutiny of the troops on the Weser had broke out at the same time ; but was suppressed by the courage and ability of the officer at their head.

It appears, that Tiberius, on hearing of these mutinies on the Rhine and the Weser, had recourse to the senate, and wished to avail himself of their authority in restoring the discipline of the army. He probably meant, in the name of this body, to inflict the necessary severities, while he reserved to himself the more popular office of granting indulgences, or of making some gracious concessions.

A committee of the senate, of whom one Munatius Plancus is mentioned as the head, was accordingly sent to the quarters of the army, and arrived at the *Ara Ubiorum*,* where Germanicus, with two legions, after quieting the late mutiny, was retired for the winter. As soon as it was known, the deputies were arrived from the senate, to take cognizance of the state of the army, the soldiers apprehended that the late agreement was to be set aside ; that the indulgencies granted to them were to be recalled, and that something ungracious was intended, which the emperor chose to execute in some other name than his own ; for so the arts, by which the empire had been governed near fifty years, now began to be understood. In this persuasion, the soldiers, in a riotous manner, assembled round the quarters of their general ; and as a signal, that they were not any longer to respect his authority, they tore the imperial standard from thence ; and to deter civil officers, for the future, from interposing in their affairs, meant to have murdered Munatius Plancus, and the other deputies of the senate. These officers, however, took refuge at the colours of one of the legions, where according to the practice of the Roman army, they had the protection of a sanctuary, and by this means escaped the fate that was intended for them.

* In the Bishopric of Cologne.

Germanicus being still accompanied in his quarters by his wife Agrippina and her infant son, the youngest of his children, and apprehending that they could not be safe in this place of disorder, determined to remove them to some other station, where the troops, remaining in their duty, were likely to afford them protection. At their departure, the soldiers seeing the wife and the infant child of their favourite leader, followed by a numerous train of female attendants, fly from their camp, as from a place in which no respect was to be paid to sex, age, or rank, were struck with the effect of their own violence. Some crowded in the way of this melancholy train, and endeavoured to detain them; while others ran to the husband, and beseeched him to spare the legions so cruel a reproach, as was implied in his supposing that the wife of Germanicus, the daughter of Agrippa, and the grand-daughter of Cesar, with her infant child, were obliged to fly for safety from their quarters.

The prince, observing the disposition of the soldiers, seized the opportunity of regaining his authority; and making it a condition that they would return to their duty, complied with their request.

In the first moment of zeal to signalize their affection, multitudes, without knowing the cause of the change, passed with the impetuosity of popular tumults, by a rapid transition, from one extreme to the other, called out for justice on those who had been leaders in the late mutiny; and themselves became willing instruments in punishing such as were pointed out to them as authors of a guilt, in which the whole had been concerned. Germanicus and the principal officers withdrew from the scene, leaving a centurion on the platform to preside in this extraordinary course of justice. The prisoners that were brought to him, were hoisted up into view, and upon the verdict of the multitude, to spare or punish them, were released, or thrown down from the platform, and suffered immediate death from the hands of their fellow soldiers.

The same disorders had broken out, and still subsisted at Vetera,* the station of the fifth and twenty-first legion; but Germanicus being now in condition to enforce his authority, advanced at the head of a powerful army, sent his instructions to Cecina, who was present with the mutinous troops, requiring that they should, of their own accord, bring the guilty to justice; which was accordingly done.

These were the principal difficulties which Tiberius en-

* Nearly opposite to Cleves.

countered in effecting his succession ; he had other alarms in the commencement of his reign, but of inferior moment. Such were the troubles occasioned by the imposture of Clemens, who had been a slave in the service of the posthumous Agrippa, and the conspiracy of Scribonius Libo, who, being encouraged by his affinity to the highest names in the republic, had formed some visionary design on the empire.

Clemens, upon the death of the late emperor, had gone to the place at which his master was detained in exile, meant to have conducted him to one of the armies in Gaul, where he made no doubt that the son of Agrippa, and the lineal descendant of Cesar, would have found a favourable reception ; but his design being prevented by the death of this unfortunate young man, he formed a project still more wild and romantic, founded in some resemblance which he himself bore to his deceased master, he took his name, and proposed to personate him. Pretending to have escaped from the cruelty of the usurper Tiberius, he frequently changed his place, and affected concealment ; but suffered himself to be seen by those who were likely to be imposed upon, and to afford him protection or support. He was accordingly favoured by many persons of consequence, who were either deceived, or willing to countenance any attempt that was made to disturb the present succession. Among his supposed abettors, however, he had unfortunately one person employed by the emperor himself, to seduce and to circumvent him. By this emissary affecting to believe his story, and to aid him in asserting his pretensions to the throne, he was delivered over into the hands of his enemies, and was put to death by order of Tiberius, who, it is said, had the barbarous curiosity to visit him, and to examine his likeness to Agrippa before he was executed.

The emperor was soon after rather amused than alarmed, by the informations he received of the practices of Scribonius Libo, his other competitor for the throne of Cesar. This young man, being by his mother, the grandson of of Pompey, and by his father, the nephew of Scribonia, who was the first wife of Augustus, was consequently the cousin of Julia, and of her children. His affinity to the sovereigns of the world inspired him with thoughts and expectations above the condition of a subject, and laid him open to the arts of false and designing men, whom the fashion of the times encouraged with the prospect of impunity, and even of rewards.

Such men affecting zeal for the safety of the emperor, enticed the unwary to engage themselves in some supposed treasonable practice, in order to have the merit of inform-

ing against them. In this odious character, a senator of the name of Firmius Catus, practised upon the weakness of Libo, made him acquainted with professed magicians, astrologers, and interpreters of dreams, who flattered him with the hopes of empire; and after he was engaged in this idle or criminal correspondence, contrived, by means of one Flaccus Vesculanius, who frequented the court, to give secret information of the whole to the emperor.

Tiberius, employing all his artifice against this feeble antagonist, refused to see the informer, but directed him to continue his intrigue, and to report the progress of it by the same channel. While he concurred in laying this snare for the unhappy young man, he raised him to the dignity of pretor, treated him, at the feasts and entertainments of the palace, with uncommon marks of distinction, and took the malicious pleasure of observing how far these flatteries, joined to the hopes of empire that were given him, contributed to swell his presumption.

In the mean time, and possibly before the design of the emperor, and of his informers, was ripe for execution, Fulcinus Trio, another noted informer, having intimation of the matter from one of the astrologers, who had been consulted by Libo, proposing to snatch the prey from his original accuser, and to have a preferable claim to the reward, carried his discovery directly before the senate; but the emperor being present when this information was delivered, did justice to the first informer, confirmed the charge, and with an odious accuracy, enumerated the piteous follies of which Libo had been guilty. The senators, pretending to be alarmed at such a treason, vied with each other in expressions of abhorrence, and many of them contended for the honour of conducting the prosecution which was to be formed against the criminal.

The slaves of the accused, agreeably to a late innovation in the law, were transferred in property to the emperor, that they might be put to the question, or that they might be received in evidence against their master.

Libo had the first intimation of what had passed, by a party of armed men, who, with orders to seize his person, broke into his house. Terrified by this appearance, he pleaded for mercy; or if this could not be obtained, implored that one of his own servants might be allowed to put an end to his life; and being disappointed in both those requests, he took poison or wounded himself, and was in the agonies of death, when, according to Dion Cassius, he was, in order to secure the confiscation of his estate, carried before the senate to receive his sentence. By the decree which was

given, the name and family of Libo were consigned to infamy, and the astrologers, his accomplices, were expelled from Italy, or put to death.

The emperor, when this sentence passed, affected regret for the unhappy young man, complained of his precipitancy in preventing the effects of mercy, and professed an intention to have spared his life.

From the time at which the mutinies on the Rhine and Danube were suppressed, we may date the accession of Tiberius to the throne of Cesar. He was now in the fifty-sixth year of his age; is described in his person as tall, robust, and healthy; erect in his walk; of a fair complexion, handsome countenance, large eye, but frowning; of few words, and slow of utterance; without any action or gesture while he spoke, besides a kind of involuntary motion with his fingers. His manner, notwithstanding his figure, was so ungracious, that Augustus, in recommending him to public favour, thought proper to make an apology for this defect in his appearance; observing that his ungracious looks were mere accidents in the outward form of his person, not expressions of vice in his temper. In his youth, he was addicted to debauchery; but as he advanced to manhood, being in awe of the emperor, he learned in many things to disguise his inclinations, and acquired a habit of reserve and hypocrisy.

Aware of the restraints hitherto placed upon his passions, the world looked with anxious expectation for the full display of a character, hitherto for the most part wrapped up in reserve, and justly suspected of cruelty. Among the first discoveries that were made of his temper, it appeared that even his mother Livia had mistaken his disposition, or over-rated her own ascendant over him. In procuring the empire to her son, she had joined to the zeal of a mother, a high degree of ambition, and a desire to emerge from a species of obscurity, in which she had lived in the reign of her husband. On the accession of Tiberius, she assumed all the consequence she expected to reap from his greatness, and was flattered by the senate, but checked by her son; whereupon she entirely dropped her pretensions to any part in the government, becoming no less reserved in the reign of her son, than she had been in that of her husband. As Augustus, in assuming the sovereignty, and in the whole of his reign was kept in awe by the republican spirit, which he supposed still to lurk with a dangerous violence in the minds of the people; so Tiberius, to the affectation of treading in the steps of his predecessor, joined a great measure of distrust in the dispositions of the people

towards himself, and in their predilection for others, who might be supposed more worthy to reign. Among these, he looked upon Germanicus as the first or principal object of his jealousy. He had adopted this young man merely in compliance with the late emperor's will, and considered him not only, as he was become by this act of adoption, a rival to his own son, but as he was, by the affection of the people, by the attachment of the army, and the high pretensions of his wife Agrippina, a most dangerous rival to himself. He could not forgive a person to whom the legions had made offers of the empire; and who, for having declined the offer, was deemed the more worthy of it.

While these feelings were operating at home, Germanicus after the suppression of the late mutinies, that he might not suffer the soldiers time to brood over their grievances, went on an expedition beyond the Rhine, and surprised a great body of barbarians assembled to take advantage of the disorder which they supposed to subsist in the Roman army, dispersed them with great slaughter, continued his march to the famous ground on which Varus had been cut off with his legions; and finding the field still covered with the unburied bones of the slain, had them interred. From thence he invaded the territory of Arminius, and punished that barbarian for his treachery to those unfortunate legions. Upon his return from this expedition, and while he was meditating a renewal of such operations on the following year, Germanicus had intimation of the emperor's intention to remove him from his station on the Rhine, accompanied with a message full of the most flattering commendation of his services.

An invitation to court, though veiled under many flattering pretences, was sufficiently understood to be a peremptory command, which Germanicus accordingly obeyed. On his arrival in Italy, only two cohorts or battalions were sent from Rome to receive him. But every circumstance tended to augment the jealousy of the emperor; the greater part of the pretorian bands, mingled with multitudes of the people of every sex, condition, and age, advanced of their own accord some miles from the city, and received him with uncommon acclamations of joy. Having made his entry, as had been proposed, in triumph, he was, with the emperor himself, put in nomination for the consulate of the following year.

The popularity of which Germanicus now appeared to be possessed in the city, was no less mortifying to the emperor than his power in the army of Gaul was supposed to be dangerous. Under these circumstances, he was vested with

a commission to restore the tranquillity of Asia, that was disturbed by some disputes which had arisen on the succession to the kingdoms of Cappadocia and Armenia.

Germanicus, in the end of the third year of the present reign, set out upon this commission. Having a supreme authority in the several provinces through which he was to pass, from the sea of Ionia to the extremities of Egypt and of Syria, he visited, as chief in command, the cities of Greece, still revered as the principal seminaries of philosophy and literature; and upon his entry into Asia, proceeded to execute the commission on which he was sent. He reduced Cappadocia and Commagene to the form of Roman provinces, and settled Zeno, son to the king of Pontus, on the throne of Armenia. On his return he was taken ill, and died at Antioch in the thirty-fourth year of his age, with some suspicions of having been poisoned by Cn. Piso, the prefect of Syria, not without the connivance or the direction of Tiberius himself.

Piso, hearing of the death of Germanicus, while he was yet on the coast of Asia, betrayed his animosity to the dead by public and indecent demonstrations of joy. He afterwards attempted, by force, to reinstate himself in the province of Syria, from which he had been ordered by Germanicus to depart; but was repulsed by Sentius, who had been chosen by the officers of the prince's train to keep the possession of the province till the pleasure of the emperor should be known.

Agrippina, arriving soon after at Brundisium with the ashes of her deceased husband, was, by order of the emperor, received by a great military escort and the honours of war. She passed in a kind of funeral procession through multitudes that were collected from every part of the country to gaze upon her; and coming to Rome sufficiently impressed with the idea that her husband had been poisoned, called for revenge on the supposed authors of his death. Numbers contended for the honour of carrying her complaints before the tribunals of justice, and of being the accusers of her husband's murderers.

A prosecution soon after commenced against Piso in which all that was known to be exceptionable in the preceding life and behaviour of the accused, was stated against him by Fulcidius Trio, the person already notorious as having exercised the trade of informer in the case of Libo. The conduct of the accusation of poisoning, and the other crimes imputed to Piso in his late command, was committed to Vitellius and Veranus, persons peculiarly attached to Germanicus. The trial having begun before the emperor

himself, was afterwards transferred to the senate. Two days were allowed to the accusers to establish their charge, and three to the accused to make his defence. The prosecutors brought sufficient evidence of Piso's arrogance and extortion; of much undutiful behaviour to Germanicus himself in Asia; of disobeying his orders; of having made war beyond the limits of his province, but no sufficient evidence of his having made any attempts by poison on the life of the prince. The charge indeed, as stated, or laid, was extremely incredible, that Piso should, at the table of Germanicus, and in the midst of servants, attendants, and friends, venture to mix poison in a dish from which numbers were to eat. To render this imputation still more improbable, it was observed, that the dead body had been exposed to public view in the market-place at Antioch, and that no external marks or indications of poison were found.

The principal evidence that was produced of any criminal practice against the prince's life consisted of a collection of human bones, some verses, pieces of lead marked with the name of Germanicus, and other supposed charms, which were found in his quarters, and which were considered as implements of sorcery, employed against the life of the person whose name was inscribed, and against whom they were supposed to take effect if the poison should fail.

The charge of murder, therefore, supported by such evidence, will appear to the modern reader entirely groundless, and must have been rejected even by the tribunal to which it was referred; but the accused seeing that the torrent ran high against him, and probably to prevent the consequences of a formal sentence in the confiscation of his family estate, cut short the proceedings by a voluntary death; or, as was supposed by many, was secretly put to death by an order from the court, lest his public confession should appear to involve the emperor himself in the guilt.

On either supposition, the death of Piso being considered as an act of self-condemnation, or as a precaution in Tiberius to prevent a discovery, confirmed the people in their suspicion, that they were jointly concerned in the murder of the favourite prince.

CHAP. VI.

Review of the first Period in the Reign of Tiberius — Applications of Penal Law — Disposition of Tiberius to a recluse Life — Place and character of Sejanus — Death of Drusus, Son of the Emperor — Retirement of Tiberius to the Island of Caprea — Jealousy of the Emperor against Agrippina and her children — Death of Livia Augusta — Design formed against Sejanus — His Death — Prosecution of his supposed Accomplices — Artists — Old Age — and Death of Tiberius.

THE death of Germanicus is considered by some historians as a remarkable epoch in the present reign. Before this event, Tiberius, as if conscious that he held the empire by his good behaviour, was popular in his manners, and guarded in his administration; declined the extravagant honours which were offered to him; was easy of access; affected to live like a private citizen; returned visits, and accepted invitations to entertainments and feasts; visited the sick, attended funerals, and delivered orations in praise of the dead. He treated the titular magistrates of Rome with the same ceremonious respect that used to be observed in times of the republic; rose, and stood, in the presence of the consul; took his place in the senate as a private member; was frequently seen in the courts of justice as an assessor, as an advocate, as an evidence, or as a spectator. To a person who saluted him with the title of *master*, "Insult me not," he said, "with that odious appellation. I am the master of my slaves, general of the army, and no more than prince, or first in the rolls of the senate and people." He took the title of Augustus only in his correspondence with foreign powers. In all his addresses, whether to particular members of the senate, or to this body at large, he was in the highest degree respectful and courteous. When engaged in debate, he endeavoured to qualify contradiction or difference of opinion with respect and regret. To a senator, named Haterius, on some such occasion, he said, "I hope you will forgive me, if, in my duty as a senator, I differ from you somewhat too freely." At a meeting of the senate, in referring some matter to their decision, he concluded with these words: "I have formerly said, and now say, that it becomes the person you have intrusted with so large a share of the public affairs, to consider himself as the servant of this assembly, as the servant of the people, and of every individual; nor do I repent me of this saying; for I have found you, and still find you candid, indulgent, and kind masters." He affected a continual deference to their

judgment on every subject, whether of policy, revenue, or foreign correspondence; even seemed to wait for their orders in what concerned the command of the army, and pretended to be displeased, when officers, employed in the provinces, made their report directly to himself, without communicating the subject of their despatches first to the senate.

With these popular arts, he joined an administration in many things worthy of a wise and exemplary prince, indulged the people in the freedom of speech to which they had been accustomed, saying, that "in a free country, the mind and the tongue should be free." To those who brought him information of any slander spoken of himself, he affected indifference. He gave a ready hearing and redress to all the complaints that were made to him from the provinces, and carefully limited the exactions of his officers within the bounds of established and ordinary fees. To persons suffering by fire, earthquakes, or other public calamities, to the families of decayed senators, to the children of those who had bequeathed him their estates by will, he was munificent and liberal; took effectual measures to suppress the banditti, which from the time of the civil wars, still infested the country; and endeavoured to diminish that constant source of corruption, the idleness which the people contracted in the too frequent repetition of shows and of public entertainments. He gave an abatement of some taxes which had been imposed by the late emperor, and in particular, mitigated the penalties which had been erroneously inflicted on celibacy.

Tiberius seemed to have perceived that the severities employed by his predecessor, to enforce marriage, served only to multiply the evils of the times, without administering any effectual remedy to that which was complained of. But what, in this enumeration of examples of his political conduct, would have done him most honour, had he continued to support it in the subsequent part of his reign, was the equanimity with which he rejected many frivolous accusations which were brought against the unwary by his own flatterers, or by the mercenary informers who began to swarm in his time.

In respect to criminal prosecutions, the change of government, which took place at Rome, had, without altering the legal forms, made a fatal change in the effect of the laws. The office of an accuser, supported by a pure concern for the public safety, was commendable; but under the present government, when the object of the law, as well as the motive for the application of it, were so much changed, the character of a prosecutor, though disguised under the an-

cient forms and titles, was, in the highest degree, vile and detestable. Under the establishment of Augustus, the idea of majesty was transferred from the state itself to the emperor; and the principal object of the law being to guard his person, not only his safety and the authority of his government, but his most private concerns, made a part in the majesty which was to be preserved. Whatever implied disrespect, whatever alarmed his jealousy, or interfered with his caprice, even intrigues of debauch with women of his family, were constructed as treason. Under a continuation of this government, the evil was inflamed by the pretended zeal of spies and informers, who, partly to pay their court, and partly to merit the rewards which were promised from the confiscation of estates, endeavoured to keep on foot a continual inquisition, in which they brought to trial the most trivial indiscretions, as well as more real offences, against the person, authority, or dignity of the prince. The swarms of such persons who haunted the steps of the unwary, and filled the senate and the courts of justice with cruel or frivolous prosecutions; in which, by interesting the passions of the emperor, they endeavoured to make him a party, was one of the most grievous circumstances attending the late revolution of government.

Tiberius, notwithstanding this tendency of the establishment to which he succeeded, and his own temper, which was sufficiently prompt and sanguinary in preventing attempts on his person, or on his government, had the honour, during the first years of his reign, in some measure, to withstand this torrent, and to treat many frivolous accusations with a proper degree of contempt. A senator of the name of Falenius, being accused of having included, with other furniture in the sale of his house, a statue of Augustus; another of the name of Rubrius, being accused of having taken a false oath by the name of Augustus; and Granius Marcellus being accused of having taken the head from a statue of that prince, in order to substitute a head of Tiberius in place of it, a manner of paying his court rather ridiculous than criminal; in these, and other instances of the same kind, Tiberius either took no part, or gave his instructions to the senate in very liberal and manly terms. On the subject of the prosecution that was raised against Falenius, "My father," he said, "was deified, that his divinity might be a safeguard and a protection, not a snare to the people. His image may, no doubt, be included, with those of the other gods, as part in the furniture of a house that is sold." With respect to the supposed perjury of Rubrius, he observed, that "if any one swear, and is perjured, the

crime is the same, whoever be the god whose name is profaned. Augustus is no more to be regarded, in this matter than Jupiter; and either of these gods, if offended, can avenge himself." The third offence, or the shifting of heads from one statue to another, being considered as a mockery of that adulation which was so easily transferred from one to another, in the succession of princes, and as some degree of ridicule on the prince himself, was not so easily forgiven; though, for the present overlooked, it was reserved as a subject of future resentment.

To whatever motive we ascribe a conduct so popular, and in many particulars so worthy of empire, it is observed that its effects on the minds of the people were not such as might have been expected, and did not procure to the emperor the favourable opinion or credit to which he aspired. His manner, even when he affected humanity and condescension, was ungracious and alarming; and, notwithstanding any appearances to the contrary, his real character was supposed to be malicious and cruel. It is said, that in the midst of the hypocrisy and dissimulation by which he had endeavoured to disguise himself before his accession, he made some slips which betrayed the reality of this disposition; and that he had been surprised into acts of insolence and severity, in which, by mixing derision and sarcasm with cruelty, he had given the strongest proofs of a merciless nature. For the present it was observed, that his overacting the part of popularity, the ridiculous tyranny he exercised over the senate in requiring at once the affectation of freedom and the grossest servility; that the farce of affecting reluctance in accepting of a government which he had previously secured with the greatest care; the ridicule of dividing in the senate, or giving his vote with the minority, when a resolution was to be taken in favour of himself, served to join mockery and insult to the weight of his usurpation; that even his affectation of popularity, for the most part, increased the terrors of his government; that his presence in the courts of justice took away all freedom of judgment; and that the discretionary power which he assumed, of mitigating or reversing sentences, and of dispensing with laws, under pretence of correcting their general tendency by seasonable exceptions, only served to frustrate the pretensions to civil government, which, in imitation of Augustus, he still affected to preserve.

But in whatever sense the favourable appearances, which presented themselves in the beginning of this reign, were to be interpreted, they were no more than temporary, and, the manners of this prince, gave way to the growing

asperity of age, or to the presumption which took place in his mind, upon the removal of a person whom he considered as a dangerous rival, and who, in case of any public discontent, might have been made the instrument of overturning his government.

Soon after the death of Germanicus, the temper of Tiberius, which had probably gained strength from restraint, broke forth in many cruel and alarming effects. His vigilance, hitherto limited to one object, and his jealousy, directed against a single person, now found a multiplicity of subjects on which to exert their force.

Among the particulars in which the emperor, in the first period of his reign, imposed the greatest violence on his own disposition, we may reckon the openness and accessibility which, with a temper naturally dark and reserved, he affected to maintain with the people; and one of the principal circumstances, probably, in which he proposed to indulge himself, on his being relieved from his fears of Germanicus, was in retiring from the public view, and in eluding the observation of persons whom he considered as spies on his actions. In the eighth year of his reign, and in the second year after the death of Germanicus, having associated his son Drusus with himself in the consulate, and leaving him in the administration of affairs in the city, he withdrew for some time into Campania, meditating, as Tacitus observes, a more entire and continued retreat. During the two first years after his accession he had confined himself to the walls of Rome, and remained in the city, as in the watch-tower, from whence he was to observe and prevent all designs that might be formed on his government. After those years were passed, he made some excursions to Antium,* and other towns or villages on the same coast, yet never to any greater distance.

But while the emperor thus endeavoured to debar the people from all access to his person, and to seclude himself from public view, he selected, as a proper instrument of his power, and, in appearance, as an object of his most implicit confidence, Elius Sejanus, who has been already mentioned, as accompanying his son Drusus on his mission to the mutinous legions in Panonia. This person supposed to have no dangerous pretensions, or though false to others, supposed true to his master, he had placed at the head of his guards or pretorian bands, and distinguished him with a degree of affection and confidence hitherto without example in any former part of his life.

* About thirty miles from Rome.

Sejanus is described by Tacitus as of a hardy and indefatigable constitution of body ; of a bold spirit and an insatiable ambition, which he disguised under an affectation of modesty. He is described as a person possessed of great art in concealing his own vices, and of an insidious penetration in prying into those of others ; versatile in his manners, and either careless and profuse, or vigilant and severe, as suited the occasion ; insolent to those over whom he had any advantage, but fawning where he was the inferior, or had an interest to gain. In his youth he had attached himself to Caius Cesar, the adopted son of Augustus ; and afterwards succeeding his own father, in the station which he now occupied at the head of the pretorian bands, seemed to improve the access which this situation gave him to the person of the emperor, into an ascendant over his mind.

One of the first or most observable signs of the great elevation of Sejanus, was the proposed marriage of his daughter with the son of Claudius, the brother of Germanicus ; a person, though at this time in a great measure neglected at court, yet nearly related to the emperor ; and, in the sequel of events, himself destined to ascend the imperial throne. Sejanus being thus pointed out as favourite, by a mark of honour which tended to gratify his vanity, he took measures, at the same time, the most efficacious to establish his power. For this purpose he employed his credit in filling up with his own creatures, as fast as vacancies happened, the pretorian bands, the legions, and every civil as well as military department in the state.

He also changed, with the same view, the manner of disposing of the pretorian bands. These troops were hitherto quartered on the citizens, or distributed in the villages round the walls of the city ; but were now lodged together in a citadel, and barracks erected for their reception. In this disposition, whatever may have been the object of it, there is no doubt that the pretorian bands became more detached from the people, and that the force and presumption of this formidable body became more tremendous to the other parts of the empire, and even to the emperor himself.

As Tiberius seemed to set no bounds to his confidence in the minister, and enabled him to employ all the powers of the empire in support of his own elevation, the jealousies or resentments of the favourite became equally fatal with those of his master, and being more numerous, involved the government of the emperor in perpetual animosities, persecutions, and cruelties, which may have, for the present, gratified his severe and jealous temper, but which were in every way conducive to his interest.

As Sejanus was most vigilant and jealous in exacting observances, it became more dangerous to neglect the attention he required, than even that which was due to the prince. A courtship was accordingly paid to him by the retainers of the palace, by the senate, by the army, and by the people, more assiduous than even that which they paid to the emperor. In private, every species of flattery; in public, honorary decrees were invented to gratify his vanity. The anniversary of his birth was joined to the festivals of the year. His name was inserted in the public prayers; and when any deputation was sent with addresses of respect to the emperor from the senate, from the equestrian order, or from any other public description of men, compliments were at the same time sent to his favourite. The effigies of both were carried together among the ensigns of the legions, and their statues were grouped together in the streets. Women of every rank thought themselves honoured by the addresses of this fortunate man, and became the tools of his ambition, or the prostitutes of his pleasure. By debauching the wife, he sometimes obtained intelligence what were the designs or ordinary pursuits of the husband; and by encouraging the zeal of spies and informers, who were now become the favourite retainers of the court, he was enabled to pry into the actions of every citizen, and to watch all the symptoms of disaffection to the emperor or to himself.

Sejanus computed that he himself was already possessed of more favour with the reigning emperor, than Tiberius ever had enjoyed with the person to whom he succeeded; and that there was nothing in the farther progress of his fortune too arduous or difficult for him to undertake. The conduct of the young princes towards him had been provoking, and seemed to justify his resentment. They bore with impatience the intrusion of a rival into the emperor's favour. Drusus in particular was frequently heard to complain, that his father had chosen a favourite to supplant his own son, and had made a stranger little less than a colleague in the empire.

This favourite had already formed an intrigue with Livia, or Livilla, the sister of Germanicus, married to Drusus. By this intelligence with the wife, he had notice of what passed in the conversations of the husband; and in concert with this abandoned woman, found means, by the hands of a eunuch, to administer poison to the prince, of which he died. The cause of his death, and the circumstances of this daring crime, were not known till about eight years afterwards.

In the mean time Sejanus, encouraged by the success of his first attempt, flattered himself that he might step into the place of the prince whom he had thus removed out of his way ; and, in concert with Livilla, with whom he had already lived in habits of adultery, he waited for a decent interval to propose himself to the emperor as a husband for the widow of his son.

Tiberius, although he had, by his deceased son, a grandson of his own name ; yet this young man being still under age, he thought proper, upon the breach which had recently been made in his family, to bring forward the two elder sons of Germanicus, Nero and Drusus, whom he presented to the senate, as the great-grand-children of Augustus, and the future supports of the commonwealth. Sejanus, however, who bore with great impatience the admission of new rivals in the way of his ambition, improved every circumstance in the manner which he knew to be most effectual to awaken the emperor's jealousy, and to inflame the animosity already subsisting betwixt the empress Livia and Agrippina, the widow of Germanicus, and mother of these young men.

The passions of jealousy and distrust, by which the mind of Tiberius was secretly devoured, became less disguised and more violent in their effects against those who happened to be the objects of them. He listened without reserve to every spy or informer, and, under the pretence of treason, directed prosecutions against every person in any degree exposed to suspicion. Under such prosecutions the accused, having no hopes to escape from a charge in which the passions of the sovereign were engaged against them, endeavoured, for the most part, to prevent by a voluntary death the confiscation of their estates. And this direful necessity, frequently repeated, being imputed to the merciless policy or suggestion of Sejanus, greatly increased the court which was paid to him, and multiplied the professions of public regard.

Sejanus, still appearing to rise in the confidence of his master, on the ruin of every one else, ventured, according to the agreement long since made with Livilla, to propose himself to the emperor as second husband to the widow of his son. In answer to this request, the emperor acknowledged the merits of his favourite ; but did not give him any encouragement on the subject of his request. Sejanus was alarmed by this refusal, and dreaded a change of his master's disposition. He had hitherto excluded every competitor from the emperor's favour ; but a temper so prone to suspicion he knew could be easily turned against

him, and would receive encouragement from numbers, as soon as they should see the first signs of distrust. For these reasons, he is said at this time to have formed the design of persuading Tiberius to remove from the city. When at a distance, he trusted that, by means of the guards, who were the bearers of all expresses and messages, he might be master of the emperor's correspondence, and prevent the access of every suspicious person.

Whatever effect we may suppose the representations of Sejanus to have had in persuading the emperor to retire from Rome, it is probable that, in forming this resolution, still more was owing to his own temper. Though deeply tinctured with pride, the inherent vice of his family, Tiberius had not any share of that vanity which leads men to display their fortunes and persons in the view of the world. Content with the gratification of his appetites, and joining hypocrisy with the worst species of sensuality, he could submit to obscurity; and, although the resources of solitude were now diminished by the effects of age, yet a temper become more jealous of the world, and more averse to its notice, inclined him more to withdraw from the city, and to maintain from a distance that watch which he had hitherto kept over the actions, words, and even thoughts of its inhabitants. He accordingly, in the twelfth year of his reign, under pretence of dedicating in Campania a temple to Jupiter and another to Augustus, withdrew from Rome, and after this time, during the remainder of his life, under various pretences, but with continual intimations of his intention to return, absented himself from the city. Having performed the ceremonies for which he had gone to Campania, he passed from thence to Capræa, a small island under a headland, which was called the promontory of Minerva, making one side of the bay of Naples. It is probable that, after mature deliberation, he had fixed on this spot as a place of security and an agreeable retreat. It was covered by the high lands of Minerva from the north-east winds, and was open to breezes from the sea on the south-west. It was accessible only to very small vessels, and this only at a single place. The seas were open to his scouts, and no sail could approach without his knowledge and permission. In this secession, he divided the guards, having one part in the island for the defence of his person, and the other at Rome, to enforce the mandates of his government.

Among the Romans who were admitted into this retreat are mentioned Sejanus, from whom the emperor was still inseparable, Curtius Atticus, a Roman knight, and Cocceius Nerva, a senator of great dignity.

Tiberius, in the latter part of his life, admitted likewise into his privacy at Capreæ, Caius, the third son of Germanicus, better known by the name of Caligula. The society, however, in which he delighted most, was made up chiefly of Greeks, professed men of letters, but more eminent as flatterers and ministers of pleasure. For such men he had no respect, but suffered them to amuse him with their speculations, or rather with a kind of literary buffoonery, in discussing ludicrous questions which he was pleased to propose; such as, who was the mother of Hecuba, and what species of music was sung by the Syrens.

This tyrant, though now withdrawn from the resentment of those he injured, did not suffer his vigilant jealousy to sleep over the rumours and reports of his informers and spies, but rather, with a more open and unguarded severity watched over crimes which had no existence but in his own imagination. From Capreæ, his mandates, for the most part, were carried to the senate, and to the military officers at Rome, not as complaints against the supposed offender, or as instructions to the magistrate to make trial or inquiry into the guilt of the accused, but as warrants for their immediate execution.

Agrippina and her sons, with their adherents, and those of Germanicus, were principal objects of the present emperor's animosity and cruel dislike. This family being high in the favour of the people, he fancied that the young men might not be disposed to defer the completion of their hopes until a natural event had bestowed a succession, which a daring attempt might accelerate. Nero and Drusus, the two elder sons of this family, having without any authority from the emperor, been included by the senate in the forms of public prayer, their names were again expunged by his order, and with an admonition to the senate, not to inflame the ambition of youth with premature and exorbitant honours. This forward attempt to place the sons of Germanicus on the steps of the throne, was supposed to proceed from the ambition of their mother Agrippina, who appearing to carry in her high looks and vehement temper the pretensions of the grand-daughter of Augustus, and the mother of future emperors, ever seemed to reproach Tiberius with having usurped, and with continuing to possess, what was due to herself and to her children. Sejanus did not neglect to cultivate the animosity of either party. He had informations conveyed to Agrippina, of a design that was hatching at Capreæ against her life, and excited her by these means to give the emperor provoking marks of her caution and distrust, which were easily interpreted as the

symptoms of a guilty mind in herself, and hastened the preventions on his part, which he thought proper to employ against her.

As mutual provocations had passed between Agrippina and the emperor before his departure from Rome, it is extremely probable that he had then resolved upon the ruin of her family, at least upon her own. He proceeded, however, by degrees, in the execution of his purpose, and before his departure from Rome, had made a trial of his power against some of her relations and friends. Under this description, he had ordered the execution of Sosia Galla and Claudia Pulchra, two women of noble birth, who were related to her by blood, and much in her confidence.

Upon occasion of the last of these executions, Agrippina, who considered herself as aimed at in this cruel action, ventured, with a vehemence and impetuosity which made part of her character, to reproach the emperor with his tyranny, accosting him to this purpose, as he was engaged in his devotions at the shrine of Augustus; "It ill becomes a person," she said, "who affects to worship the parent, to practise the ruin of his offspring. The spirit of him you adore, is not transferred into the inanimate marble which you worship, but into his living posterity whom you oppress, and whom you cause to live in continual mourning and sorrow."

While these friends of Agrippina thus suffered by the cruelty of the emperor, T. Sabinus, who had been distinguished by his affection to Germanicus, and remained still attached to his family, became upon this account, an object of the same cruelty, and he was accused of treason by certain informers. The information was applauded by the emperor, transmitted to the senate, and by them considered as a warrant for the immediate death of the accused. Being found by the officers, commissioned to seize him, paying his devotion at some public altar, he was dragged from thence to immediate execution. The particulars of the detection were published, in order to show with what zeal the emperor was served, and in order to restrain the disaffected, by a mutual distrust of each other, from entering into any such dangerous counsels.

Tiberius, upon receiving the report of Sabinus's execution, thanked the senate for the justice they had done on this enemy of the commonwealth, and mentioned a danger to which his person was still exposed from other enemies, more formidable than those they had already destroyed. Soon afterwards the storm which had been long impending

over them accordingly broke out. A letter from the emperor was presented to the senate, charging Nero the eldest son of Agrippina, with lewdness, and Agrippina herself with haughty looks, and a stubborn heart.

This letter was received in the senate with surprise. After some interval of consternation and silence, a motion was made to proceed in the matter to which it referred ; but there being no specific charge, and no instructions to form a prosecution, it was observed, that the emperor might have given way to his displeasure in angry expressions, without intending any farther censure or judicial severities. Junius Rusticus, who had been appointed by Tiberius clerk or secretary of the senate, ventured to advise a delay, in order that the emperor might have time to reconsider the subject, and to make the senate acquainted with his real intentions. In the mean time, the purport of this letter was rumoured abroad, and the senate was beset with multitudes of the people, who, carrying the effigies of Agrippina and her son, exclaimed that the letter in question must have been forged, that it was impossible the emperor could intend the destruction of his own family ; and after the senate broke up, there continued to be handed about in the streets invectives against Sejanus, alleged to be the speeches of members in in that assembly.

Tiberius renewed his complaint to the senate, reprimanding them for not having proceeded on his former letter ; but insinuated, that he did not aim at the life of Agrippina, nor at that of her son. In this, he seemed to require a sentence of exile or imprisonment ; and the members resolved that Agrippina, with the eldest of her sons, should be banished ; the first into the island of Pandateria, the place where her mother, the unhappy Julia, had been confined ; and the other to Pontia, another island on the same coast. The younger brothers were overlooked on the present occasion. Continuing, however, with respect to those who incurred his aversion or his distrust, to exercise a cruelty which seemed to increase with age, or with the consciousness of his own demerit towards mankind, the emperor proceeded against Asinius Gallus, a distinguished statesman, who had married Vipsania, after her divorce. Measures were taken to prolong the sufferings of this favourite victim. To witness their effects, and to enforce the impression of them with peculiar marks of deliberate malignity, insult, and mockery, was the intention of the Emperor in the present instance. For this purpose, he procured a deputation from the senate to be sent to Capree, and took care that Asinius Gallus should be one of the deputies. Upon their arrival, he

received Gallus in a manner peculiarly gracious, admitted him as a party in all his entertainments, and as an ordinary guest at his table ; but having in the mean time sent a complaint of treason against him to Rome, and directed that a warrant from the senate should be sent to seize his person, he continued his former behaviour, and detained him at Capreae, under various pretences of kindness, until the warrant of the senate to seize him should arrive. He took care to be present when this warrant was executed, affected surprise, even pretended to be distressed, and, when the prisoner was removed, gave strict injunctions that no violence should be offered to him, nor any sentence passed against him, until he himself should return to Rome.

In this ambiguous injunction, Gallus was condemned to a lingering state of suspense, and of suffering without the knowledge of his crime, or of the person by whom he was accused ; a species of refinement on cruelty which Tiberius had lately adopted.

While Sejanus was considered as the author of most of these cruel acts, and was accordingly the general object of flattery as well as of terror, he was in reality the dupe of his master's cunning, and at this very time was already doomed to destruction. Tiberius, either moved by a mere change of caprice incident to unhappy men, or warned of some danger to his own person, from the height and from the views to which he had raised this favourite, had for some time secretly resolved on his ruin ; but while he revolved this purpose in his own mind, and weighed the dangers to which he might be exposed in the execution of it, he redoubled the usual marks of his favour, and in all his despatches, in which he mentioned Sejanus to the senate, designed him, " My Sejanus, and the partner of my cares and my labours."

Hitherto, it is probable that Tiberius, well aware of the vigilance and penetration of his favourite, and of the numerous spies he had employed, had not confided his secret to any person whatever, and wished to remove him from his person, before he ventured to proceed any farther in his design. For this purpose he had chosen him for his own colleague in the consulate of the ensuing year ; and, under pretence of delegating to him the whole functions of an office, which the emperor himself could not attend, he sent him to Rome. He had accepted of the consulate merely to flatter his minister, and to increase his security, in being placed as the colleague of the emperor in that station. Being to destroy him, it was necessary that some one should be present on whom the dignity of consul might de-

volve. For this reason, he divested himself of the office, and substituted in his own place C. Memmius Regulus, who, on the first of May, was admitted as the colleague of Sejanus. From thenceforward, the conduct of the emperor threw the favourite himself and the public in general into great perplexity. In some of his letters to the senate, he spoke of his health as declining, and of himself as a dying person. In his next he announced his recovery, and a design of speedily visiting the metropolis. He commended Sejanus in one letter, he censured him in another ; sometimes favoured none but his partisans and adherents, at other times affected to prefer his rivals.

While Sejanus appeared, from some circumstances in the conduct of the emperor towards him, to be out of favour, he was suddenly raised to the dignity of pontiff, together with Caius Cesar Caligula ; and to try the effect of a fresh mortification on the temper of his devoted favourite, Caligula was declared successor in the empire. The popularity of the family of Germanicus, made this declaration be received with universal joy ; and being joined to other indications, that Sejanus no longer had the exclusive possession of the emperor's favour, greatly diminished the court that was paid to him.

From this time, it is probable that Tiberius took into his confidence Macro, an officer already of high rank in the pretorian bands, and whom he destined to succeed Sejanus in the command of that body. With Macro, he concerted the manner of removing this dangerous man, and formed a plan, which was to be intrusted to his execution. Sejanus was to be flattered with new hopes ; he was to be surprised in the senate, while the guards were to be amused with, what was a new circumstance in this reign, the distribution of a donative from the emperor.

In proceeding to execute this design, Macro was despatched to Rome, and took care to arrive at an hour, when the senate had been, by order of the emperor, appointed to assemble. He met with Sejanus, just as he had posted his guard, and was entering at the door of the senate-house ; and being asked what commands he had from the emperor, and what letters for himself ? answered, that he had brought his appointment to the tribunitian power, and was to lay it before the senate. Sejanus took his place, with the usual attendance of persons who had accompanied him from his own house, and had the members of the senate still crowding around him as usual, when Macro presented the mandate of the emperor, and retired.

This paper was artfully drawn up, to gain time in the

reading, till Macro should secure the guards; and concluded with a peremptory charge of treason against Sejanus. Macro, as soon as he had delivered the emperor's letter to be read in the senate, went to the guard which was posted at the doors, informed them that he brought a donative from the emperor, which they were then to share with their fellow soldiers in the barracks; that for this purpose, they were immediately to be relieved by a party of the city watch. This being done, he led them to the citadel, or what was called the camp of the pretorian bands, distributed the emperor's bounty, and at the same time taxed their commander with ingratitude to so kind a master; intimated his removal, produced his own commission to succeed in that important station, and by his authority, as well as by these precautions, prevented any disturbance among that formidable body of men.

Sejanus was taken into custody of the party which had relieved his own guard, and treated as a person accused of the highest crimes. On the first motion for a commitment, he was ordered to prison, and persons of every description began to give unfeigned or affected demonstrations of joy. The populace, as he passed through the streets, took their part as usual in the storm which burst on this unfortunate man, and, that he might not have the consolation of passing unseen, tore away the lappet of his gown, with which he endeavoured to cover his face.

On the same day, the senate met again in a temple contiguous to the prison in which Sejanus was confined, and, without any specific charge or evidence of guilt, gave sentence of death against him, which was accordingly executed. The dead body, as usual in the case of treason, being made fast on a hook, was dragged through the streets, and cast into the river, where it was thrown up, or continued afloat during some days, under the continual insults of a multitude of people.

It is not easy to determine how far this minister was accountable for a tyranny, which occasioned so vehement and so general a resentment. His crimes were undoubtedly great, and the envy of his fortune was not to be assuaged by common sufferings. But as human nature is liable to error in the manner of punishing crimes, as well as in the commission of them, the rage which now animated the populace against Sejanus, mixed with a servile intention to pay their court to the emperor, led to an action as criminal and more odious than any of which he himself had been accused or suspected. The children of this unhappy man, a boy and a girl, though too young to partake in his guilt, or to furnish

any subject of distrust or of jealousy to his enemies, were included in the same fate with the father : the girl with so much innocence, that she often asked the persons by whom she was seized, what she had done.

Apicata, the widow of Sejanus, and the mother of these unhappy children, having first disclosed the conspiracy, by which Drusus, the son of Tiberius, had been poisoned, laid violent hands on herself, and, by the discovery she made, soon after brought on the ruin of the widow Livilla, with that of the other accomplices in that daring crime.

After the execution of Sejanus, the city continued in a ferment during many days. The people having been disposed, for some time, to impute to the minister the system of tyranny which had been lately pursued, rejoiced in his fall, applauded the severities which were executed on the partners of his guilt, and willingly pointed out, as accomplices in his crimes, his relations and friends, and all who had ever moved for any of the extravagant honours that were lately bestowed upon himself. Persons of every sex and of every condition, were cast indiscriminately into the same prisons ; and the time of the senate was divided between the ordering of executions, and the appointment of honours, which were decreed to the prince for his vigilance in this matter. The title of father of his country was again offered to him ; additional rejoicings were devised for the anniversary of his birth : a general thanksgiving was appointed to the gods ; and a new statue was to be erected to Liberty.

These decrees, Tiberius, so far as they were intended to confer honours on himself, rejected with disdain, and even refused to see the deputies who were separately sent from the senate, from the equestrian order, and from the people, to congratulate him on this occasion. He despised the givers too much to be flattered with the gift, and was aware of their duplicity in pretending to offer him praise. Under this impression, at one of the last times he had attended the senate in person, he was observed to leave the assembly with scorn. " What a collection," he said, " of willing slaves !" There is, it seems, a degree of good nature as well as of weakness, in wishing to be flattered. This prince was equally exempted from both.

Agrippina, with two of her sons, Nero and Drusus, had, during the administration of Sejanus, being taken into custody, or banished to some of the islands contiguous to the coast of Italy ; but all of them perished after the death of Sejanus, either by the executioner, or by their own hands, urged to despair by the indignities they were made

to suffer. The mother perished in one or other of these ways in the island Pandateria, the place of her exile; and the eldest of her two sons was starved to death in one of the small islands called Pontise, to which he was confined. The second son perished in the same manner, some time afterwards, in a prison to which he had been committed in the palace. A third son of Germanicus and Agrippina, Caius, better known by the name of Caligula, yet remained to convince the Roman people, that the fond expectations which are formed of princes who die prematurely, are not always well founded. This young man, whether recommended to Tiberius by an early sympathy of their characters, or merely overlooked by him on account of his youth, not only escaped the persecutions in which his family was involved, but was at last embraced by the emperor as a support to his age; and, making a part of his court at Capress next to Macro, enjoyed the second place in his favour.

The emperor had a grandson by birth of the name of Tiberius; but Caius, who was his grandson by adoption, being elder, was pointed out by this circumstance of seniority, and by the favour which the people still bore to the family of Germanicus, as heir apparent to the empire.

Caius was encouraged by the grandfather to whom falsehood appeared to be a necessary ingredient in every transaction, to expect the succession, while it was really intended for Tiberius. The first, though not qualified by address to extricate himself from any difficulties, acted, perhaps from mere insensibility or fear, the part which was fittest in his place, and which continued to render him sufferable at the court of Tiberius. He acquiesced in the fate of his mother and of his brothers, without uttering a single word of impatience or regret, regulated his own behaviour by the emperor's looks; and whether his countenance were gloomy or gay, formed his own upon the same model, carrying, under the aspect of extreme servility, while a subject, that detestable profligacy which rendered him afterwards so cruel a tyrant, and which gave occasion to the famous saying, "That his accession to the empire spoilt a good slave to make a detestable master."

The accounts which are given of the latter part of the reign of Tiberius, have more the appearance of invective than of history. Even this hateful monster, it is said, was addicted to pleasure; but of so vile a kind, as to excite detestation and loathing, more than to increase the indignation which is felt at his cruelties and other crimes. His procurers had authority to employ seduction, money, and force; and, in their endeavours to supply his caprice, spared

neither condition nor sex. It is difficult to conceive, that a world, enlightened by the reason and experience of so many ages ; that citizens, acquainted with the character and the rights transmitted to them from their ancestors ; that military men, yet rivalling the reputation of the ancient Romans, and having no interest in the horrid use that was made in the capital of the imperial and military power which they themselves bestowed and supported ; should submit to be commanded for so many years by a superannuated monster, retired from the world, and supposed to practise every species of private abomination, as well as of public oppression.

In accounting for the patience of the Romans under this odious reign, we may observe, that, in the sense of a people who still retained the ferocity of their ancestors, though possessed of few of their good qualities, the cruelties which are mentioned had less effect than they have on our feelings. They were practised chiefly against persons, who, being of the emperor's family, or raised by himself to be objects of general envy, were easily abandoned by the public to his will.

After such an account of the character of this emperor, it is painful, in accounting for the success of his government, to acknowledge that he was a man of considerable ability ; and that, while he indulged his passions in the capital, or at his own court, yet in the provinces, where the consequences of an error might have been fatal or dangerous to his power, he held the reins with a steady hand.

The emperor being now sensible of his decline and approaching dissolution, undertook several journeys to the neighbourhood of the capital, to keep the citizens in awe, and to check the hopes they were apt to entertain of an approaching deliverance from his tyranny. He now failed rapidly, and took a voyage to the head-land of Misenum, where he possessed a villa which had formerly belonged to Lucullus. At this place, wishing to conceal the real state of his health, he took his place, as usual, at table, affected to prolong the entertainment, and addressed himself, at parting, with some particular words of attention to every guest : but after an effort of this sort, being retired to his apartment, he fainted away, and lay on his bed for dead. The report immediately ran from one end of the villa to the other. All the officers of the guards in attendance, and all the members and followers of the court, repaired to Caius with congratulations on his supposed accession to the empire. But while they were thus employed in paying their addresses to the successor, a servant arrived, and, in great

consternation, announced that the emperor was revived, and called for assistance. The company, in a moment, was dispersed; and Caius, with extreme terror, saw the ruin which threatened him for his premature acceptance of the court that was paid to him. But Macro retained his presence of mind, and put a sudden stop to the feeble efforts of returning life in Tiberius, by gathering up the coverlet of his bed, so as to stop his breath until he was suffocated.

CHAP. VII.

Succession of Caius to the Empire—The first Appearances of his Reign—Conclusion of the History—Observations on the Sequel—Accession of the Flavian Family—Vicissitudes of Character in the Emperors—Sources of Degradation in the Imperial Establishment—Its Preservatives—Its real and continual, though almost insensible, Decline.

TIBERIUS died in the seventy-eighth year of his age, and in the twenty-third year of his reign. By this event the imperial throne, for the first time since its establishment, became actually vacant. Tiberius would have associated his successor in the government, if his grandson by birth, for whom he intended the empire, had been of a proper age to assume the government; but this young man was no more than seventeen years of age, while Caius, the grandson by adoption, was already five-and-twenty, had the better pretension, and was supported by the favour of the Roman people.

In these circumstances, the dying emperor thought it dangerous to declare for his grandson; but secretly drew up a will in his favour, of which he carefully lodged many copies, while he made the world believe, that he intended the succession for Caius. In this act of duplicity he had concealed his real intentions, even from Macro, the commander of the pretorian bands, on whom the execution of his purpose chiefly depended; and by these means rendered it entirely abortive.

Macro, having been for some time past in actual concert with Caius on the measures that were necessary to secure the succession; and both being equally surprised to find, at the demise of Tiberius, a formal conveyance of the sovereignty in a different channel, their first intention was to cancel this deed; but they soon found that the testator had made so many copies of his will, and lodged them so secure-

ly, as to render their design impracticable. It was determined, therefore, as more advisable, to refer the matter to the senate, and to obtain an act, founded on a supposed right of seniority, preferring Caius to the throne of Cesar.

By such an acknowledgment of right, the monarchy gained a new advantage, and perhaps one of the greatest of which it was then susceptible, that some rule of inheritance should be followed to prevent the ruinous contests which arise from an elective or disputed succession, and to give, if possible, together with a permanent right of the sovereign, to his high estate, a corresponding right of every citizen to his rank, to his privilege, and to his property.

By this declaration in favour of Caius, it seemed to be admitted, that men were to look for a successor to the empire in the person who stood foremost, either by birth or adoption, in the family of Cesar; and the establishment of the monarchy appeared to be complete. The titles of emperor and prince, or head of the army and of the senate, under which Augustus endeavoured to conceal the extent of his usurpation, came, in the course of his own and the succeeding reign, to signify what, among the designations of sovereignty and imperial power, they now actually import.

Notwithstanding the acknowledgment now made in favour of hereditary right, the example of a formal resignation and resumption of the sovereignty, set by Augustus, and repeated by Tiberius, had entailed a kind of farce on the empire, to be acted, not only at the accession of successive masters, but in the same reign, at every period of ten years.

Caius, therefore, while he was far from admitting any doubt of his right to the sovereignty, nevertheless, mimicked the caution or artifice with which Augustus and Tiberius proceeded to assume the reigns of government. He repeated the same professions of respect and of zeal for the commonwealth, the same expressions of personal modesty, the same unwillingness to undertake the government, the same reluctant compliance with the pressing requests of the senate and people, the same affectation of filial piety to his predecessor, and of indulgence or candour to those who had, in any way, obstructed his own advancement. It was become the fashion to affect destroying all papers and records, from which any one could fear to have matter of accusation brought against him: but it was become the practice to preserve them with great care.

While the new emperor passed from Misenum to Rome,

he was attended on the highways by incredible numbers of people, who, animated by the affection which they bore to his father Germanicus, and by the hopes of exchanging a cruel and jealous tyrant for a youth of a noble and virtuous extraction, received him with acclamations of joy, calling him their propitious star, the child and the nursling of the Roman people, and bestowing upon him every other appellation of fondness and respect. Affecting to follow the impulse of his own filial piety, and to be moved by the affectionate sympathy of the Roman people, he hastened to the island of Pandateria, where his mother Agrippina had suffered so long a confinement under the tyranny of Tiberius, raked up the ashes of her funeral pile, embraced her remains, and ordered them to be carried with great ostentation to Rome. Although decency required him to observe the forms, and to carry the aspect of mourning for his late adoptive father and predecessor, he complied with what he knew to be the wishes of the Roman people, affecting to reverse many orders that were established in the administration and policy of the preceding reign.

Here then, if not before, we may date the final and irretrievable extinction of the Roman republic, not only in the subversion of its own institutions, and in the actual substitution of different forms, but in the acknowledgment of a right which made the succession to imperial power hereditary, as well as the extent of it far beyond what was consistent with the prerogatives formerly enjoyed by the senate and people of Rome. At this termination, therefore, of the Roman republic, agreeably to the design of this history, the narration must cease or conclude, with a very general view of what befell the empire in the succession of masters, and in the result of its own greatness.

Notwithstanding the favourable appearances which presented themselves at the accession of Caius, he not having, either in his understanding or dispositions, the permanent foundation of any good character, his personal vices soon broke out in one of the most brutal and sanguinary tyrannies of which there is any example in the history of mankind. Having no choice of amusement above that of the lowest people, he soon plunged, together with them, into every species of dissipation and debauchery; remained whole days and nights in the theatres and in the circus, entertained with the fights of gladiators, the baiting of wild beasts, and all the other species of shows, of which the Romans, once a warlike people, now a corrupted populace, were so immoderately fond. In the degree of extravagance to which he carried this matter, he incurred an immoderate

expense ; and, besides applying to this purpose the ordinary revenue of the empire, squandered, within the year, a saving of about two-and-twenty millions sterling, left in the treasury by his predecessor.

In the sequel of these vile misapplications of time, the satiety he experienced led him to indulge himself in the most scandalous and offensive debauch. A sense of the public hatred and contempt which he incurred, galled him with jealousy and disgust ; and these passions soon ripened into a general enmity to mankind. Every species of brutal indulgence, qualified with the name of pleasure ; deliberate murders, under the pretence of the execution of justice, ordered without any formalities of trial, perpetrated in his own presence, and attended with expressions of insult and scorn from himself, make up the sequel of a reign which began with some professions and propitiious appearances of moderation and regard to the opinion of the world. But the degree to which human nature itself was disgraced and insulted, in these detestable abuses of power, hastened an attempt to relieve the empire from the dominion of this monster. He fell, in about three years after he began to reign, in one of the passages of his own palace, by the hands of Chærea, an officer of his guard, who, without any intention to supplant or to succeed him in the empire, formed a conspiracy against his life.

The senate, for a few hours after this event, flattered themselves in the belief that the government had devolved on themselves ; and Chærea, by whose hands the tyrant had fallen, fondly wished for the restoration of the republic ; but the pretorian bands thought themselves entitled to dispose of the empire. Before their officers had taken any measures for this purpose, a few straggling soldiers pervading the courts and recesses of the palace, seized upon Claudius, the brother of Germanicus, and uncle of Caligula, who, as a changeling devoid of ordinary understanding, had been long neglected or overlooked in the palace. This being the person who seemed, by his relation to the late emperors, to have the best claim to the name and succession of the Cesarian or Claudian families, they raised him on their shoulders, yet trembling with fear, lest he should be involved in the fate of his kinsman Caligula, and hastening with their burden to the fortress or barrack, were received by their companions with shouts and acclamations, which announced to the senate and the people that a successor was given to the throne of Cesar.

The inactivity of this new sovereign might have furnished the world with at least an innocent master, if his want of

capacity could have been supplied without committing his power into hands equally disposed to abuse it with the worst of his predecessors. Fit only to be a pageant in the ceremonies of a court, or a tool to be employed by those who got possession of him, he came at last into the hands of the second Agrippina, the daughter of Germanicus, and sister of Caligula, who, though his niece, became his wife, and prevailed upon him to adopt the young Domitius Ahenobarbus, her son by a former husband; and by these means made way for his succession to the empire under the appellation of Nero.

This impetuous, severe, and profligate woman, equally ardent in the acquisition as in the abuse of power, mistook, for parental affection, the earnest passion with which she wished to govern in the name of her son. Having ability enough, however, where she was not misled by her passions, to distinguish the proper instruments of government, she endeavoured to procure for him in the tutory of Burhus, who was placed by her means at the head of the pretorian bands, and of Seneca, who was by her means likewise recalled from banishment to his place in the senate, the most able or specious direction which the times could afford.

Nero acting for some time what Burhus suggested, and speaking what Seneca dictated, appeared to be a prodigy of wisdom and ingenuity. But his own personal disposition, making its way in a little time through the mask of sayings and of actions which were not his own, gave sufficient evidence, that the circumstance of having been the mere puppet, though actuated by the most able and ingenious hands, does not bestow ingenuity or ability, and that a direction, however wise, received from others without discernment or knowledge of its value, cannot carry to the mind of those who submit to it the character of wisdom.

The name of Nero, after the person who bore it had, during a few years in the beginning of his reign, been supposed the model of royal and philosophic virtue, has become proverbial for caprice, folly, brutality, insolence, and cruelty. To the contempt of his subjects he at last joined a contempt of that very dignity to which he himself was raised as sovereign of so great an empire. Having a talent for music, he became, or believed himself to be, a distinguished performer, exhibited his skill on the public theatres, and travelled through Greece in the character of an artist, to receive the applauses of a people supposed to excel in discernment and taste.

The contempt which Nero incurred in quitting the character of sovereign for that of musician, became more fatal

to him than the general detestation which he had formerly excited. A revolt which took place at first in Gaul was followed by a defection of all the armies of the empire, and reduced him to the necessity of quitting, together with his life, a situation of which he proved so unworthy. Next to the fears which assailed him on the prospect of death, he was most affected, it is said, with surprise, that the world could submit to lose the hand of so great a performer.

Such then, in the first period of this monarchy, was the progress of a sovereignty erected by the Cesars with so much violence, bloodshed, and criminal address. According to our ideas of inheritance, the succession did not once take place in the family of the first founder, but was pieced out by continual adoptions from the Octavian, the Claudian, and, last of all, from the Domitian family.

The reign of Augustus has been generally applauded, and may be considered as a model for those, who wish to govern with the least possible opposition or obstruction to their power. It may serve likewise as a caution to those, who need to be told under what disguise the most detestable tyranny will sometimes approach mankind. The wary design which marked the character of Augustus, was followed by worse principles in the breasts of those who succeeded him; and the dominion he established, merely to subject the empire to his own power, without any disposition to abuse it, became, in the sequel, an instrument of the vilest tyranny, and brought upon the public stage of the world actors, whom their dispositions and characters must otherwise have condemned to obscurity, or exposed as a disgrace and a blemish to human nature.

The manners of the imperial court, and the conduct of succeeding emperors, will scarcely gain credit with those who estimate probabilities from the standard of modern times. But the Romans were capable of much greater extremes than we are acquainted with. They retained, through all the steps of the revolution which they had undergone, their ferocity entire, without possessing, along with it, any of those better qualities, which, under the republic, had directed their courage to noble, at least to great and national, purposes.

Augustus had established the military government with great caution, and even affected the appearances of a citizen, while he secured all the powers of a master. His successors retained in public the same familiarity of manners, without the same guard against its abuses, and affected to be popular in the city and in the camp, without the circumspection which preserved the first emperor from the contagion of

mean and degrading examples. The state itself was just emerged from democracy, in which the pretensions to equality checked the ordinary uses which, under monarchies, are made of fortune and superior condition. The distinctions of royalty, and with these the proprieties of behaviour, in high rank, were unknown. An attempt at elegant magnificence and courtly reserve, which, in established monarchies, makes a part of the royal state, and a considerable support of its dignity, were avoided in this fallen republic, as more likely to excite envy and hatred, than deference or respect.

The Roman emperors, perhaps, in point of expense, both public and private, exceeded every other sovereign of the world; but their public expenses consisted in the exhibition of shows and entertainments, in which they admitted the meanest of the people to partake with themselves. Their personal expenses consisted not so much in the ostentation of elegance or refined pleasure, as in a serious attempt to improve sensuality into a continual source of enjoyment; and their pleasures consisted, of consequence, in the excesses of a brutal and retired debauch. This debauch was supported by continual endeavours to excite satiated appetite, to prolong its gratifications, and to supply the defects of mere animal pleasure, with conceits of fancy and efforts of buffoonery or low humour.

The manners of imperial Rome are thus described in the remains of a satire, as elegant in the style, as it is gross and disgusting in the matter, and which we may suppose to be just in the general representation, whatever we may think of its application to any of the princes whose names and succession have been mentioned.

Even in the court of the sober Augustus, pleasure was but another name for debauch. Love was no more than the ebullition of temperament, without the allurements of elegance, or the seduction of affection or passion. In the license of the sexes, both of them alike resorted to the places of public debauch. Women of the highest rank affected the manners of prostitutes, and, to realize the evidence of their victories, collected the ordinary rewards of prostitution.

In this state of manners the first successors of Cesar, not having the habits of a courtly decorum to preserve them from the contagion of mean and degrading vices, and not considering their own elevation as any other than a mere post of advantage, from which they could indulge every caprice with impunity, after a few attempts in the beginning of a reign to prejudice the world in their favour,

plunged into every species of excess, that a vile disposition, set free from restraint, and exasperated by the sense of general aversion, could incur.

A perfect freedom from all external restraint would be sufficiently dangerous for persons of the best dispositions; but to those who are cursed with the worst, such a freedom from restraint would be accompanied with certain ruin. It is indeed nowhere to be found; but the first successors of Cesar flattered themselves that they had found it; and as they supported the first offences which they committed against the rules of propriety, by setting reason itself and the sense of mankind at defiance, they came to apprehend a species of pleasure in braving the detestation which they incurred by their infamies. They pursued the first strokes of injustice and malice by a continual warfare of distrust, prevention, and revenge against those to whom they supposed that their persons or government were odious; and they persisted in this course until the extreme itself, being what nothing less than the possession of sovereign power could support, appeared characteristic of empire, and worthy of the descendants of Cesar.

During this unhappy succession of Cesars, the supreme power had been, for the most part, held or disposed of by the pretorian bands. These troops being posted in the capital, overawed the senate and people, and though not fit to contend with the legions who were still employed in actual service, they gave possession of the empire, at every vacancy, before the armies of the frontier had time to deliberate or to take part in the choice.

This pre-eminence, however, of the pretorian bands had been impatiently suffered by the legions of the Rhine and the Danube. They wished, at the death of Augustus, to have given a specimen of their consequence in naming a successor to the empire; but being then overruled by the dutiful spirit or moderation of Germanicus, they acquiesced in the government of Tiberius, and remained in quiet under all the successions which followed; until, being excited by the defection of Gaul, which happened under Nero, and impatient of the mockery of sovereignty exhibited in the infamies of that unhappy person, they entertained, almost in every quarter of the empire at once, the project of giving a better and more respectable sovereign to the world.

Within the compass of one year and a few months, after it was known that the province of Gaul had revolted from Nero, all the armies from the Rhine and the Danube, from Gaul, Syria, Spain, and Britain, were on their march towards Italy, for the important purpose of giving a sove-

reign to the empire. And it is remarkable, that this project did not originate with the leaders, or appear to be suggested by the ambition of generals, but arose from a spirit of commotion which pervaded the troops.

Within the short period we have mentioned, a motley assemblage of provincial troops, dressed in the garb of their different countries, with different arms and different languages, mixed with the Roman legions, who, now for many years strangers to each other, met on the Po and the Tiber to dispose of the empire. And, in the sequel of their contest, whether as victors or vanquished, whether moved by insolence or despair, did equal execution on the pacific inhabitants.

These troubles, however, ended in the elevation of a great and respectable officer to the throne of Cesar, and in the substitution of the Flavian family to that of Claudius and of Julius. At the accession of Vespasian every army had tried its strength, and competitors from the court, the senate, and the camp had made trial of their fortune. The victors in this contest received a willing submission from the pacific inhabitants of the provinces, who were ready to congratulate themselves on the return of public tranquillity.

Fortunately the first emperors of the new family, Vespasian himself, and the eldest of his two sons, come from the school of experience, had learned the value of reason, humanity, and justice in the government of mankind; and they accordingly exhibited a character which, in some of its parts, was still new on the throne of Cesar: the character of wisdom, propriety, and humanity, assumed, for its own sake, and without any intention to circumvent the people, or to impose upon the world. But the fortunes of this second imperial family, like those of the first, soon devolved on a person equally unfit to sustain them, and equally unfit to be suffered by the patience of an abject court or a submissive world.

As mankind are known to run, occasionally, from one extreme to another, the evils which had been experienced in the characters of some of the preceding emperors, perhaps helped to direct the armies of the empire, at times, to think of the opposite extreme; and they made a compensation, in some of their elections, for the mischiefs which they had brought upon the world in others.

Amidst the variety of examples that were set on the imperial throne, different emperors paid unequal degrees of respect to the civil forms which were handed down to them from the republic, and which were still retained at least in

name. But the characters of sovereign in the empire, and head of the army, were necessarily united in the same person; and, in proportion as the army itself came to be corrupted, the imperial establishment suffered, not an occasional and temporary abuse, but a radical and irrecoverable decline of its character and force.

The pretorian bands were early debauched by their residence in the capital, the principal seat of licentiousness; they were inspired with presumption from the access which they had to practise on the vices of their sovereign, and they outran all the armies of the empire in profligacy, insolence, and venality.

The contagion of their military arrogance, however, gradually spread to the legions of the frontier, and, together with the hopes of raising a favourite leader to the head of the empire, promised indulgence of crimes and exemption from painful restraints.

In proportion as the character of Roman citizen lost its consideration and its consequence, the name was easily communicated to all the subjects or natives of any province. But this promiscuous admission of every subject, under the same predicament of a Roman citizen, instead of raising the provincials to the dignity of Romans, sank the latter to the level of provincial subject; extinguished all the sentiments on which the legions of old were wont to value themselves, and, with their loss of self-estimation as Romans, probably diminished the interest they had in the preservation of the Roman name.

From such a general tendency to corruption, it is not surprising that an empire, though once of such mighty power, should, in process of time, verge to its ruin; it is rather surprising, that a fabric, mouldering so fast within, should have so long withstood the storm with which it was naturally assailed from abroad. From the accession of Caligula to the admission of Alaric into Rome, was a period of no more than about four hundred years; but from the same epoch to the reduction of Constantinople by the Turks, was a period of one thousand four hundred and sixteen years. So long was it before the lights of civil political, and military wisdom, erected by the Roman commonwealth, though struck out by the Goths and Vandals in the west, and continually sinking in the east, were entirely extinguished.

The fabric of the empire had many advantages to account for so long a duration, both in the nature of its materials and in the disposition of its parts. The provinces were conveniently situated for mutual intercourse and for mu-

tual support; and there was an easy access from the seat of dominion, to the farthest bounds of the empire. The order established by Augustus, and confirmed by Tiberius, remained unaltered, even by many of their successors. And the authority of government continued high in the extremities of this vast dominion, while it sank or was abused in the centre.

Valour and discipline, the best preservatives of many other valuable qualities, being long in request, though sometimes impaired in the Roman legions, still formed examples of heroic virtue, which qualified some of those who attained to the more exalted stations in the military profession, to fill with advantage the imperial throne. The inhabitants of the empire in general were corrected of that ferocity, or reduced from that national spirit which renders subjects refractory. They were addicted to pacific arts, tractable, and easily retained within the bounds of their duty; and they acquiesced in any government, however negligent or incapable.

It may appear strange, but it is true, that even under the government of mere soldiers of fortune, the principles of law, founded in the maxims of the republic, though in some things perverted to the purposes of despotic power, was made the object of a select profession, and was studied as a rule of peace and of property. The civil law was thus not only suffered to remain in force, but received, from the pleadings of advocates, the decision of judges, and the edicts of princes, continual accessions of light and authority, which has rendered it the great basis of justice to all the modern nations of Europe.

Philosophy continued in repute from the times of the republic far down in the empire, and the doctrines of Epicurus, which had prevailed in the later times of the commonwealth, now gave way to those of Zeno and the Stoics. While men had rights to preserve, and hazardous duties to perform on the public scene, they had affected to believe, with Epicurus, that pleasure was the standard of good and evil. But now, when the public occupations of state were withheld from them, and when personal safety was the highest object in their view, they returned to the idea, which seemed to have inspired the virtue of ancient times, that men were made happy by what they themselves were and performed, not by what they possessed.

From these materials, the law was sometimes furnished with practitioners, the senate with its members, the army with commanders, and the empire itself with its head; and the throne of Cesar, in the vicissitudes to which it was ex-

posed, presented examples as honourable to human nature in some instances, as they were disgraceful in others.

The wisdom of Nerva gave rise to a succession, which, in the persons of Trajan and the Antonines, formed a counterpart to the race of Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero; and it must be admitted that if a people could be happy by any other virtue than their own, there was a period in the history of this empire, during which the happiness of mankind may have been supposed complete. This however is but a fond and mistaken apprehension. A people may receive protection from the justice and humanity of single men; but can receive independence, vigour, and peace of mind only from their own. Even the virtues of this happy succession could do no more than discontinue, for a while, the former abuses of power, administer justice, restrain the guilty, and protect the innocent. Many of the evils under which human nature was labouring, still remained without a cure; and the empire, after having in the highest degree experienced the effects of wisdom and goodness, was assailed anew with all the abuses of the opposite extreme.*

In this great empire, the fortunes of nations over the more cultivated parts of the earth, being embarked on a single bottom, were exposed to one common and general wreck. Human nature languished for some time under a suspension of national exertions, and the monuments of former times were, at last, overwhelmed by one general irruption of barbarism, superstition, and ignorance. The effects of this irruption constitute a mighty chasm in the transition from ancient to modern history, and make it difficult to state the transactions and manners of the one, in a way to be read and understood by those whose habits and ideas are taken entirely from the other.

* These extremes scarcely gain credit with the modern reader, as they are so much beyond what his own experience or observation can parallel. Nero seems to have been a demon, and Aurelius a divinity; and these prodigies, whether in the extreme of good or of evil, exhibited, amidst the ruins of the Roman republic, are no longer to be found. Individuals were then formed on their specific dispositions to wisdom or folly. In later times, they are more cast in a general mould, which gives a certain form independent of the materials. Religion, fashion, and manners prescribe more of the actions of men, or mark a deeper tract in which men are constrained to move.

INDEX.

- Achaean league*, fate of, 44.
Actium, naval battle of, 491.
Adherbal attacked and put to death by Jugurtha, 176.
Ædile of the people, instituted, 14. Superseded by patrician ædile, 33.
Æmilius. See *Emilius*.
Ætna, eruption of, 163.
Agrarian law, first proposed, 16. Lex Licinia adopted, 31.
Agrippa becomes the counsellor of Octavius, 469. Marries the daughter of Octavius, 521. Death and character, 527.
 ——— Posthumus, is degraded, 537.
Agrippina, the daughter of Agrippa, is married to Germanicus, 550.
 Perishes, with two of her sons, under the tyranny of Tiberius, 574.
Alexandria, contest there, between Julius Cæsar and the government of Ptolemy, 400.
Alps, passage of the, by Hannibal, 61.
Antiochus, king of Syria, some account of, 99. Meditates the invasion of Greece and Italy, 103. His army routed near Thermopylæ, 106. Is defeated by Lucius Scipio, and makes peace with the Romans, 108.
Antony. Mark, is sent from Gaul by Julius Cæsar, to Rome, 357. Commands Cæsar's forces in Italy, 371. Follows Cæsar to Epirus and effects a junction with him, 384. Is appointed second in command by Cæsar, 388. Is named consul by Cæsar, in conjunction with himself, 410. Offers Cæsar a crown, 431. Summons the senate on the death of Cæsar, 429. Presides at the obsequies of Cæsar, and pronounces the funeral oration, 432. Moderate administration for some time—becomes arbitrary, 434. His first conference with Octavius Cæsar, and disension with him, 435. Is declared a rebel by the senate, 446. Forms a confederacy with Octavius and Lepidus, horrors of their proscriptions, 453. Receives with joy the head of Cicero, 461. Defeats the republican army under Brutus and Cassius, at Philippi, 464. Makes a new partition of the empire with Octavius, 468. Meets Cleopatra in Cilicia, and accompanies her into Egypt, 474. Sets out for Syria, Cleopatra visits him, 483. The king of Parthia harasses him on his retreat, 485. Is victorious in Armenia, returns to Alexandria in triumph, his extravagant behaviour there, 486. He declares war against Octavius, 484. Battle of Actium, in which he is defeated, and flies with Cleopatra towards Egypt, 491. Wounds himself and dies, his character, 494.
Appius Claudius attempts to procure Virginia, 20.
Arabia, unsuccessful expedition into, under Ælius Gallus, 518.
Aristovistus involved in a war with Cæsar, 300. Is defeated, 302.
Aristobulus usurps the Jewish throne, and is dispossessed by Pompey, 262.
Armenia. See *Tigranes*.

Asdrubal. See *Hasdrubal*.

Asia, first expedition of the Romans into, 99.

Athena, siege and blockade of by Sylla, 211.

Augustus, title of, first bestowed on Octavius Caesar, 568.

Auletes, Ptolemy, is restored by Gabinius, 319

Ballot, secret, introduction of, in elections, &c., 145.

Bibulus, elected consul along with Caesar, 266. Commands the fleet of Pompey, 382. Dies, 394.

Bithynia, bequeathed to the Romans, 239.

Bocchus, king of Mauritania, delivers up Jugurtha to the Romans, 186.

Britain, Caesar invades, 821.

Brutus, Marcus, forms a conspiracy against Caesar, 423. Prepares for war with Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, 456. Encamps, with Cassius, near Philippi, operations and skirmishes, death of Cassius, is totally routed, his death and character, 464.

—, Decimus, is vested by the senate with the command of all their forces, 451. Is put to death by orders of Antony, 457.

Cæsar, Caius Julius, birth of, 198. His first appearance, 237. Is elected edile, 267. Is appointed to the government of Lusitania, 263. Returns to Rome, is elected consul, 286. Appointed proconsul in Gaul for five years, 290. His command in Gaul renewed for other five years, 315. Invades Britain, second invasion of Britain, and returns to Gaul, 317. Endeavours to hold the consulate without resigning his province, 341. Extends his influence in Rome, recalled by the senate, and ordered to dismiss his army, resolves to march towards Rome, 353. Visits Rome, and seizes the public treasure, 371. Arrives in Spain and pursues the army of Pompey, 374. He is named dictator by the senate at Rome, 379. Sails for the coast of Greece, proposes peace to Pompey, encamps near the village of Pharsalia, gains the battle of Pharsalia, 392. Arrives in Egypt, and is presented with the head of his rival, his passion for Cleopatra, twice defeats the Egyptians, 395. Arrives in Italy, and proceeds to Rome, is declared dictator for ten years, and censor, under the title of *Præfectus Morum*, 403. Sets out for Spain, where the sons of Pompey are in arms, totally defeats them near Munda, 417. Aspires to the title of king, and a conspiracy is formed against him, is killed in the senate house, 425.

—, Augustus. See *Octavius*.

—, Germanicus. See *Germanicus*.

—, Caius, appointed to the command of the army in Syria, is wounded and dies on his way home, 534.

—, Lucius is admitted to the order of manhood, dies at Marseilles, 533.

Cæsarion is proclaimed by Mark Antony heir to his father, 493.

Caligula, Caius Cæsar, admitted into the confidence of the emperor Tiberius, 564. Succeeds Tiberius accordingly, is killed by Chærea, 577.

Camilus defeats the Gauls, and relieves the capitol, 28.

Cannæ, battle of, 72.

Carbo, Cneius Papirius, consul, opposes Sylla in Italy, 218. Is killed by Pompey, 225.

Carthage, its local situation, reduced and burnt, 131. Is rebuilt for a Roman colony, 171.

Carthaginians republic, rise and progress of the, 46. The first Punic war, 46. Second Punic war breaks out, 60. Battle of Zama, and end of this war, 86. The Carthaginians defeated by Massinissa, 125. Are required by the Romans to abandon Carthage, are finally subdued by Scipio, 137.

Cassius, Sp. courts popularity, is condemned on suspicion of treason,

Caius, begins a conspiracy against Cæsar, 424. Appointed to

- the government of Syria, 436. Concentrates the eastern armies, 457. Advances to Philippi, 464. Is defeated by Antony, and puts an end to his life, 466.
- Catiline*, Lucius Sergius, his conspiracy, 266.
- Cato*, the censor, character of, 121. His eagerness for the destruction of Carthage, 127. Obtains a triumph at Rome, 139.
- of Utica, character compared with that of Cæsar, 276. He opposes the agrarian law 287. He opposes Pompey and Crassus, 315. Is appointed to the command of Sicily, but is forced to withdraw from it, 372. Commands in Epirus, 397. Takes his station at Utica, 404. Kills himself, 411.
- , Caius, the tribune, opposes the usual election of magistrates, 314.
- Catulus*, L. Lutatius, consul, partakes in the triumph at Rome with Marius, 193.
- , Lutatius, opposes Pompey, 255.
- Censor*, office of, separated from that of consul, 23. Is revived in the person of Julius Cæsar, under the title of *Prefectus Morum*, 403.
- Census*, state of the classes and centuries at its establishment, 6. Numbers of the Roman people at the time of the Gracchi, 161. And during the consulate of Pompey, 248.
- Centumviri*, appointed to assist the prætor, 52.
- Centuries*, account of this division of the citizens, 5.
- Chæronæa*, battle of, 212.
- Christ*, birth of, 533.
- Cicero*, Marcus Tullius, birth of, 191. Is elected consul, 267. Denounces Catiline, and detects the conspiracy of Lentulus, 271. Recalled from exile, 303. Appointed to the province of Cilicia, 354. Encourages Brutus and Cassius, and declares against Antony, 437. Has the chief direction of affairs at Rome, 449. Is included in the list of the proscribed, flies from Rome, his death and character, 461.
- Cimbri*, (various barbarous nations under this name) defeat the Romans under Papirius Carbo, 177. Again defeat them under the consul Silanus, 180. Overcome two Roman armies on the Rhone, 186. One division routed by Marius, the other division cut off by Catulus and Marius, 193.
- Cincinnatus*, Quinctius, dictator, 24.
- Cinna*, Cornelius, elected consul, 210. Prepares to oppose Sylla, is killed in a mutiny, 219.
- Claudius*, brother to Germanicus, is raised to the sovereignty, 580.
- Cleopatra* engages the affections of Julius Cæsar, is placed by Cæsar on the throne of Egypt, 400. Meets Mark Antony in Cilicia, 472. Is defeated in the battle of Actium, 491. Her last interview with Antony, her death, 494.
- Clients* and patrons, original Romans divided into, 4.
- Clodius*, Publius, profanes the sacred rites, 284. Elected a tribune of the people, 292. Projects the ruin of Cicero, is killed in a fray with Milo, 303.
- Coin*, Roman, operation on, 52.
- Column*, or line of a Roman army, ten men deep, 393.
- Comitia*, account of the, 33.
- Commons*, and nobles, distinction of, 149.
- Constitution*, Roman, review of the, 33.
- Consul*, office of, first established, extensive nature of, 9. Claimed by the plebeians, and yielded to them, 32.
- Corinth*, reduced and burned by the Romans, 137.
- Coriolanus*, proposes to abolish the office of tribune, is obliged to fly, joins the enemies of Rome, 15.
- Corn*, gratuitous distribution of, first proposed, 17.
- Cornelia*, mother of the Gracchi, expostulates with her son Caius, 167.
- Crassus*, Marcus, destroys the gladiators, 243. Elected consul, 247. His great private riches, 248. Again elected consul, secures to himself the province of Syria for five years, 315. Is betrayed by Surenæ at a conference, and slain, 334.

Crassus, Publius, son of Marcus, serves in Gaul, is detached to assist his father in Syria, 334. Is cut off by the Parthians, 334.

Crete, inhabitants of, are reduced by Metellus, 242.

Curia, centuries, and tribes, Roman citizens divided into, 5.

Curia aedilis, directors of the public amusements, office instituted 33.

Cyrene, kingdom of, becomes a Roman province, 190.

Decemvirs vested with a temporary sovereignty, 18. Refuse to resign, are overturned, on occasion of the death of Virginia, 20.

Dictator, first nominated, his powers, 10.

Dolabella stirs up tumults in Rome, 399. Assumes the office of consul, 429. Is appointed to supersede Cassius in Syria, 436. Is blocked up by Cassius in Laodicea, and is killed, 457.

Drusus, Livius, the tribune, proposes several important laws, is assassinated, 201.

— (Germanicus), defeats the German nations, his death, 528.

—, son of Tiberius, acts as quaestor, 542. Is sent to quell a mutiny in the army, 549. Is poisoned by Sejanus, 565.

Dyrrachium, armies of Pompey and Caesar encamp there, 386.

Equestrian order at Rome, notice of the, 33.

Etolians invite Antiochus to come into Greece, 103.

Fabius Maximus, named pro-dictator, saves the Roman army, 70.

Flaccus, Fulvius, is put to death for sedition, 173.

Flaminius, the Roman consul, takes the command in Greece against Philip, defeats Philip, returns to Rome, and holds a triumph, 97.

Flaminius, Caius, named consul, engages Hannibal, and perishes, with great part of his army, 68.

Fleet, Roman, first equipment of a, defeats the Carthaginian fleet, 49. In the time of Augustus, 513.

Gabinus, the tribune, his speech in favour of Pompey, 254. Is involved in Catiline's conspiracy, 366. Tried for extortion, and forced into exile, 322.

Gauls, defeat the Roman army, and burn the city of Rome, 27. Are routed by Hannibal, 63.

Germanicus, Caesar, his marriage to Agrippina, 550. Passes into Egypt and dies at Antioch, 557.

Germans, two hordes invade Gaul, and are cut off by Caesar, 319. The Germans defeat the Romans, 540.

Gladiators, revolt of those at Capua, defeat the Roman consuls, are finally suppressed by Crassus, 243.

Gracchus, Tiberius, revives the agrarian law, attempts to procure his re-election into the tribunate, is slain in the capitol, 151.

— Caius, is elected a tribune, revives the agrarian law, is killed in a fray, 166.

Greece, makes an ineffectual struggle for liberty, 134.

Hamilcar forms a settlement in Spain, 57.

Hannibal succeeds Hasdrubal in commanding the Carthaginians in Spain, 57. Begins his march towards Italy, crosses the Alps, defeats the Roman army under Flaminius, gains the great battle of Cannae, 61. Is recalled from Italy, is routed in the battle of Zama, 85. He flies to Antiochus at Syracuse, 102. Dies by poison, 112.

Hasdrubal, son-in-law of Hamilcar, succeeds him in Spain, 57.

— the son of Gisgo, opposes Scipio in Africa, is defeated, defeats the Romans, 130.

Helvetii propose to migrate to Gaul, are hindered and finally routed by Caesar, 298.

Imperator, title of, bestowed upon Octavius, 517.

Italy, how possessed during the first ages of the Roman state, 1. Romans become entire masters of, 93.

Ianus, temple of, shut, 54, 501, 517.

Jerusalem, siege of the temple, its reduction, Pompey enters the Holy of Holies, 262.

Juba, king of Numidia, puts an end to his life, 414.

Jugurtha joins the Romans against the Numantians, 111. Aspires to the kingdom of Numidia, 175. Is defeated by Metellus, is overcome by Marius, seized by Bocchus, and delivered up to the Romans, is brought to Rome, and left to perish in a dungeon, 180.

Julia, daughter of Julius Cæsar, is married to Pompey, 293.

—, daughter of Octavius, is married, 1st, to Marcellus, 515; 2dly, to Agrippa, 521; and, 3dly, to Tiberius, 528. Her debaucheries and exile, 531.

Kalendar, Roman, reformed, by direction of Julius Cæsar, and hence called Julian Kalendar, 416.

Legion, Roman, account of the arrangement of the, 37. Difference between the legion described by Polybius, and that of Cæsar, 38. (Note.)

Lentulus, Publius Cornelius, prætor, his conspiracy in favour of Catiline, is put to death, 274.

Lepidus, M. Æmilius, elected consul, is routed, 234.

—, Marcus Æmilius, names Cæsar dictator, 379. Forms a confederacy with Antony and Octavius, 379.

Lex Canuleia passed, 22.

— *Licinia*, carried into execution, 153.

— *Tribonia* adopted, 122.

— *Sempronia*, 100.

— *Cæcilia Didia*, 199.

— *Falcidia*, 477.

Livia Drusilla, is married by the emperor Augustus, her zeal for the advancement of her son Tiberius, 474.

Livilla is married to Drusus, unites with Sejanus in poisoning her husband, 565.

Lucullus, consul, defeats Mithridates, 241. Defeats Tigranes, 251. Obtains a triumph at Rome, 278.

Macedonia, conquered by the Romans, 118. Is reduced to a Roman province, 135.

Macro is sent to seize Sejanus, 572.

Mæcenas, Caius Cilnius, becomes the counsellor of Octavius, 469. Death and character, 531.

Manlius (Capitolinus) defends the capitol against the Gauls, 28. Is accused of aspiring to regal dignity, is put to death, 30.

—, the consul, reduces the Galatians, 109.

Marcellus, Marcus Claudius, consul, defeats Hannibal at Nola, 77.

—, Marcus Claudius urges the recall of Cæsar from Gaul, 354.

—, Caius Claudius, delivers his sword, as consul, into the hands of Pompey, 262.

—, sues for the consulate ten years before the legal age, holds the office of ædile, 517. His death, 519.

Marius, Caius, his first appearance, 174. Is elected consul, prosecutes the war against Jugurtha, defeats him, 182. Is re-elected consul, sets out for Gaul, 187. Is re-elected a third, a fourth, and a fifth time, assists Catulus in routing the Barbarians, 191. Is re-elected a sixth time, 194. Is driven from Rome by Sylla, is recalled, his death, 208.

—, the younger, opposes Sylla, is defeated and kills himself, 219.

Marcillis, city of, invested and yielded up to Cæsar, 379.

- Marcus* joins the Roman army in Africa against the Carthaginians, dispossesses Syphax, and ascends the Numidian throne, 53. Afterwards withdraws from the Roman interest, 131.
- Marcus* ordered by Sylla, 224. By Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, 460.
- Marcus, Caius*, forges an edict of senate, exposes the transaction, 320.
- Macedonius*, Quintus Cæcilius, ordered by Labeo to be thrown from the Tarpeian rock, 161. Saved by the interposition of another tribune, 161.
- *Numidicus*, Q. Cæcilius, is elected consul, defeats Jugurtha in Africa, 159. Opposes the faction of Marius, and again elected to the consulate, 195.
- *Pius*, Q. Cæcilius, joins Sylla, defeats the army of Carbo, 220. Is elected consul, 225. Conducts the war against Sertorius, 226.
- *Creticus*, Q. Cæcilius, is raised to the consulate, 249. Reduces the Cretans, 256.
- *Nepos*, the tribune, proposes to invite Pompey and his army to Rome, 279.
- Milo*, tribune, prosecutes Clodius for his crimes, 303. Is tried for the murder of Clodius, is condemned, and retires to Marseilles, 340.
- Mithridates*, king of Pontus, involves himself in a war with the Romans, 205. Orders a general massacre of the Roman citizens in Asia, is defeated by Sylla, 211. Takes possession of Cappadocia, Phrygia, and Bithynia, 240. His army is destroyed, collects a new army, is totally routed by Lucullus, orders his women to be put to death, his flight to Armenia, 241. Again makes head against the Romans, and is routed by Pompey, puts a period to his life, 259.
- Mons Sacro*, secession of a great body of plebeians to the, 11.
- Mummius* the Roman consul, reduces Corinth, 137.
- Munda*, battle of, 418.
- Mutina*, siege of, by Antony, 449.
- Nabis*, tyrant of Lacedæmon, curbed by the Romans, 102.
- Nasica*, Scipio, overthrows the faction of Tiberius Gracchus, 156.
- Navy*, Roman, origin of the, 49.
- Nerva*, Tiberius Claudius, Livia is separated from him, 478.
- *Tiberius Claudius*. See *Tiberius*.
- *Domitius Ahenobarbus*, his weakness, folly, and death, 561.
- Nobles* and commons, distinction of, 149.
- Nomius*, Sufenas, tribune, slain by the faction of Saturninus, 195.
- Norbanus*, C. Junius, consul, defeated by Sylla, 220.
- Numantia*, in Spain, obstinate resistance made by the inhabitants against the Romans, its reduction by famine, 141.
- Numidia*. (See *Syphax*) Contest for the crown of, 175. (See *Jugurtha*.) Becomes a Roman province, 414.
- Onfæ*, sacredness of, among the Romans, 123.
- Octavia*, is married to Mark Antony, 474.
- Octavius*, Caius, (Cæsar Augustus), grand-nephew of Julius Cæsar, his first public appearance, assumes Cæsar's name, 438. Holds a conference with Antony, declares against him, 439. Named propretor, 447. Marches against Antony, and defeats him, 450. The office of consul is granted to him, 451. Forms a coalition with Antony Lepidus, 459. Passes into Greece against Brutus and Cassius and totally defeats them, 464. Makes a new partition of the empire with Antony, 469. Concludes a peace with Sextus Pompeius, 475. Repudiates his wife Scribonia, and marries Livia Drusilla, renews the war with Sextus, 478. He returns to Italy, his masterly policy there, 482. Rupture with Antony, and totally defeats him, 457. Returns to Rome, his three triumphs, appropriates to himself the title of imperator, 496. The senate bestow on him the title of Augustus, his political establishment as emperor, 508. His family and court, 514. Begins to

languish and decay, assumes Tiberius as his associate in the empire, dies, 535. His character, 544.
Orchomenos, battle of, 212.

Parthians, are invaded by the Romans under Crassus, and defeat him, invade Syria, and are defeated by Ventidius, cut off a part of the army of Antony, 484.

Patricians and *Plebeians*, division of the Roman people into, 4. Become a complete aristocracy, 9. See *Plebeians*.

Patrons and *clients*, distinctions among the original Romans, 4.

Paulus, L. Emilius, the consul, is slain at the battle of Cannæ, 73.

—, Emilius, son of the former, elected consul, defeats Perseus at Pydna, 118.

Perseus, son of Philip, ascends the throne of Macedonia, 113. Is routed at Pydna, and taken prisoner, 118.

Phalanx, Grecian, compared with the Roman legion, 96.

Pharnaces the son of Mithridates, defeated by Cæsar, 402.

Pharsalia, great battle of, 294. Comparative loss on the different sides in the action, 295.

Philip, king of Macedonia, unites with the Carthaginians against the Romans, is defeated and obliged to accept of the terms of the Romans, 75.

Philippi, battle of, 464.

Pirates, are dispersed and ruined by Pompey, 254.

Piso, Calpurnius, the consul, his campaign against Jugurtha, 178. Is tried for the murder of Germanicus, puts himself to death, 547.

Plebeians held in abject degradation by the *Patricians*, they extend their powers, 10. And, at last, fill all the offices of state along with the *Patricians*, 30.

Policy of the Romans, 111.

Polihnius, the historian, a prisoner in Italy, 135.

Pompey, Cnæus, (surnamed the Great,) birth of, 131. Joins himself to Sylla, 230. Finishes the war in Africa, returns to Rome, and obtains a triumph, is pronounced the Great by Sylla, 239. Is sent to Spain, and successfully finishes the war, 262. Obtains a triumph at Rome, procures his election as consul along with Crassus, 243. Is invested with the supreme command over all the fleets and armies of the republic for three years, 254. Appointed to supersede Lucullus in Pontus, &c., routs the army of Mithridates, takes possession of Jerusalem, besieges and reduces the temple, enters the Holy of Holies, 259. Arrives at Rome, his splendid triumph, 280. Visits Cæsar at Lucca, where these leaders renew their confederacy, elected to the consulate a second time, 310. Sole consul, 329. Renewal of his government in Spain for other five years, 341. His jealousy of Cæsar, 263. Is invested, by the senate, with the supreme command over the treasury and forces of the republic, 363. Embarks for Epirus, 369. His army in Spain is subdued by Cæsar, 374. Directs his march towards Thessaly, encamps near the village of Pharsalus, is routed in the battle of Pharsalia, 393. Flies to Egypt, and is murdered by order of Ptolemy the king, 395.

—, Cnæus, eldest son of Pompey the Great, heads an army in Spain, in opposition to Cæsar, is defeated and slain, 417.

—, Sextus, younger son of Pompey the Great, holds out in Sicily, against the usurpations of the second triumvirate, 462. Is invited to a personal conference with Octavius and Antony, which ends in a treaty of peace, 474. He returns to Sicily, prepares for war against Octavius, 475. His fleet is totally defeated by Agrippa, 480.

Pontus, kingdom of. See *Mithridates*.

Præfect, or governor of a province, first appointed, 42.

Præfectus Annona, duties of this occasional officer, 34.

Prætor, institution of the office of, confined to the Patrician order, 32.

A second prætor appointed, 51. The number increased to six, 140.

Proterius bands, first appointed, 513. Assumes the disposal of the sovereignty of the empire, 584.

Proscriptions, origin of this name and practice, proscriptions of Sylla, 234. Of the second triumvirate, Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, 468.

Publius Sextius, is the first plebeian consul, 32.

Punic war, origin of the first, 48. Of the second, 60. (See *Hannibal*, *Scipio Africanus*.) The third, 124.

Pydna, battle of, 118.

Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, marches an army into Italy, 40.

Quæstor, president of the criminal court at Rome, 144.

Quæstor, account of the office of, 24.

Regulus, Atilius, the consul, is made a captive in Africa, 58.

Religion, state of, among the original Romans, 6.

Revolutions in the Roman state: change from a monarchy to a republic, 7. From a republic to an empire, 414.

Rhone, passage of the, by Hannibal, 62.

Rome, extent of, under the monarchy, 7. Burned by the Gauls, 27. Rebuilding of, 29. Taken by Sylla, 209. Is invested by Cinna and Marcius, 215. The capitol burned, 221. Overflowed by an inundation of the Tiber, 537.

Saguntum, siege of, by Hannibal, 59.

Sallustius, Crispus, is made governor of Numidia, 494.

Saturninus, Apuleius, the tribune, proposes several popular acts, 195.

Scipio, Publius Cornelius, the consul, marches against Hannibal, 63. Is joined by Sempronius, and defeated, 66.

— *Africanus*, Publius Cornelius, son of the former, makes his appearance, 78. Is appointed to command the army in Spain, 79. Sails for Africa, and lands at Hippo, 83. Gains a complete victory over Hannibal at Zama, and dictates terms of peace to the Carthaginians, 86. Passes into Asia against Antiochus, defeats the forces of Asia, dies in a species of voluntary exile, 106.

— *Asiaticus*, Lucius Cornelius, brother of Africanus, is elected consul, totally defeats Antiochus in Asia, 105.

— *Publius Æmilianus*, son of Æmilius Paulus, and adopted grandson, of Africanus, is appointed to the command against Carthage, reduces Carthage, is sent against the Numantians in Spain, subdues them, 131. His death, 169.

— *Nasica*. See *Nasica*.

— *Cornelius Metellus*, son of Nasica, the colleague of Pompey in the consulate, commands the main body of the army at Pharsalia, 266. Assembles an army in Africa, 404. Is defeated by Cæsar at Thapsus, 410. Kills himself, 414.

Sejanus, Ælius, his mission to the mutinous legions on the Danube, 349. Becomes the confidential favourite of Tiberius, 363. Is denounced to the senate as guilty of treason, and condemned to death, cruel fate of his infant children, 571.

Sempronius, Tiberius Longus, the consul, joins Scipio, in order to repel Hannibal, and is defeated, 66.

—, the Roman proconsul, defeated in Spain by the natives, 102.

Senate, under the monarchy, 5. Under the aristocracy, 9. Restored after the usurpation of the decemvirs, 20. Review of the constitution of the senate, 33. The senate comes to be entirely modelled by Augustus, 523. Complete degradation, 570.

Sertorius, harbours the Marian party in Spain, defeats Pompey, is betrayed and assassinated, 235.

Sestius, Publius, the first plebeian raised to the dignity of consul, 22.

- Sicily*, revolt of the slaves in, 143. Another revolt, 191.
Sophonisba, daughter of Hannibal, stipulates with the king of Numidia, to aid the Carthaginians, 83.
Spain, Hamilcar forms a settlement in, 58. Progress of the Romans in the conquest of Spain, 101—138. Several warlike cantons retaining their independence, are reduced, 515.
Spartacus, leader of the revolted gladiators, defeats the Roman consul, but is routed, and killed by Crassus, 214.
Sumptuary laws of the Romans, remarks on the, 122. These laws revived, 146. Further account of them, 190.
Sylla, L. Corn. the quaestor, serves in the war against Jugurtha, 184. Is elected praetor, is sent into Asia, 200. Is elected consul, prepares for war with Mithridates, is recalled, marches in a hostile manner and takes Rome, 206. Sets out for Asia, takes Athens, defeats the army of Mithridates, near Cheronæa, and again, at Orchomenos, receives the submission of Mithridates, set sails for Italy, 210. Defeats Norbanus the consul, defeats the young Marius, enters the city routs the Marian party, orders a massacre, 219. Procures his nomination as dictator, reforms the commonwealth, resigns the dictatorship, 225. His character, death, and obsequies, 231. His character contrasted with that of Julius Cæsar, 415.
Syphax, king of Numidia, joins with the Carthaginians, and loses his throne, 83.
Syria becomes a Roman province, 261.
- Tables*, twelve, of the Roman law, prepared by the decemvirs, 19.
Thapsus, battle of, 410.
Theatre at Rome, condemned, as likely to become a source of corruption, 146. Theatre of Pompey opened, U. C., 698.
Thermopylae, battle of, in which Antiochus is defeated by the Romans, 106.
Tiberius, Claudius Nero, games exhibited in name of, 517. Commission to Armenia, 522. Is advanced in the confidence of the emperor, and marries his daughter Julia, 527. Is adopted by the emperor, 535. Is associated with Augustus in the empire, 543. Review of his reign, his cruelty, his odious life, his death, 559.
 ——— Gracchus. See *Gracchus*.
Tigranes, king of Armenia, refuses to deliver up Mithridates to the Romans, is defeated by Lucullus, 250. Casts himself on the mercy of Pompey, 260.
Treasury, public, directly under the administration of the senate, 35.
Trebia, battle of the, 66.
Trials, criminal, regulations respecting, 339. Important innovation by Augustus, 530.
Tribes, account of this division of the Roman citizens, 6.
 ——— of the city, notice of, 150.
Tribune, the office of, first instituted, nature of explained, their number fixed at ten, 12. Great abuses take place in the exercise of the tribunitian power, 207. Restraints on the, removed by Pompey, 247.
Tribunes, military, plebeians admitted to be elected, 22.
Triumph, institution and nature of the, 6.
Triumvirate, combination of Cæsar, Pompey, and Crassus, so called, 286. Second triumvirate, Octavius, Antony, and Lepidus, atrocity of the articles of their agreement, character of each, 458.
- Utica*, in Africa, becomes the station of Cato after the battle of Pharsalia, 404. Cæsar defeats Scipio and Cato there, 411.
- Valerius*, Manius, is chosen dictator, 11.
Varro, C. Terentius, elected to the consulship, is defeated at Cannæ, 72.
 ——— one of Pompey's lieutenants in Spain, 372.

- Fais*, city of, is besieged for ten years, reduced, and its citizens enslaved, by the Romans, 26.
Ferdinandus, the lieutenant of Antony, defeats the Parthians, and expels them from Syria, 476.
Fercingetorix heads the Gauls in opposing Caesar, is routed and taken and put to death, 348.
Fespasian raised to the sovereignty, 565.
Firathus defends Lestanaa for ten years against the Romans, but is at last assassinated, 136.
Virginia is killed by her own father, to prevent her dishonour by *Appian Claudius*, 29.
Zama, great battle of, 26.

THE END.

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